

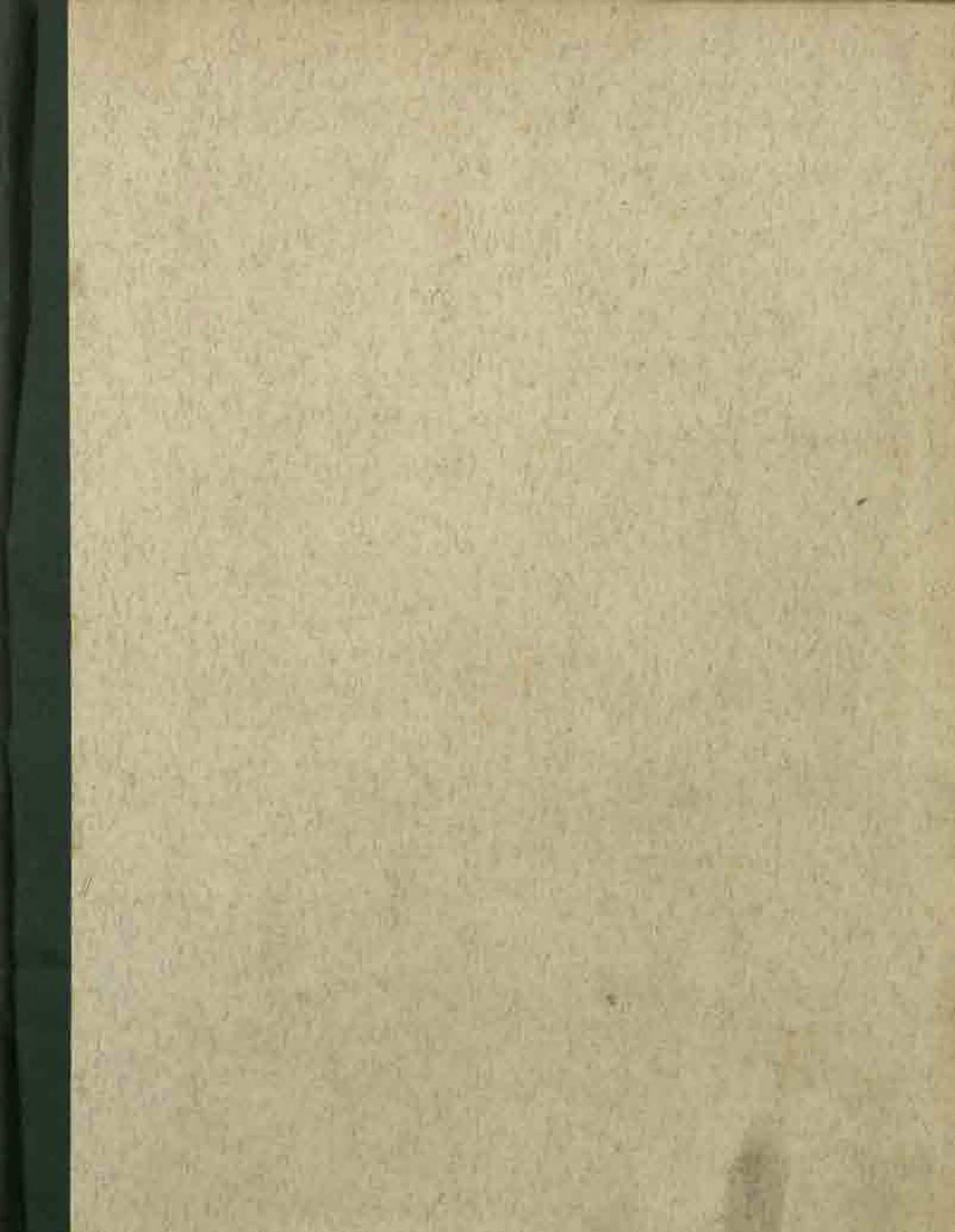
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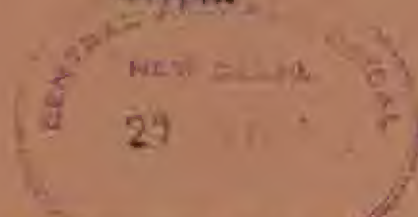
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„ 52. Methi Inscription of Yadava Krishna, Saka 1175	to face page	319
„ 53. Two Plates from Kanas		
—Plate I; A. Plate of Lokavigraha-bhattaraka, Gupta Year 280	„	331
„ 54. „ —Plate II; B. Plate of Bhanudatta, Regnal Year 5	„	334

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

—)o(—

- Page 2, line 8.—For *Mahāmātragaṇa* read styled *Mahāmātragaṇa*
- .. 5, line 1.—For *Āśhaḍḍhā* read *Āśhaḍḍha*
- .. 20, text, line 2.—For *mānavya-sagūtrāpāṭh* read *manavya-sagūtrāpāṭh*
- .. 22, text, line 34.—For 100 9 10 3 read 100 6 10 3
- .. 22, foot-note 4.—Read *kapilā-sata-ghāṭīyam-ēnah* as *pratipadyatē*
- .. 24, foot-note 1, line 5.—For *sahōḍarāṭh* read *sahōḍarāṭh*
- .. 25, line 5 et *passim*.—For *Śankhavarma* read *Śaṅkhavarman*
- .. 25, line 15.—For *by* read *in*
- .. 25, foot-note 5, line 2.—For *Jamkhaṇḍi* read *Jamkhaṇḍi*
- .. 26, foot-note 7, line 9.—For *karṇamāṭh* read *karṇamāṭh*
- .. 26, foot-note 9.—For *Ibid.* read *Ep. Carn.*
- .. 27, foot-note 7.—Add note: 'There is no proof that Kākaṇjara was the ancestral seat of the Kalachuris.'
- .. 29, text, line 7.—For *datvā* read *datvā(ttvā)*
- .. 29, foot-notes, last line.—Add *before the line 3*
- .. 37, line 39.—For *crest-jem* read *crest-gem*
- .. 38, article No. 6, para. 3, last line.—Add note: 'The personal name of the Vājāṇ seems to have been purposely omitted (cf. above, Vol. XX, p. 52; *A.R.Ep.*, 1910, App. C, No. 84).'
- .. 39, lines 24-25.—Read which correspond to 875 A.D., November 14, Monday
- .. 41, line 13.—For *of* read *dated*
- .. 43, para. 3.—Add note: 'The relationship between Kanishka and Huvishka is as yet unknown. The earliest inscription of Huvishka is dated in the year 28 of the Kushāṇa era.'
- .. 43, foot-note 2.—Add note. 'The name *Matsyagupta* seems to mean "protected by the Matsya incarnation of Viṣṇu".'
- .. 44, text, lines 1-2.—Add note: 'The reading seems to be: ... *gri* ... *vaḥār(i)ṇa* ... *gūṭ(i)ṇa* ... *Balhisāra*. The intended reading for *vaḥār* may be *vaḥārī*-Sanskrit *egamhārī* (cf. Lüders' List, p. 174, No. 140).'
- .. 47, foot-note 1, line 2.—Read *vinischitya*
- .. 47, foot-note 4.—Add see *JRAS*, 1932, pp. 4 ff.; *IBQ*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 293 ff.
- .. 48, lines 34-35.—Read *Gandharāḍhi* in the *Bauddh State*

- Page 48, foot-note 1.—For *Alchar* read *Alcharā*
- „ 49, foot-note 16, lines 4-5.—Read *Ḍombi-nāmakaś-ch-ōti*
- „ 51, line 3.—Read *R. G. Basak*
- „ 56, text, line 7.—For *jātakam-añka* read *jātakam-añka*
- „ 57, text, line 13.—For *śrīh* read *śrīh |*
- „ 57, text, line 16.—For *jan-āvidhāyab* read *jan-āvidhāyab |*
- „ 57, text, line 23.—For *gōcheha[ka]* read *gōchehha[ka]*
- „ 57, text, line 24.—For *gō-mahishy* read *gō-mahishy*
- „ 57, text, line 29.—For *yaśō-bhiva(vpi)ddhaya* read *yaśō-bhiva(vpi)ddhaya |*
- „ 57, text, line 30.—For *sōma-pūimah(nah)* read *sōma-pūimah(nah) |*
- „ 57, text, line 30.—For *Tad-anvayā* read *Tad-anvayā*
- „ 57, text, line 31.—For *dvijab* read *dvijab [|*]*
- „ 57, text, line 32.—For *antō-bhavat* read *antō-bhavat |*
- „ 57, text, line 33.—For *iv-āparab* read *iv-āparab [|*]*
- „ 57, foot-note 3.—For *gōchchaka* read *gōchchhaka*
- „ 58, text, line 35.—For *bhāshipā* read *bhāshipā |*
- „ 58, text, line 39.—For *vaundharān(m)* read *vaundharān(rām) |*
- „ 59, line 36.—For *respects* read *respect*
- „ 60, line 12.—For *as* read *to*
- „ 61, line 3.—For *date* read *dates*
- „ 61, lines 5-6.—For *Chiplun grant* read *Chiplun plates*
- „ 62, text, line 9.—For *nīlāśetra* read *nīlāśetra*
- „ 62, text, line 11.—For *śhv-asādhārāpa* read *śhv-asādhārāpa*
- „ 63, line 36.—For *Jaipur in the Ganjam District* read *Jaypore in the Kompat District*
- „ 71, line 30.—For *interests* read *interest*
- „ 73, line 28.—For *age* read *centuries*
- „ 75, text, line 3.—For *Bhōjānām-anva* read *Bhōjānām-anva**
- „ 75, text, line 4.—For *Kottipeggilin-ābhya* read *Kottipeggilin-ābhya**
- „ 75, text, line 10.—For *vaundharān* read *vaundharān(rām)*
- „ 77, foot-note 4.—Add note: 'The inscription actually records the gift of a Chaitya-griha by Pavaṭirā, daughter of Uhaparā, in favour of the Saṅgha and the Buddha. There are numerous cases of the use of the dative in the Prakrit inscriptions. The sentence *bhata-virayakī samāpito* means to say that the Chaitya-griha was constructed by workers (*virakas*) devoted (*bhaktā*) to the domatrix.'
- „ 81, line 14.—For *Dāṇḍavāsika* read *Dāṇḍavāsika*
- „ 84, foot-note 5.—Read *Dāṇḍavāsika*

- Page 89, foot-note 2, line 2.—*Read* Coll. (above Vol. XXVI, p. 38, note 5)
- „ 90, line 32.—*Read* from *śrāvāṇam*
- „ 92, translation, line 3.—*Read* *dēvadāṇa-brahmaśūnya*
- „ 92, translation, line 8.—*Read* *leśahurvataśtadēvar*
- „ 92, text, line 18.—*Omit* (*śiḍuvāṇ-sena*)
- „ 93, foot-note 5.—*Add note* : ‘ Lines 55-59 may be translated : “ This order will apply to all these 35 *pāṭalas* (of land), be it (*cultivated*) land or land (*covered with*) thorny shrubs.” ’
- „ 98, text, line 18.—*Read* *Taṭṭavalagayali*
- „ 100, foot-note 1, line 6.—*For* V., S. *read* V. S.
- „ 103, text, line 14.—*For* *kaṁbu(bu)* *read* *kaṁvu(bu)*
- „ 108, paragraphs 2 and 3.—*Add note* : ‘ For the date of the inscription, see now below, Vol. XXIX, p. 190, note.’
- „ 110, foot-note 1, line 2.—*Read* *(śaṁḍa)ḥkhamālā*
- „ 111, foot-note 6, line 1.—*For* *kāḍa* *read* *kāḍa*
- „ 112, line 5.—*For* *liḡga* *read* *liḡga*
- „ 112, lines 6 ff.—*Read* *Tuṣṭikāra*
- „ 113, text, line 21.—*For* *aya** *read* *aya**
- „ 114, text, line 39.—*For* *vu(bu)ḍhvā* *read* *vu(bu)ḍhvā(dḍhvā)*
- „ 115, line 10 *et passim*.—*For* *saṁyāsīn* *read* *saṁnyāsīn*
- „ 116, line 24.—*For* *saḍghaṭṭanōpalabhiha* *read* *saḍghaṭṭan-ōpalabhiha*
- „ 119, foot-note 6, lines 24-29.—*Read* *Vāg-dapḍo-’tha . . . kāya-dapḍas-’ath-siva cha*
mānavaḥ |
- „ 120, line 4.—*For* *vaiṇavam-dapḍam* *read* *vaiṇava-dapḍam*
- „ 124, foot-notes 3 and 5.—*Read* 3 *for* 5 *and* 5 *for* 3
- „ 126, line 7.—*For* *occur* *read* *occurs*
- „ 131, foot-note 4, line 2.—*Read* *A new History of the Indian People, Vol. VI*
- „ 133, text, line 2.—*For* *punḡā[nā’]m-parīrakṣaṇ** *read* *punḡā[nā’]m-parīrakṣaṇ**
- „ 133, foot-note 3, line 3.—*For* *saptamī* *read* *asptamī*
- „ 135, last line.—*For* *vochobhryāna[m]*-*Kaṭṭahārāma* *read* *vochobhryāna[m]* *Kaṭṭahārāma*
- „ 136, lines 1-3.—*Add note* : ‘ The reading and interpretation of the inscription are doubtful.’
- „ 137, line 17.—*Omit* that
- „ 137, foot-note 2.—*Read* ‘ *Kalingsanagara . . . Kalingsapattanam.* ’
- „ 144, foot-note 11, line 2.—*Read* Vol. XVII, p. 25
- „ 145, foot-note 2.—*Add note* : ‘ *Aḥuka* as a female name occurs in another inscription from Bihar (*A.R.Ep.*, 1955-56, App. B, No. 149).’

Page 145, foot-note 9.—*Add note :* ' In the Gaudiya or Proto-Bengali alphabet there is often no difference between the signs for medial *u* and subscript *u* (cf. below, Vol. XXX, p. 52, note 1) and often the same sign looks either like the *ā-mātrā* of the previous consonant or the *i-mātrā* of the following akṣara. The second characteristic is often noticed in the early medieval epigraphs in Nāgarī as well (cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 309).'

- .. 150, foot-note 5.—*For 27 read 127*
- .. 151, line 1.—*Read Puruṣottama*
- .. 151, line 2.—*Read Talahāri*
- .. 153, text, line 17.—*For samāhṛta read samāhṛita*
- .. 156, line 7.—*For single read single-handed*
- .. 171.—*Read lines 34-40 after line 26.*
- .. 175, foot-note 3, line 3.—*For drāma read ārāma*
- .. 176, line 1.—*For south-east read south-eastern*
- .. 177, line 1.—*Read lotus feet*
- .. 177, line 2.—*For Māthara read the Māthara*
- .. 177, line 17.—*For matronymic read metronymic*
- .. 178, text, line 11.—*For yushmābhi² read yushmābhu²*
- .. 178, foot-note 4, line 6.—*For i. read p.*
- .. 178, foot-note 4, line 9.—*For an read in*
- .. 178, foot-note 4, line 11.—*Add note :* ' As *Sandhi* is optional in prose composition, the composer could have written "*varuṣā Andō*" which is apparently the reading intended.'
- .. 178, foot-note 5, line 2.—*For perfectly read is perfectly*
- .. 179, text, line 14.—*For manu read Manu*
- .. 179, text, line 17.—*For mahim² read mahim²*
- .. 179, foot-note 6.—*For Surāṣṭrīā read Surāṣṭra*
- .. 180, line 13 *et passim*.—*Add note :* ' For the date of the Bhauma-Kara kings, see now below, Vol. XXIX, p. 180, note.'
- .. 182, foot-note 2.—*Add :* ' See below, Vol. XXIX, p. 27, text, line 2.'
- .. 183, foot-note 9.—*For Mālini read Mālinī*
- .. 184, lines 3-5.—*For Mātrikā read Mātrikā*
- .. 193, line 22.—*Read Pannāḍi-raṇā. Add note :* ' *Raṇā* or *Mahārāṇā* is the family name of a class of Oriya artisans. Pannāḍi belonged to this community.'
- .. 193, line 25.—*Omit the sentence :* ' Pannāḍi-raṇā... Pannāḍi.'
- .. 195, line 27.—*For has been read have been*
- .. 198, line 4.—*For diameters read diameter*
- .. 199, line 20.—*For Sēndrakan read Sēndraka*
- .. 201, text.—*Add note :* ' There are some inaccuracies in the transcript.'

- Page 202, text, line 20.—For *yaśa(sa)ś=cha* read *yaśa(sa*)ś=cha*
- „ 205, text, line 31.—*Add note* : 'The contraction *de* may stand for Sanskrit *deṣiṣā* so that the reference is to the second of the two *Āshādhas* (including intercalary *Āshādha*) in the year in question.'
- „ 209, text.—*Add note* : 'There are some inaccuracies in the transcript.'
- „ 213, lines 26 and 31.—For *Siddhagauri* read *Sindhagauri*
- „ 214, line 5.—*Read* *Dharaṣkota* plates]
- „ 215, line 2.—For *tatthākāra* read *tatthakāra*
- „ 215, text, line 7.—For *vaikarttana* read *Vaikarttana*
- „ 216, text, line 30.—*Read* *tatthakār-Āghāka*
- „ 229, line 36.—For *Uttacole* read *Namasannapeṭa*
- „ 235, text, line 16.—For *mahi* read *mahi*²
- „ 237, line 26.—*Read* *Chaitra-kūḍi* 9
- „ 238, genealogical tables.—*Read* 6, *Vajrahaṣṭa II Aniyukabhūma* (*Anangabhūma I*)
- „ 239, line 18.—*Read* in the later records of his grandson
- „ 240, foot-note 2.—*Read* *Śamarāditya* for *Bālāditya* and *Pātānkuśa* for *Jitānkuśa*. *Add note* : 'See *A. R. Ep.*, 1935-36, p. 61.'
- „ 246, foot-note 1, line 2.—*Read* *ś(ś)uṣṭy-Allāla*
- „ 249, text, line 3.—*Read* *Śambhu-Vra(Bra)hṃa*
- „ 249, text, line 8.—*Read* *samabha(va*)nīṣ(vatn-tā)*²
- „ 249, text, line 11.—*Read* *saṅkīrttanam(nam)*
- „ 249, foot-note 1.—*Add* For errors in the transcript, see below, Vol. XXXI, p. 249, note 2.
- „ 250, foot-note 10.—*Read* **ñ-chiraṃ*
- „ 252, text, line 57.—*Read* *praviḍḍha-ki*²
- „ 255, text, line 102.—*Read* *dig-gajānāṃ*
- „ 262, text, line 8.—For *krīmad* read *krīmad*
- „ 262, foot-note 3, line 2.—*Read* there is
- „ 263, text, line 21.—*Read* *Vaṣḍatūṅga*². *Add note* : 'Vaṣḍatūṅga may be identified with modern Bāṣatumbh where the inscription was discovered (cf. *Or. Hist. Res. Journ.*, Vol. I, part iv, p. 267).'
- „ 266, text.—*Add note* : 'There are some inaccuracies in the transcript.'
- „ 266, text, line 19.—For *mahi* read *mahi*
- „ 277, foot-note 1.—*Add note* : 'There is no metrical defect in the emendation if the last long syllable is taken as short (cf. *Kale, Higher Sanskrit Grammar*, Appendix, pp. 1-3; *Apte, Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, p. 1035).'

- Page 282, foot-notes 3 and 4.—*Add note* : 'The long syllable at the end of the feet in the stanzas in question has been regarded as short (cf. Kala, *Higher Sanskrit Grammar*, App., pp. 1-2; Apte, *Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, p. 1035).'
- " 282, foot-note 10.—*For* ²ānuvarāya *read* ²ānuptavarāya
- " 284, foot-note 3, line 3.—*Read* the *drīja-rāja*
- " 287, line 13.—*For* Sāmśvaradēva *read* Sūmśvaradēva
- " 294, line 17.—*For* Dēśiya *read* Dēśiya
- " 300, last para.—*Add note* : 'The duplication of Umavarman seems to be unwarranted.'
- " 300, foot-note 4.—*Add note* : 'Viśākḥavarman cannot be regarded as the son of Umavarman on the ground that Viśākḥa is represented in Hindu mythology as the son of Umā. We know that Budhagupta was not a son of Chandragupta in spite of the mythological representation of Chandra as the father of Buddha.'
- " 302, text, line 3.—*Read* samavētān=ku²
- " 302, text, line 9.—*Add note* : 'Some words of the passage *dharmakrama-nikramābhyām-anuṣṭāna-yōgād-anūṣṭāna mahim-anuṣṭānam-idaṁ dānam* are omitted in the original.'
- " 302, text, line 11.—*Read* rasudhā
- " 302, text, line 12.—*Read* bhūmī[s*]-tasya
- " 302, text, line 15.—*For* kri² *read* kṛi²
- " 303, lines 5-6.—*Read* the grant portion of the inscription inscribed on plates VI-VII
- " 303, line 8.—*Read* Jagannātha temple
- " 303, line 9.—*Read* seven plates; but
- " 305, line 9.—*For* kar *read* kari
- " 305, line 16.—*For* rājyaru-a *read* rājyaru e
- " 307, line 43.—*Read* (mudhya kari)
- " 308, line 36.—*Read* approximately
- " 308, foot-note 4, line 1.—*Read* ink or point
- " 309, text, line 7.—*Read* sa(n*)dhivigraha
- " 312, text, line 23.—*Read* śabham=astu
- " 317, line 19.—*For* has *read* have
- " 317, line 32.—*For* incidently *read* incidentally
- " 320, text, line 12.—*For* dhanaṁ *read* dhanaṁ(nam)
- " 321, line 19.—*Read* put in. The reasons
- " 321, line 20.—*Read* now apparent." is a note
- " 322, line 35.—*For* does not *read* do not
- " 331, foot-note 7.—*For* drāngika *read* drāṅgika
- " 332, foot-note 5.—*For* pēḍā-pāla *read* pēḍā-pāla

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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No. 1—NAGARDHAN PLATES OF SVAMIRAJA

(1 Plate).

V. V. MIRASHI, AMRAOTI

These copper-plates were discovered in 1948 at **Nagardhan**, a small village, about 5 miles south of Ramtek, the chief town of a taluk of the same name in the Nagpur District. Shri Hiralal, Upasrao Mahadule of Nagardhan, who obtained possession of the plates, handed them over to me for decipherment. I am obliged to him for permission to publish this interesting record.

They are **three copper-plates**, each measuring 7·9" in length and 4·1" in breadth. The first and third are inscribed on one side and the second on both the sides. The plates are held together by a ring, $\frac{1}{4}$ " in thickness and 2" in diameter, on which slides a small circular band with a rectangular seal measuring 1·2" by 1" soldered to it. The surface of the seal is divided into two almost equal parts by a horizontal line. The upper part contains a symbol, apparently a goat, lying horizontally, while the lower has the legend *Gaya-dattih* 'A gift of the Corporation', inscribed in the same characters as the grant. The plates together weigh 67½ *tolas* and the ring and the seal 2½ *tolas*. This mode of stringing the plates together resembles that of the Vākātaka grants, though the seal here is rectangular, not round as in the latter grants. The plates are in a state of good preservation and there is no uncertainty in the reading of any part of the text.

The record consists of 26 lines, which are evenly divided on the four inscribed faces of the three plates. The characters are of the box-headed variety, the boxes at the top of letters being scooped out hollow. They are very beautifully formed, being more cursive and round than those of the Vākātaka grants. They resemble very closely the characters of Early Gāṅga grants of the sixth or seventh century A.C. As regards individual letters we may note the forms of initial *a* which occurs in ll. 8, 14, 19, 24 and 27, of initial *ś* in l. 13 and of initial *au* in l. 10. The right stroke of *l*, which is mostly vertical in Vākātaka grants, sharply turns to the left and encircles the letter as in later records of the Kalachuris and the Gujjaras of Gujarat, see *Śastri*, l. 2; a final consonant is indicated by its small size, see *Nāndivardhana*, l. 1; punctuation is generally indicated by a small horizontal stroke, but in some cases by two vertical strokes, the first of which is sporadically hooked at the top.

The language is Sanskrit and except for two verses at the end in ll. 24-27, the record is in prose. As regards orthography, the only peculiarities that call for notice are the use of *ri* for the medial vowel *ri* in *bhṛīri*, l. 2 and *nīrīkṛtṣ*, l. 20; of the guttural nasal *ṇ* for *ṇaṇḍa* in *doṇḍiṇḍ*, l. 25, and of *anḍaṇḍa* for final *a* in *drāṇḍikāḍiṇ*, l. 3. In other respects the record is remarkably free from errors of orthography, though in places it is not altogether devoid of uncertainty of meaning.

The plates were issued from **Nāndivardhana** by Nannarāja who mediated on the feet of his brother, the illustrious Svāmīrāja, during whose reign the grant was made.¹ Svāmīrāja also

¹ See, e.g., the Jirjāgi plates of Indravarman, Gāṅga year 30 (A. C. 537-38), above, Vol. XXV, pp. 281-8, and plate 1 and Tekkali plates of Indravarman, Gāṅga year 164 (A. C. 652-653), *ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 507-11, and plate. The Gāṅga era began in Śaka 420 (A. D. 498) as shown by me, above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 226-30. [A. C. and A. D. both stand for the Christian era.—Ed.]

² This is shown by the word *kaṭṭ* 'in good health' applied to Svāmīrāja, in l. 2.

is described as meditating on the feet of a *Bhāṭāraka*, or lord paramount, which indicates his feudatory status. Neither the family to which the prince belonged, nor the suzerain to whom they owed allegiance, is mentioned in the present grant. No ancestors of Svāmīrāja have been named. In all these respects the present grant resembles those of the *Mahārājas* of Khandesh.¹

The object of the inscription appears to be to record two gifts—(i) one of twelve *vivartanas* of land in the village Chīṣhapattikā which was made at the request of the President (*Sihavira*) and Members of the Executive Committee (*Prasuktas*) of the assembly (*Samāha*) of the Corporation (*Gana*) Mahāmātragaṇa, and (ii) the other of the village Āṅkōlīkā which was made by Nannarāja (or perhaps by Svāmīrāja) on his own account near Chaṭuka Vajra² situated in the stream of the Gaṅgā on the occasion of an eclipse which occurred on the new-moon day of Chaitra in the cyclic year Āshāḍha. The donated village Āṅkōlīkā was situated on the right bank of the river Śūla, to the west of the *agrahāra* of Achalapura and to the east of Śrī-Parpikā. The donees were certain Brāhmanas of the White and Black Yajurvedas and of the Sāmaveda. The inscription contains another date at the end when the plates were issued, viz., the fifth *tithi* (expressed by a symbol) of the bright half of Kārttika in the year three hundred and twenty-two (expressed in words) of an unspecified era. The engraver was the Kshatriya Durgāditya, the son of Chandra.

The present record is interesting in several respects and sheds important light on the history of Vidarbha in the post-Vākātaka age. As stated before, the royal family to which Svāmīrāja and Nannarāja belonged is not specified in the present grant, but since these names occur in two early Rāshtrakūṭa records discovered in Vidarbha, viz., Tivarakhād³ and Multāi⁴ plates, with the slight change of Svāmīrāja into Svāmīkarāja, it seems very likely that the princes mentioned here also belonged to the same lineage. Nay, *prima facie*, it appeared quite plausible that Svāmīrāja and Nannarāja of the present plates were identical with Svāmīkarāja and Nannarāja mentioned in the aforementioned two Rāshtrakūṭa grants. The date of the present record seemed also to lend colour to this view; for the year 322 mentioned in it, if referred to the Gupta era, would correspond to A. C. 641-42 which is not very remote from Śaka 553 (A. C. 631), the date of the Tivarakhād plates of Nannarāja. A close examination of the aforementioned Rāshtrakūṭa grants and their dates, however, soon convinced me that the identification is untenable. I shall now proceed to state my reasons for this view.

As stated before, two grants of the Rāshtrakūṭa Nannarāja discovered in Vidarbha have been published, viz., the Tivarakhād plates, dated Śaka 553 (A. C. 631-32) and the Multāi plates dated Śaka 631 (A. C. 709-10). The genealogy and, to some extent, the wording of the two grants are identical, but there is a difference of 78 years between the two dates. The two grants were, therefore, in all probability, not made by the same ruler; for a reign of more than 78 years is extremely unlikely. Dr. Altekar has already discussed this question in his work on the Rāshtrakūṭas.⁵ He has concluded that the Multāi plates were spurious on the following grounds:—‘The genealogy

¹ See the Indore grants of Svāmīdāsa dated (K.) 67 and Bhūrupda dated (K.) 107 and the Śarpur grant of Rudradāsa dated (K.) 167. These grants have been shown by me to have been dated in the Kalachuri era (A. B. O. R. I., Vol. XXV, pp. 159-68). They therefore belong to the fourth and fifth centuries A. C.

² The grant was apparently made at the *śikhaṅga-roṭa* near the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. It is also possible that the grant was actually made by Svāmīrāja and was only recorded by his brother Nannarāja. For a similar grant made at Prayāga at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā by a ruling king of Vidarbha and recorded afterwards by his relative at Nandivardhana, see the Rāshpur plates of Bhojradatta-varman, above, Vol. XIX, pp. 100 f.

³ Above, Vol. XI, pp. 276 f.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 230 f.

⁵ Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, pp. 6 f.

of the Multāi plates starts in verse, but after the first verse there is a sudden break. A sentence in prose follows, but the concluding portion of it, *tasyātmavāda-ātmavāda* is again the fragment of a verse.¹ These reasons are not quite convincing; for similar mixture of prose and verse is noticed in several genuine ancient grants. They, however, led Dr. Altekar to regard the date of the Multāi plates as suspicious. I also adopted this view in my article on the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānapura and taking the date A.C. 631 of the Tivarakhēḍ plates as genuine, I suggested that Gōvindarāja mentioned in the plates as the grandfather of Nannarāja flourished in *circa* A.C. 590-610 and was thus probably identical with Gōvinda who, as mentioned in the Aihole inscription, invaded the territory north of the Bhimarathi at the time of Pulakēśin II's accession. I suggested further that the great Chālukya Emperor Pulakēśin II placed Gōvindarāja's successor Svāmikarāja in charge of Berar when he conquered it from the Kalachuri Buddharāja.² These conclusions will now have to be revised in the light of the information derived from the present plates.

A close examination of the two aforementioned Rāshtrakūṭa grants has convinced me that the Tivarakhēḍ plates are spurious. My reasons are as follows—(i) The text of the Tivarakhēḍ plates is very corrupt. The mixture of fragments of prose and verse appears in it in a more flagrant manner than in the Multāi plates. (ii) The inscription purports to record two grants in favour of the same Brāhmana, Muṇḍibhatṭa,—one made by the Rāshtrakūṭa Nannarāja on Mahā-Kārtiki (full-moon *tithi* of Kārtika), and the other by Śaṅkaragaṇa³ of an unspecified lineage, on the occasion of a solar eclipse. There is, however, no mention of Śaṅkaragaṇa in the genealogical portion of the grant. Besides, there was no Śaṅkaragaṇa ruling in Berar in Śaka 553 (A.C. 631-32) when the plates purport to have been issued.⁴ There was, again, no solar eclipse before Kārtika in Śaka 553. There were, however, two in the previous year Śaka 552—one in Śrāvaṇa and the other in Māgha. It is stated at the end that the gift was recorded when eight months of the Śaka year 553 had expired. We shall therefore have to suppose that the grant, made on the occasion of the solar eclipse in Māgha in Śaka 552, remained unrecorded for nearly nine months. No reason is stated for this unusual delay. (iii) The date of the plates is recorded in decimal figures as 553.⁵ As I have shown elsewhere,⁶ the decimal notation came to be used in Mahārāṣṭra in the last quarter of the eighth century A.D., the earliest genuine instance of it, so far known, being the Dhūlla grant of the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Karkarāja, dated Śaka 701 (A.C. 779-80). The Tivarakhēḍ plates which purport to belong to the second quarter of the seventh century A.C. could not therefore have been dated in decimal figures.

The Tivarakhēḍ plates thus appear to be spurious. This conclusion is corroborated by the recent discovery, in the Akola District of Berar, of another set of plates issued by the same Rāshtrakūṭa Nannarāja.⁷ These plates, in their formal portion, closely agree with the Multāi plates. They are dated in Śaka 615 (A.C. 693-94). This date plainly shows that the Multāi plates are genuine; for there is a difference of only 16 years between the dates of the two grants made by the same king Nannarāja, which is not unusual.

¹ *A. B. O. R. J.*, Vol. XXV, p. 87.

² *Samskṛtaśāstra* in I. 9 of the Tivarakhēḍ plates is evidently a mistake for Śaṅkaragaṇa. For a similar mistake see *Bhāṣāṭīkā* on *Bhāṣāṭīkā* in I. 1 of the Rāshtrakūṭa plates, above, Vol. XIX, p. 102.

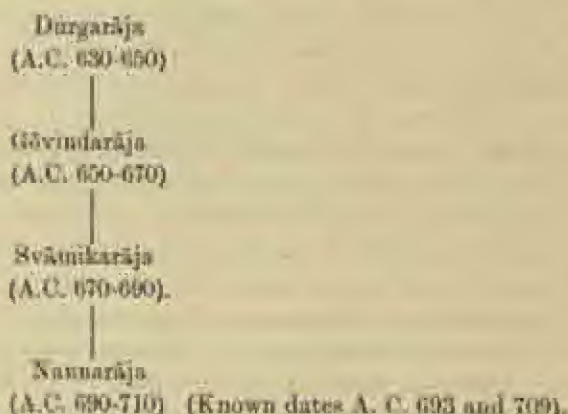
³ The only Śaṅkaragaṇa who is known to have flourished in this period belonged to the Kalachuri dynasty. He however closed his reign in c. A. C. 600. Two grants of his successor Buddharāja, dated K. 360 and K. 361 (A. C. 610) have been discovered. See above, Vol. XII, pp. 30 f. and VI, pp. 294 f.

⁴ The year is specified in words in text line 15-16, and the corresponding numerals occur, one below the other, on the left-hand margin of the plate, at the commencement of text lines 12-14. The figures recording the date are not 'after additions' as supposed by Hirah. The form of the figures 5 is as in the Sāmānta plates of Dantidurga. *J. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 108 ff.

⁵ *Journal of Ganapati Sth. Research Institute*, Vol. I, pp. 381 f.

⁶ These plates were discovered in a village near Akola. It is No. 59 of the copper-plate inscriptions, *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 1949-50*.

The Multāi grant being thus proved to be genuine, the Tivarakhēḍ grant, which though purporting to be made by the same king Nannarāja, is dated 78 years earlier, must be held to be spurious. The approximate reign-periods of the Rāshtrakūṭa princes mentioned in the Multāi and the Vatapuraka grant of Nannarāja discovered near Akōḷā may therefore be stated as follows—



We have seen above that the year 322 of the present plates, if referred to the Gupta era, would correspond to A.C. 641-42. But there were no kings named Svāmīrāja and Nannarāja ruling in Berar in that period, as shown above. Besides, apart from the difference in their age, the princes Svāmīrāja and Nannarāja could not have been identical with the two rulers mentioned in the Multāi plates: for (i) Svāmīrāja was probably different from Svāmīkarāja as the latter name occurs invariably in this form in all the three grants—two genuine and one spurious—of Nannarāja; and (ii) Nannarāja is mentioned in the present plates as the brother of Svāmīrāja, while Nannarāja of the three other grants was the son of Svāmīkarāja.

The date of the present grant is thus not recorded in the Gupta era. There is one other circumstance which supports this conclusion. The plates state in ll. 14-15 that the grant of Nannarāja was made on the occasion of a (solar) eclipse on Chaitra *amācāṣṭhī* in the cyclic year *Āśvādha*. This year was evidently of the twelve year cycle of Jupiter. The system of citing the years of this cycle was current in early times and continued till the sixth century A.C.¹ In North India five such dates with the word *śaṭhī* prefixed to the name of the year were discovered in the grants of the Parivrājaka *Mahārāja* Hastin and Saṅkshobha, from which Fleet and Sh. B. Dikshit calculated the epoch of the Gupta era. Some more dates of the same type have since been discovered. In South India some dates of this kind have been discovered in the records of the Early Rāshtrakūṭas² Kadambas³ and kings of Kālīṅga⁴ but they do not admit of verification, in the absence of details necessary for calculation. The present grant is thus unique in that it mentions such details together with the name of the cyclic year and the date of an era. Let us see whether these details work out regularly for any of the known eras.

If the year 322 is referred to the Gupta era, it would, as stated above, correspond to A.C. 641-42. But there was no solar eclipse in the *amānta* or *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra of that year. Besides, the cyclic year was *Phālguna*, not *Āśvādha* as stated in the grant.⁵ The nearest solar eclipse in Chaitra

¹ The last known date of this type is G. 209 (A.C. 528) which occurs in the Khoh grant of the Parivrājaka *Mahārāja* Saṅkshobha.

² See my article on the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānapura. *A. R. O. E. I.*, Vol. XXV, p. 42.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 35 f.; Vol. VI, pp. 24 f.

⁴ See Siripuram plates of Anantavarman, *ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 47 f.

⁵ This is according to the mean-sun system. See Cunningham, *Indica Star*, p. 156. The year according to the heliacal rising system also would be the same according to the calculations of Dr. K. L. Dastgir of Nagpur.

occurred on the 21st March A.C. 638, but then too the cyclic year was Mārgaśīrṣa, not Āshāḍhā. Again, there is no evidence that the Gupta era was ever current in Vidarbha or, for the matter of that, anywhere else in Mahārāṣṭra. For all these reasons the date 322 of the present grant cannot be referred to the Gupta era.

The only other era to which this date can be referred is the Kalachuri era which, as I have shown elsewhere, was current in the neighbouring districts of Khandesh¹ and Nasik.² Let us see if the details work out satisfactorily for this era.

The epoch which suits early dates of the Kalachuri era is A.D. 248-49.* If the year 322 is referred to this era, it should be equivalent to A.D. 570-71 or 571-72 according as it was current or expired. But in neither of these years was there a solar eclipse in the *amānta* or *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra. There was, however, one in the immediately following year A.D. 573, on the 19th March, which was the *amāvāsya* of the *amānta* Chaitra. The year of the twelve-year cycle was also Āshāḍhā according to the mean-sign system. The agreement of these three details, viz., the solar eclipse, the lunar month and the cyclic year shows that the **19th March A.D. 573 is undoubtedly the correct date of the grant.** The palaeography of the grant also supports this date, for, as stated before, the characters of the grant closely resemble those of the early Gāṅga grants and must therefore be referred to the sixth century A.C. Besides, the wording of the formal portion of the present grant shows that it must be classed with such early grants as those of the *Mahārājās* of Khandesh, Subāndhu of Māhishmati and the *Traikūṭakas* of Western Mahārāṣṭra.

As stated above, the epoch of A.C. 248-49 does not hold good in the present case. Supposing the year of the present grant to be *Kārtikādi* and expired as in most other early dates, the epoch of the era applicable in the present case should be A.D. 250-51. The solar eclipse in Chaitra when the grant was made must have occurred in the *Kārtikādi* Kalachuri year 321. The *amāvāsya* of the *amānta* Chaitra in the expired year 321 fell, according to this proposed epoch of A.D. 250-51, on the 19th March A.D. 573. On this day there was a solar eclipse visible in India and the *Bīrha-sputya samantara* was Āshāḍhā as stated in the grant.

But, it may be asked, have we any other date of the Kalachuri era to which this new epoch of A.D. 250-51 is applicable? In reply to such a question, I would refer to the date of the Ellōrā grant of Dantidurga. This date has been read as Monday, the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright half of Āsvina in the year 663 of an unspecified era.* This year has been referred to the Śaka era. The details of the date do not, however, work out satisfactorily either for Śaka 663 current or for Śaka 663 expired. The date is thus irregular. It is, therefore, doubtful if it really refers to the Śaka era at all. A close examination of the wording of the date strengthens the suspicion. The date is given as follows—*Sam 660 60 3 Aśvayuja buddha trayoḍaśyām Sāmanvārē*. This is, however, not the usual mode of citing dates of the Śaka era. In all early Śaka dates whether occurring in the records of the Early Chūlukyas or the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, there is a clear reference to the Śakas or to the Śaka kings. See, for instance, the wording of the following Śaka dates from Mahārāṣṭra preceding and following the date Śaka 663 in question—

- (i) Śaka 603—Jējuri Plates of Vinayāditya (above, Vol. XIX, p. 64)—*Nag-ottara-shat-tatishu Śaka-uvabishv-utishu*.
- (ii) Śaka 680—Poona Plates of Kṛṣṇarāja I (B. I. S. M. Q., Vol. VIII, pp. 165 f.) *Śaka-uripati-samvatsara-jata-shatē aṣṭy-uttarē Hēmalamba-zamvatsarē Aśvayuj-āndoi-syāyām Sūrya-grahayē*.

¹ See my article 'An ancient dynasty of Khandesh' in *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 160 f.

² See the Añjanōri plates of Bhagabakti, dated K, 461, above, Vol. XXV, pp. 225 f.

³ See my article 'The Epoch of the Kalachuri-Chōli Era' in *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 18 f.

* Above, Vol. XXV, p. 31.

- (iii) Śaka 690—Talegaon Plates of Kṛishṇa I (above, Vol. XIII, p. 270)—Śaka-*śrīpati-
sūmāśvara-śata-śha(kṛ) nāṇty-uta(ha)rē Plavaṅga-varaḥ Vaiśākḥ-śmāśrīpim-
Aditya-grahe.*

Several dates of a similar type can be cited. In his examination of the dates of the Śaka era Kielhorn also noticed this peculiarity.¹ Says he, 'What strikes one at once in looking over the dates of the lists, and what distinguishes these dates in a remarkable manner from those of the other principal eras, is this that, with insignificant exceptions, all are explicitly referred to the era to which they belong. Of the 400 dates of my chronological list only five do not contain the word *Śaka* or its derivative *Śāka*.' And even in regard to the five dates Kielhorn showed that the absence of the word *Śaka* was due to the exigencies of the metre, spuriousness of the record or doubtful reading. This explicit reference to the Śakas or Śaka kings in the dates was quite necessary; for there were then two eras current in Mahārāṣṭra, viz., the Kalachuri era and the Śaka era. The latter had therefore to be clearly specified to prevent confusion.

Since the date of the Ellōrā plate contains no reference to the Śakas or Śaka kings, it is plainly *not* in the Śaka era. A close examination of the numerical symbols reveals that the reading of the year is incorrect. The first symbol, which consists of a sign for 100 followed by another² denoting 4, evidently stands for 400, not for 600. The date is thus 463 which must be referred to the Kalachuri era. The usual epoch of A.D. 248-49 which is seen to hold good in the case of other early Kalachuri dates does not suit this date; for, according to it, the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina in the current year K. 463 fell on a Saturday (the 17th September, A.C. 712) and in the expired year K. 463 on a Friday (the 6th September, A.C. 713). In either case it will have to be regarded as irregular, as it did not fall on a Monday. But if we apply the epoch of A.C. 250-51 suggested by the grant under consideration, the date becomes regular; for according to that epoch, the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina in the expired Kalachuri year 463 ended at 1 h. 45 m. on the 16th September, A.D. 715 which was a Monday as required. These two grants thus show that the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chādi era at least in some parts of Mahārāṣṭra was A.C. 250-51.³

The grant under discussion is unique in another respect. It is the only grant dated in the Kalachuri era which has been found in Vidarbha. The earlier grants of the Vākāṭakas found in Vidarbha were dated in regnal years while the later ones of the Bāhadrakūṭas are recorded in the Śaka era. The present grant which belongs to the intervening period is dated in the Kalachuri era evidently because that era had spread to Vidarbha with the extension of Kalachuri power. The unnamed overlord of Srāṇṣṭrāja was probably the Kalachuri Kṛishṇarāja (circa A.C. 550-575). It is noteworthy that the silver coins of this Kalachuri Emperor have been discovered at several places in Vidarbha, viz., at Dhāmori in the Amravati District and Pattan in the Betul District.

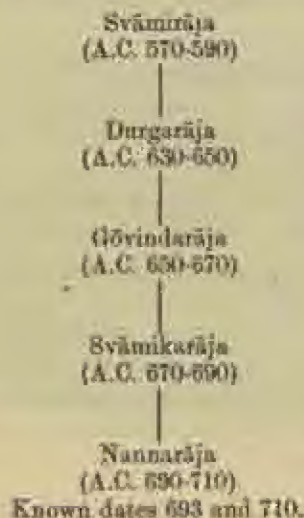
¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 148.

² This sign is a curious combination of the symbols for 4 and 6. Its upper portion which contains a loop resembles the symbol for 6, while the lower portion which has the shape of 4 clearly shows that it was intended to signify 4. Except for the loop in the upper portion, the symbol closely resembles that for 4 used in the Kankar plates of Allakatti.

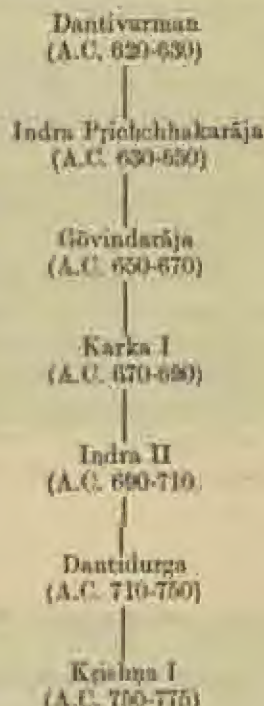
³ From a large number of later Kalachuri dates Kielhorn showed that the epoch of the Kalachuri era was A.C. 247-48, but two early dates presented difficulties which he acknowledged in a foot-note to his *List of Northern Inscriptions*, Ep. Ind. Vol. V, Appendix. From several other dates discovered since then, I have shown that the epoch which suitably dates is A.C. 248-49 and I have reconciled the two epochs on the hypothesis that the current years of the era were wrongly supposed to be expired when the era was introduced by the Kalachuris in North India. The commencement of the era thus seems to be antedated by one year. See *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 34 f.

This Rāshtrakūṭa family of Vidarbha, which owed allegiance first to the Kalachuris and then to the Early Chālukya, must be distinguished from the family of Dantivarman which was originally ruling over Mālaka (Aurangabad District).¹ That the two families were ruling contemporaneously and not successively will appear from the following chronological table :—

The Rāshtrakūṭas of Vidarbha.



The Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālaka.



The family of Dantivarman attained imperial status after overthrowing the Early Chālukyas and soon extended its sway to Vidarbha. The earliest record of this family found in Vidarbha is the grant of Kṛishṇarāja I, dated Śaka 694 (A.C. 772), discovered at Bhāndak in the Chanda District. The Rāshtrakūṭas of Vidarbha then sank to a feudatory status and probably ruled from Achalapura² (Ellichpur). We find occasional references to their conflicts with the imperial house of Māyakhṣa.

The present grant is interesting in several other respects also. It is one of the few copper-plate grants to which a *Gopa* (Corporation) is seen to have affixed its own seal. The corporation was

¹ The earliest genuine records of this family, viz., the Ellōrā plates and the Daḍkavāṭra Cave inscription—both of the reign of Dantidurga—have been discovered in the Aurangabad District. The Nānāgaḍ plates of Dantidurga found in the Kolhapur State are spurious. To the reasons stated by Drs. Sukthankar and Bhandarkar may be added this, that the date of the plates is given in decimal figures. See above, p. 2.

² Nāndivardhana from where the present plates were issued may have been their earlier capital. It was previously the capital of the Vākṣatakas and then of the Nala kings, Bhaxadattavarman and Arthajit. Later on the capital may have been shifted to Achalapura (modern Ellichpur in the Amravati District). The Tirachhed plates of Nannarāja were issued from Achalapura, but, as shown above, they are spurious. His Multāi plates mention no place of issue. The plates recently discovered in the Akola District were issued by Nannarāja from Padmanagara which may be identical with Padmapura mentioned in an unfinished plate of the Vākṣatakas and in Sanskrit literature as the ancestral home of Bhavabhūta. Later references to this branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas as well as the description of a fight in the *Pāṇḍyaśāstrakāṇḍī* suggest that its capital was at Achalapura. See also *Jed. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XV, pp. 311 f.

of Elephant-riders (*Mahāmātra*).¹ Its President was called *Sthavara*² and the members of the Executive Committee, who seem to have numbered twelve, *Pramukha*.³ The assembly of the Corporation was called *Samūha*.⁴ The *gopa* evidently consisted of elephant-riders;⁵ for one of the elders was called *Pila-pati* (Chief of the Elephant Force) and another was *Hasti-caudya* (Physician of Elephants). The Corporation had apparently no authority to make any grants of land; for it had to request the ruling prince to make one on their behalf, but it was allowed to affix its own seal containing its own peculiar emblem of a goad.⁶ This shows that it wielded considerable power in the State.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, *Nāndivardhana* from which the plates were issued has already been identified with Nagardhan. This identification has been corroborated by the discovery of the present record. Another name of the place is said to have been Nandardhan which corresponds to Nandivardhana. There is a small village named Nandipuri, about a mile south by east of Nagardhan which may represent ancient Nandivardhana. *Achalapura* is usually identified with Ellichpur in the Amraoti District, but there is no river named *Śūlanadi* flowing by its side. The *Achalapura* mentioned in the present plates as an *agrahāra* village was probably situated not far from Nandivardhana. The *Śūlanadi* on the bank of which it lay is probably identical with the river *Sūr* which flows only about 10 miles east of Nagardhan.⁷ *Āṅkōṇikā* which was situated on the bank of the *Śūlanadi* may be identical with modern Aroli, on the right bank of the *Sūr*, about 8 miles south by east of Nagardhan, but there are no places corresponding to *Achalapura* and *Śrī-Parāikā* in its vicinity. *Chitāchapaṭṭikā* is probably represented by the village *Chūshāl*, about a mile and a half, north by east of Nagardhan.

TEXT*

First Plate

१ ओम् [१*] स्वस्ति [१*] नान्दीवर्द्धनात्^{1*} [१*] भट्टारकपादानुदघातः परमसहेश्वरः श्रीम्बानि-

२ राजः कुशलौ । तदनुदघातप्राप्ति(त्)नन्दराजः सर्वानिव स्वाग्राजम्बानो-

¹ The Marathi word *māhāt* meaning an elephant driver is derived from *mahāmātra* (Peckitt, *Mahātāra*).

² *Sthavara* seems to be used in the same sense as *Jethoda* of which it is a synonym. The latter term occurs in the *Jātaka* as the head of a corporation.

³ The Indur Copper plate inscription uses *pramukha* in the sense of *pramukha*. Cf. *I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 70 text line 8.

⁴ For *samūha* meaning the assembly of the *gopa*, see *Bhikṣupati-smṛiti*, XVII, 30.

⁵ It is noteworthy that Viśvarūpa, the oldest commentator of the *Yāgyavalkya-smṛiti* explains *gopa* as a corporation of elephant-drivers and others. Cf. *vinik-samūhagṛanth, śāstrya-vāda-vāda-samūha śmṛiti*, Viśvarūpa on Y. 8., II, 196.

⁶ For another grant to which the Corporation of *Mahāmātra* has affixed its seal, see the Benares plates of Harisija; *Translations of the All-India Oriental Conference*, Twelfth Session, pp. 560 f. This seal also contains the emblem of a goad (not a flag-staff as stated by the editor). In this case the plates also were issued by the Corporation, though the grant was made with the consent of the reigning king and his chief queen.

⁷ This river is called *Sarasvatī* in L. 39 of the Banter Stone Inscriptions of the time of Rāmathandra, above, Vol. XXV, p. 16. The name of the river seems to have changed from *Śūlanadi* to *Sarasvatī* in the course of the seven centuries that separate these two records.

⁸ From the original plates and ink impressions kindly supplied by Shri V. K. Agar, Superintendent, Government Press, Nagpur.

* Expressed by a symbol.

^{1*} The place is called *नान्दीवर्द्धन* in the Prabhavali-gupta (above, Vol. XV, pp. 41 f.) and the Bhoja plates of Pravarasena II (above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 390 f.). In two other grants (viz., Rihapur plates of Bhārataśarmā, above, Vol. XIX, pp. 100 f. and Kothānka grant of Pravarasena II, above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 155 f.) the place-name appears as *नान्दीवर्द्धन*.

i.

2 2
4 4
6 6

ii, a.

8 8
10 10
12 12
14 14

ii, b.

16 16
18 18
20 20

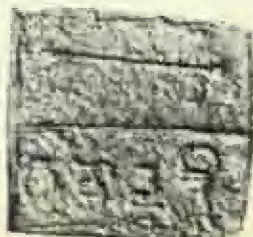
Handwritten text in a script, likely Pali, on a dark rectangular plate. The text is arranged in approximately 10 lines. A small circular hole is visible near the bottom center of the plate.

iii.

22 22
24 24
26 26
28 28

Handwritten text in a script, likely Pali, on a dark rectangular plate. The text is arranged in approximately 10 lines. A small circular hole is visible near the bottom center of the plate.

Seal



3. योपरिकवाण्डयादिकवाटभट्टुलसंवेष्टिकडाहिकादी(सोम) सम-
 4. नुवण्णं संगुत्तयत्पत्तु को विवित्तं(तम्) [1⁸] यथा महासावयणस्यविरकलित्त-
 5. केटन [1] रोलवेव । प्रदीपभट । शिव । देवभट्ट[4] । मातृस्थानि । गण-
 6. वेव । कोकुभट । हस्तिवैद्यसामस्वामि । अमंगत । वीमुपतिमान्ता-
 7. पिक । प्रभाकरप्रमुत्तगयस[मु]हाभ्यर्चनया मातापित्रोरात्म-

Second Plate : First Side

8. नद्य पुण्ययज्ञोनिवृद्धये¹ उपमण्यु(न्यु)मनीवविद्वज्जागरनेषदिवाकर-
 9. योद्गुल्यसगोषवेकस्वामिकौशिकसगोषराजुरभारद्वाजससोष-
 10. दारित्य श्रीपण्यु(न्यु)दासोदराद्याः काम्बा(न्याः) [1] गण । सोम । वस । चण्डि । नु-
 11. प्रन । कुमारदयस्तेतिरिका[1⁹] छन्दोगान । कोन्दितसगोषकन्वी(न्वी)
 12. रविचन्द्रविण्णी । वत्तसगोषककस्वामिने² विञ्चपट्टिकाया(या) निवृत्तं-
 13. तानि द्वाव्यं शासननिमित्तं(तम्)[1¹⁰] एवमेतेषां बाह्यानां वलिवहर्षव्यदे-
 14. वान्निहोत्रादीनां क्रियाणां । उत्तर्पणत्वे³ । धाव्यसंस्कारे चवाना-

Second Plate : Second Side

15. वान्यायां जाल्लवीमद्वये चडुकवटसंस्थितेन ग्रहोपराने [1¹¹] दूत्तन-
 16. द्याः उत्तरतदे [1¹²] कलपुरापाहारात्पविबन्धेन [1¹³] श्रीपणिर्वायाः पूर्व्वेण
 17. अङ्गुलिस्तका नाम प्रायः आचन्द्रावर्कोण्येवभित्तिवरवहनपवनव्योम-
 18. समकालीनः पुत्रवीजान्वरभोगोषनिरध्वन्यायेन [1¹⁴] सध्वंस्तिथिचिह्नि-
 19. जेमककरभरपरिहीणः सव्यविषयिमुडोन्तनिद्रिक उदकपूर्व्वे¹⁵ भो-

¹ This and other similar marks of punctuation in ll. 2-7 are superfluous.

² Read शिवदेवभट्टय.

³ Here and in some places below, the rules of Sandhi have not been observed.

⁴ This and similar other marks of punctuation in ll. 10-12 are superfluous.

⁵ Read सैतिरीयाः.

⁶ Read कर्कस्वामो एतेभ्यः.

⁷ Supply वस्तानि.

⁸ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁹ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

¹⁰ Read उदकपूर्व्वम्.

40 D3A.

- 20 वाय निवि(सु)ष्टः [1*] यतोस्मद्व्ये रव्येदवागामि विषयमोगपतिभिरनुमन्त-
 21 अयः पालयितव्यश्च । यो वा तत्फलतदास्वादमात्रतृष्णान्नरिञ्जनीन्मि-

Third Plate

- 22 भिरुह्यमानमानसोज्ञानपटसायुतमतिगिरिनदीजलतरङ्गम-
 23 झुरमापुर्गत्वरमदवत्पञ्चसञ्चलं धनमासादयेत् स पञ्चमहा-
 24 पातकसंयुक्तः स्यादिति ॥ उक्तञ्च भगवता श्यासेन । बहुभिर्धनमुपा नुक्ता
 25 राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(सम्) ॥१॥*
 26 पण्डितं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वार्थं मोदति भूमिः [1*] प्राग्ज्येता चानुमता च तान्येव-
 27 च¹ तरके वसेत् ॥२॥* उक्तो(त्की)र्णमेतच्छासनं मातापित्रोः पुण्यादायये चरु-
 28 पुत्रेण सविप्रदुर्गादिस्त्रयेति ॥ संवत्तरशतवये इतिहो² कार्त्तिके शुदि ५ [1*]

Scul

गणवतिः [1*]

TRANSLATION

Om! Hail! From Nāndivardhana.—The illustrious Svāmīrāja, who is a fervent devotee of Mahāśvara (Śiva) and meditates on the feet of the lord paramount, is in good health. His brother Nannarāja who meditates on his feet, honours all his³ (Officers) such as Rājasthānīya,⁴ Uparika,⁵ Dāṇḍapālīka,⁶ Chāḍa, Bhāja,⁷ Dūta-samprishayika⁸ and Drāḍgika,⁹ communicating (the following order to them)—

(Line 4) Be it known to you that at the request of the Assembly of the Corporation (Gana-samūha), whose Executive Officers (Prasūkhas)¹⁰ are Kālīnga, the President (Sthaniya) of the Mahā-Mātragaṇa, (and) Kēśabha, Rōladīva, Pradīptabhata, two Śivadēvabhāṣas, Mātrusvāmin, Gaṇadīva, Kōśakabhata, the Physician of Elephants (named) Sāmasvāmin, Asāṅgata, the Chief of the Elephant Corps (named) Māllāyika (and) Prabhākara, (and) for augmenting the religious merit and fame of (my) mother and father and of myself (I have granted) by a charter, twelve *śūrtanās* (of land) in (the village) Chūṣhapattikā to (the Brāhmanas) (viz.) the learned Divākara of the

¹ This addition is superfluous.

² Read इतिहोत्तर.

³ As the text stands, these officers would be of Nannarāja, but they are probably meant to be of his brother Svāmīrāja who was reigning.

⁴ Rājasthānīya means Viceroy, or Crown Representative.

⁵ Uparika was the Governor of a province.

⁶ Dāṇḍapālīka was a police officer.

⁷ Chāḍa and Bhāja were policemen and soldiers whose duty was to apprehend criminals.

⁸ Dūta-samprishayika was one who appointed *dētas* for the execution of royal charter.

⁹ Drāḍgika was probably the Mayor of a town (*drāga*).

¹⁰ The *prasūkhas* correspond to the *kāryakāntakās* mentioned in Smṛiti. See *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, II : 81.

Upamanyu *gōtra* and Vājasaneyā *śākhā*, Dvāstrāmin of the Maudgalya *gōtra*, Śaṅkara of the Kauśika *gōtra*, Āditya of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, Dāmodara of the Upamanyu *gōtra* and others, (these being) of the Kāyva (*śākhā*); Gaṇa, Sōma, Vatsa, Chaudī, Suprabha, Kumāra and others, (these being) of the Taittirīya (*śākhā*); Isāna of the Sāmaveda; Ravichandra and Ravigopa of the Kauṇḍīna *gōtra* (and) Kāyva (*śākhā*); (and) Karkasvāmin of the Vatsa *gōtra*.

(L. 13) And to the same Brāhmaṇas (I),¹ while staying at the Chaṭuka banyan tree² in the midst of the Gaṅgā on the occasion of an eclipse on the new moon day of Chaitra in the year Ashāḍha, donated with a libation of water, according to the maxim of uncultivated land,³ the village named Aśkōḷḷikā on the left bank of the river Sūla, (situated) to the west of the *agrahāra* Achalapura and to the east of Śrī-Pargikā, which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans, the mountains, fire, wind and sky would endure, which is free from the obligations of gifts, forced labour and cess for providing meals⁴ (to royal officers), which is exempt from all taxes and is invested with the powers of internal adjudication,⁵ in order that they (i.e., the Brāhmaṇas) should enjoy it and perform religious duties such as *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva*, (and) *agnihōtra*.

(L. 20) Wherefore our descendants as well as others who will, in future, be the rulers of this Viśhaya and Bhāga, should consent to and preserve this, our gift. And whoever, with his mind tossed by the waves of the river water, namely, the greed for enjoying even the least product of this (gift) and with his intellect clouded by a mass of ignorance, would (seek to) attain life which is transitory like the ripples on the water of a mountain stream and fleeting wealth which is as unsteady as the leaves of the *Aśvattha* tree, will incur the five great sins.

(L. 24) And it is said by the venerable Vyāsa—
(Here follow two benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(L. 27) This order has been engraved by the Kshatriya Durgāditya, the son of Chandra, for the attainment of religious merit by (his) mother and father.

In the year three hundred (increased by) twenty-two on the lunar day 5 of the bright fortnight of Kārtika.

Seal

A gift of the Corporation.

¹ This may refer to the reigning king Svāmīrāja.

² Chaṭuka-*vaṭa* may be *akṣaya-vaṭa* at Prayāga, but I have not come across this designation of it elsewhere.

³ *Apastambhā-śūla* is the same as *bhūmi-śūla*—*śūla*. It refers to the conferment of full proprietary rights as when one brings fallow land under cultivation.

⁴ *Janaka-bhāra* was a cess levied on villagers for providing boarding to royal officers camping in the village. Cf. *Bija-purāṇa*—*śūla*—*śūla*—*śūla*—*śūla* in the Anjaneri plates (second set) of Bhāgaskṛti, above, Vol. XXV, p. 237. In later records, the expression *vaṭa-śūla* is used in the same sense, *ibid.*, Vol. XXV, p. 218.

⁵ *Antaḥ-siddhānta* means 'invested with the powers of internal adjudication'. Such villages were not required to send their criminal cases for adjudication outside. In some records the expression *vaṭa-śūla-śūla* is used in the same sense. For the fines which used to be levied in such cases, see Anjaneri plates (second set) above, Vol. XXV, p. 237.

⁶ For *danā* is the name of a gift, see the expression *a-pūrvadāṇa* 'as a gift not previously made' which occurs frequently in Vākātaka records.

No. 2—KESARIBĒDĀ PLATES OF NALA ARTHAPATI-BHATTARAKA.

(I Plate)

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, DOTTACAMUND.

IN February 1914, the Amin of the Umarkōṭ Police Station in the Jeypore State (Kozaput District, Orissa) reported to the authorities of the State that a set of copper plates had been discovered in a forest adjoining the village of Kēsaribēdā within the jurisdiction of the said Police Station. The plates are said to have been found exposed on the ground at the foot of a mango tree in the forest. The news of the discovery soon reached the ears of Mr. G. Ramadas of Jeypore, who is an enthusiastic student of Indian epigraphy, and he secured the plates from the Pūjārī of the village with the help of his friend, the late Mr. Talisetty Rama Rao who was then the Assistant Diwan of the Jeypore State. Mr. Ramadas cut the ring passing through the plates in order to read the inscription on them; but soon afterwards he sent the entire set of plates for registration to the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund. I edit the inscription with the permission kindly accorded to me by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India.

Mr. Ramadas has earned the gratitude of the students of Indian history by publishing recently an interesting note on the Kēsaribēdā copper-plate inscription in the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 33-42. Unfortunately the text of the record as made out by him as well as his interpretation of it is not free from errors. Besides, most of his suggestions regarding Nala history appear to be mere wild guesses. As I am inclined to disagree with almost all of Mr. Ramadas's theories about the Nalas, I would prefer not to comment on them in detail for the present.

The set consists of **three copper plates** string together on a copper ring. The circumference of the ring, which is fixed in a thick and somewhat oval mass of copper having three square holes in a line at the top, is 7·4" and its diameter 2". The plates are roughly 7·5" in length and 1·5" in breadth and have their corners rounded off. The hole for the ring to pass through is at the proper right end of the plates and has a diameter of $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The weight of the ring is 6·75 *alas* and that of the plates together with the ring is 31·75 *alas*. Of the three plates, the second and the third are inscribed on both sides, while the first has writing on one side only. Altogether there are fourteen lines of writing, each side having three lines, except the second side of the third plate which has two lines only.

The **alphabet** used is of the 'scoped out' type of the box-headed variety of South Indian script. The characters are not of the angular type like those in the Rishapur plates¹ of Bhavadevavarman and Arthapati and suggest a rather earlier date than that record, although both the Kēsaribēdā and Rishapur charters were drafted by one and the same official (the *Kahacyādhyakṣa* Chulha) and issued by the same king (Arthapati-bhappāraka), and have therefore to be referred to the same epoch sometime in the sixth century A.D. Attention may be drawn to the forms of the initial vowels *a*, *ā* and *u* in lines 5 (*a*, *ā*, *u*), 6 (*a*), 9 (*ā*), 11 (*u*), 12 (*ā*) and 13 (*u*). Final *a* occurs in line 3 and *u* in line 13; but *i* is found in lines 6, 9, 10 and 11. The letter *i* is found in three different forms. In some cases it has the ordinary form with the right hand side straight and the left arm slightly bent downwards. Often, however both the arms are bent towards the left. In a few cases, the left arm has formed a loop and become undistinguishable from *a* (cf. *ita* in line 5 and *atā* in line 7). The figure for 7 occurs in the date in line 13.

The **language** of the record, which is not free from errors, is Sanskrit. It is written in prose, but has two imprecatory verses in the *anustubh* metre about the end. Of **orthographic peculiarities**, mention may be made of the usual duplication of the consonants when preceded or followed

¹ See discussion on this record below, p. 12.

by *r*; but *r* in one case in line 7 and *d* in line 9 have not been doubled. The *visarga*, followed by a sibilant, is represented by a sibilant in line 3. The duplication of *s* in *sunīsa* (for *sunivarsa*) in line 15 is also interesting to note. There is a case of Prakritism in *maka* for *malha* in the same line. The rules of *sunāhi*, which are optional for prose composition, have not always been observed.

The date of the record is given as the new moon day of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa in the year 7, no doubt indicating the seventh regnal year of king Arthapati of the family of king Nala. As the issuer of the Kesaribēḍā charter and the dynasty to which he claimed to belong are already known from epigraphic and numismatic sources, I propose, before entering into the details of the grant, to give below a short sketch of Nala history taken from one of the chapters that I have contributed to Vol. III of the *History of India* (in the press), which is being published by the Bhāratīya Itihāsa Samiti of Bombay under the editorship of Dr. R. C. Majumdar of Calcutta.

The Rithapur copper-plate inscription,¹ which may be assigned on grounds of palaeography, to the fifth or sixth century, records the grant of a village called Kadambagiri by Mahārāja Bhavattavarman while he (probably together with his queen) was staying as a pilgrim² at Prayāga (Allahabad), "the place blessed by the favour of lord Prajāpati at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna". The charter, however, was actually issued from Nandivardhana by a successor of the king. We know that this city was the capital of the Vākātakas of the main line before the foundation of Pravarapura by Pravarasēna II. The village of Kadambagiri has been identified with Kalamba in the Yeatmal District of Berar. It is thus apparent that a new line of kings was in possession of the territories formerly occupied by the Vākātakas.

The name Bhavattavarman is probably a mistake or a partly Prakritized form of Bhavadattavarman. This suggestion is supported by the evidence of coins and of another record of the family. The king is called *Nala-nripa-vāha-prasūta* and apparently claimed descent from Nala, the ancient king of Nishadha known from epic and Puranic literature. He is said to have obtained royal fortune through the grace of Mahādeva (Śiva) and Mahāsēna (Skanda-Kārttikēya).³ The king's banner bore the *tri-patāṭā* which has been explained as the representation of "the hand with three fingers stretched out" or "three pennons". The charter is dated in the eleventh regnal year. But the document is said to have been actually made, for the merit of his own parents, by Mahārāja Arthapati-Bhāttāraka who was favoured by his *āryaka*, i.e., grandfather.⁴ Arthapati has sometimes been taken to be an epithet of Bhavadattavarman, but is now usually regarded as the name of the latter's son and successor. It is, however, probable that Bhavadattavarman was actually the *āryaka*, i.e., 'grandfather', of Arthapati. It seems that year 11, the date of the Rithapur grant, refers not to the reign of Bhavadattavarman but to that of Arthapati.

¹ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 100 ff.

² The fact that the grant was made in favour of certain Brahmins who appear to have "blessed the matrimonial relationship" of the king and the queen may also suggest that it was made on the occasion of the royal marriage. In that case it has to be conjectured that the father of the queen was a chief or ruler of the Allahabad region. Note also the reference to "the lord of offspring" in this connection.

³ The passage *Mahādeva-Mahāsēna āryakṣa-śiṣya-śubha*, 'upon whom has been bestowed the glory of royalty by Mahādeva and Mahāsēna', may also be interpreted to mean that the king dedicated his kingdom and wealth to the gods Śiva and Skanda (cf. similar cases cited by me in *Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society*, Vol. I, pp. 251-53). Reference may be made in this connection to the Būrā (ca) (AKASI, 1911-12, p. 51), bearing the legend *Mahādeva-Mahāsēna āryakṣa-śiṣya-śubha* *śubha-śiṣya-śubha* *śubha-śiṣya-śubha* *śubha-śiṣya-śubha*. What relation king Vinthiyarādhana may have had with the early Nalas, cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge; but, like Bhavadattavarman and Arthapati, Vinthiyarādhana seems also to have been a southerner as the characters used on the Būrā most closely resemble those of the records of the Kōḷa kings of the Krishna-Guntur region. Vinthiyarādhana's emblem was, however, not the *tri-patāṭā* but the bull.

⁴ Cf. *Plot.*, 121, Vol. III, p. 187a; *Sol. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 213-4.

Another Nala inscription¹ in verse has been discovered at Poḷḷāgaḷh in the Jeypore State, not far from the borders of the Bastar State (C.P.). It is dated in the twelfth regnal year of a king whose name seems to be Skandavarman, although the reading of its first part is not beyond doubt. This king is described as the son of king Bhavadatta of the Nala family, very probably the same as Bhavattavarman of the Rihapur plates. Skandavarman is said to have recovered the lost (*hamsāṭa*) royal fortune of his family and to have re-peopled the deserted (*śūnya*) city of Pushkari. The city, which seems to have been situated in the Poḷḷāgaḷh region, was probably the capital of the Nala kings. The inscription refers to the construction of a shrine (*pūṣṭāśala*) of Viṣṇu by Skandavarman apparently at Poḷḷāgaḷh. The relation that must have existed between Arthapati and Skandavarman cannot be determined; but the former may have been the son and successor of the latter.

There has been some speculation as regards the identity of the enemy who defeated the Nalas and sacked Pushkari, but was afterwards defeated by Skandavarman.² As there was apparently a struggle between the Nalas and the Vākātakas of the main branch, this enemy has been identified by some writers with Vākātaka Prithivishēga II who claims to have twice rescued the fallen fortunes of his family. Skandavarman's adversary may also have been the Pāṇḍuvamśi king Nanna of South Kōśala. Nanna's occupation of practically the whole of the western C.P. is possibly indicated by an inscription at Bhandak in the Chanda District, although it is sometimes believed that the record originally belonged to a place in the eastern C.P. in the heart of South Kōśala.³ Most probably, however, the enemy of the Nalas was the Chālukya king Kirttivarman I (A.D. 587-97) who claims not only to have subdued the Nalas, sometimes represented as the traditional enemy of the Chālukyas, but also to have destroyed their residence (*nāga*).⁴

A hoard of gold coins was discovered at Edeḡgā, a village in the Kopdegāon taluk of the Bastar State.⁵ The issuers of the coins of this hoard are Bhavadatta, Arthapati and another king named Varāha who may have belonged to the same family. From epigraphic and numismatic materials, it seems that the territories of the Nalas lay in the Bastar-Jeypore region about the southern part of the C.P. About the first half of the sixth century, they extended their power towards the north at the expense of the Vākātakas; but their northern possessions soon appear to have passed to the Pāṇḍuvamśi kings of Kōśala. There is, however, some indication that the Nala empire had extended over a still wider area.

Inscriptions of the time of Chālukya Vikramāditya I (555-80 A.D.) mention the Nalavāḷi-vishaya which was apparently named after the Nalas.⁶ As a village situated in that *vishaya* has been identified with modern Ratnagiri in the Madakasira taluk of the Bellary (now Anantapur) District, it seems that Nalavāḷi under the Chālukyas comprised parts of the Anantapur and Kurnool Districts. This may have been the southernmost province of the Nala empire, originally under a viceroy of the royal blood. Whether the Nalas were responsible for the fall of the Vākātakas of Vataagnūma and the Rāshtrakūtas of Mānapura cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. But the suggestion may not be altogether improbable.

A stone inscription⁷ at Rājūm in the Raipur District of the eastern C.P., which may be assigned on palaeographic grounds to about the close of the seventh century, records the construction of a temple of Viṣṇu probably by Vilāsatnūga, apparently a successor (son ?) of king Virūpāksha

¹ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 155 f.

² *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. I, p. 35.

³ Hiralal, *Description List of Inscriptions of C.P. and Berar*, pp. 12 f.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 153.

⁵ *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. I, pp. 29-35.

⁶ *Deccan Quarterly*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 363.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 49 ff.

who was the son of king Prithvirāja. These rulers claimed descent from Nala and were very probably later members of the family of Bhavadattavarman. It seems that the Nalas, who were cornered in the Bastar region by the Pāṇḍuvamāis and the Chālukyas, retrieved their position and conquered South Kōśala sometime after the rule of Śivagupta¹ Bālārjuna in the seventh century. It is unknown if they continued to rule in that country till the rise of the Sōmaravamāis about the middle of the tenth century. If, however, they did, they were probably matrimonially related to the Bāya king Vikramāditya I (c. A.D. 870-95) who constructed a temple at Pāl about twelve miles from Ratanpur in the Bilaspur District,² no doubt on the occasion of a visit that he might have paid to his relatives' kingdom.

A king named Prithivīvyāghra, who seems to have performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice, is styled *Nishada-pati* in the Udayēndiram grant of Pallavamalla.³ Supposing that the form *Nishada* is a mistake for *Nishadka* and not for *Nishāda*, Prithivīvyāghra may possibly be associated with the epic *Nishadha-pati* Nala. He may thus be identified with Prithvirāja of the Rājūm inscription as both of them lived about the same period.

As the Rithapur grant is dated in the eleventh regnal year probably of the same king, the present charter is earlier than the other record by four years only. The inscription records the grant, made by Mahārāja Arthapati-bhattāraka, of the village called Kēśhaka-grāma to the Brāhmanas Durgārya, Ravirārya (1)⁴ and Ravidattārya all belonging to the Kautsa gotra. The charter was issued from Pushkari, addressing the agriculturist householders (*śatumbhūmih*); headed by the Brāhmanas, as well as to the village *śreshhaka* (headman). The king is described as *tri-patākā-dhvaṇa* and *Mahāvara-Mahāśāla-ātirishṭa-rājya-vibhava* just as king Bhavadattavarman has been in the Rithapur inscription. He is also called *Nala-nripati-kul-āvaya*, 'belonging to a family of the clan of king Nala'. Thus the inscription under discussion seems to support the evidence of coins that Bhavadattavarman and Arthapati mentioned in the Rithapur record were not identical but were two different rulers. The expression *Arthapati-bhattārakasy-āvagrah-ārttham* (l. 5) possibly suggests that the king made the gift after receiving some sort of help from the Brāhmanas. The donated village was exempted from the entrance of *bhūta*s (soldiers or police men) and from all taxes (*a-bhūta-pravēśah sarvabhūta-samrājyāh*). The donors were not to be disturbed by anybody (*na kōnachit kinchut-vaktavyāh*). This is the same as *bhūpatim na kōnachit-vyāghātah kartavyāh* of some other records and forbids all persons to trouble the donors in any way. The grant was also made *a-raka* which seems to mean the same as *a-patamparā-bāhvarda-grahana* of some other records indicating the exemption from the obligation of supplying conveyances to the royal officials on tour. The villagers were advised to live happily without fear of molestation and to go on with work in the lands settled unto them (*bhavallāhit-cha dhruva-śarmasānt-ārambhāih*⁵ *anirvāta-vishatair-vaśaveyam*). They were further asked to be careful about their obligations to the landlords (donors) in accordance with customs prevalent in the district (*vishay-śchitā-cha śatrūshāh kartavyāh*) and to pay regularly their dues such as *śiraya* (rent for land payable in coins besides the share of the produce) and others. Fulfilment of these conditions, the record goes on to say, would lead to the satisfaction of Bhattāraka-rāja (i.e., king Arthapati-bhattāraka). This seems to show that the word *bhattāraka* was sometimes regarded as an integral part of the

¹ He is commonly called Mahāśivagupta.

² *Ahoye*, Vol. XXVI, p. 22.

³ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, p. 176. It may be supposed that it was Pallavamalla who performed the Aśvamedha. But if such was the case, there would certainly have been reference to that event in one of the numerous records of the later Pallavas. The claim would also have been more specific and prominent in the Udayēndiram grant.

⁴ [The name *Bando* sounds queer indeed, but there is no doubt about the reading. Compare *Revista*, the name of the composer of the Mandiacer inscription of the Mālava year 523=467-8 A.C., above, Vol. XXVII, p. 42.—Ed.]

⁵ The word *śarmasānt* means 'cultivated land'. It may also be taken in the sense of 'business' in this context.

king's name. The charter was drafted, on a verbal order of the king, by the Privy Councilor (*Rahasyadhikṛta*)¹ Chulla, who is also known from the Rithapur grant.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the Kēsaribādā grant, Pushkari, as already indicated, has to be located in the Poṣṭagaṇḍh region of the Jeypore State, now in the Koraput District of Orissa. Kēsālakagrāma has been identified with the village of Kēsaribādā, the headspot of the charter, in the same State.

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 Svasti [3*] **Pushkaryyāḥ** Mahōvara-Mahāśaṇ-Ītiapahja-rājya-ribha(va*)h tri-pat[ā]-
- 2 kā-dhvaḥ Nala-nripau-kul-ānvayaḥ tri-mahārāj-**Artthapati-bhaṭṭāraḥ**
- 3 **Kēsālaka-grāmā** Brāhman-Ītarāṇ* kuṭumbinā-āśhakaḥ-ch-ā[ā]paya[ti*]

Second Plate : First Side

- 4 *yūyam-asnābh[ā] Kautaa-angōtrāya Durga(rggā)ryyāya Ravirāryyāya* Ravidattāryyāya*
pā(pa)tra-pautirika(m*)
- 5 **Artthapati-bhaṭṭa(tā)raḥ**sy-a(sy-ā)ugrahaṭṭha(m*) udakapūrvva[m*] datta ā-
chandra-tārakam-s-bhaṭṭa-pravṛṭṭa[h*] sarva-kāra-
- 6 vizarjitaḥ a-vahāḥ [1*] na kōnach[i] kiṇcha(ñch)d-vaktavyāḥ [1*] yataḥ bhavadib[ā]-cha

Second Plate : Second Side

- 7 dhruva-karmānti-ārambh[ā]bhāḥ) anīryita-vitvastaiv-vyastavya[ā*] viśay-ō:h[ā]ā-
cha ākrīṣā(shā)
- 8 kartavyā hiraṇy-ādaya-cha praśāya(yā) dēyāḥ [1*] tataś-cha **Bhaṭṭa(tā)raḥ**-
rājasya(sy-ā)-
- 9 pyāyana(m*) asnābh[ā] paritashṭa(shai)c-datta[h*] yuḥ kaśchit-vyapcha-dharmā

Third Plate : First Side

- 10 rāg[ā]d[1*] deśhāt-pra[ā]bhāḥ-vā grāmā kūśhit-pra[ā]pay[ā] [1*] sa mahāpātaka-
- 11 yuktāḥ* pañchalāhi-ma(r-āna)raḥprā vraj[ā] [1*] uktaś-cha[1*] śhach[ā]sh[ā]m[ā] varaha-
sahacrāḥ
- 12 a(va)rgg[ā] mandati bhāmidaḥ [1*] ākshēptā-cha(ch-ā)numa[ā] [1*] cha tāny-āva narakā rasavati*

¹ *CE. Ind. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 441.

² From the facsimile published by Mr. Ramdas in *JRS.*, Vol. XXXIV, and from the impressions preserved at the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Odhagamul.

³ Read *Brāhman-ārama*.

⁴ The Rithapur inscription has also this reading; but the reading intended seems to be *gāh-āyana*.

⁵ The third akṣara read *ā* has above it the superscript *r* together with the sign for *ā*. Possibly the engraver at first omitted *ā* and began to inscribe the next akṣara, *rgg*, but noticed the mistake only after the inscribing of the upper part of it.

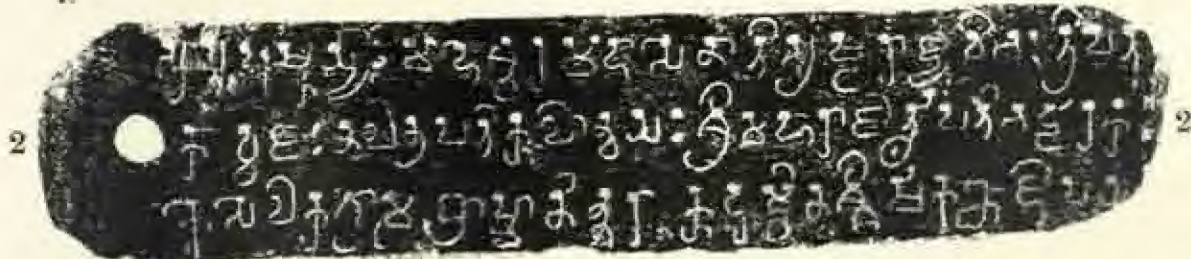
⁶ After this name, the upper part of a letter, which may be an *m*-form or *ch* is visible. Below this and the preceding letter, there are traces of three akṣaras which look like *saṭṭha*. Whether this is meant for a correction in the line for the insertion of a new name in the list of the donors cannot be satisfactorily determined.

⁷ Read *pañchalit-gaṭṭak*.

⁸ Metro: *Anuśāṭṭh*.

⁹ Read *saṭṭh* [2*] *lit.* Metro: *Anuśāṭṭh*.

i.



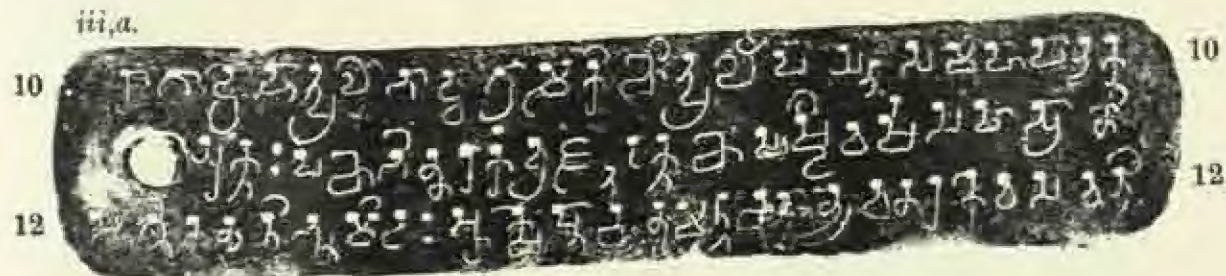
ii.a.



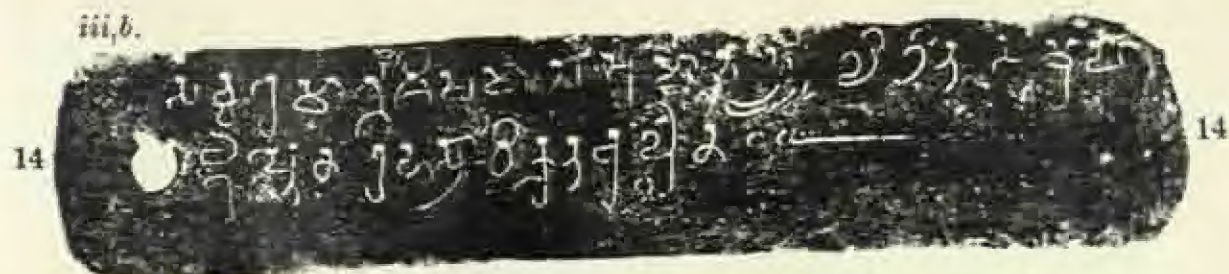
ii.b.



iii.a.



iii.b.



*Third Plate; Second Side*13 Sarhva 7¹ Mārggaśirsha-māsa² amāvāsyām³ līkhita[m⁴] aya-muh-ā.⁴14 jñāptēna Rahasyādīkṛitēna⁵ Chullēna ||⁶

No. 3— MANOR PLATES OF VINAYADITYA MANGALARASA : SAKA 613.

(I Plate)

KRISHNA DEVA, NEW DELHI

This set of copper plates was unearthed on the 2nd May 1943 from an agricultural inām land bearing Survey No. 2, *hissā* No. 2, belonging to Mohamed Yusuf Haji Amir Sahab, at the village of **Manor**, taluka Palghar, District Thana, in course of digging for agricultural purposes together with another set of plates of Dantidurga, dated Saka 671. Soon after its discovery, the set was acquired by the Collector of Thana who sent it to the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, Poona, for disposal under the Treasure Trove Act. I am grateful to the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit and Dr. N. P. Chakravarti for their kind permission to edit the plates here as well as for many valuable suggestions which they kindly gave me in the preparation of this article.

This well-preserved set consists of **two copper plates**, each measuring 14" long and 9.4" broad. Though each of them is pierced by a pair of ring holes, they slide, through only one set of holes, on a copper ring the ends of which are soldered into a circular seal, measuring 2.10/12" in diameter. The seal is slightly damaged in the upper right corner and shows faint traces of the design of crescent in the upper field and of lotus in the lower, with the legend *Śrī-Jay[ā]¹traya* in the middle in the script of the main inscription. The edges of the plates are fashioned thicker and raised into rims to protect the writing which is engraved on the inner face of each plate. The inscription, neatly engraved and excellently preserved, runs into 34 lines which are evenly distributed on two plates. The average height of single letters is $\frac{1}{8}$ " and of conjuncts $\frac{1}{16}$ ". The plates together with the ring and the seal weigh 296 tolas.

The characters belong to the southern variety of the 7th century A. D. and closely resemble those of the Nirpaṇ plates² of Tribhuvanāśraya Nāgavarīhanarāja and of the Nausari³ and Surat⁴ plates of Yuvarāja Śrīyāśraya Śīlāditya, dated in the years K. 421 and 443 respectively. The noteworthy signs are the initial *ś* in *śka* (11.18 and 22), final *t* in *maṭṭ* (1.29) and two forms each of letters *l* and *ṣ*. The simpler form of *l* is seen in *liśchāna* (1.4), *līkhita* (1.34), etc., while the curly cursive form occurs in *sakala* (1.2), *Chulukyānām* (1.4), etc. *ṣ* is similarly indicated by the unlooped variety as in *kakṣhī-ārava* (1.1) and *kalyāṇa* (1.3); and the other of the two forms, one of the looped variety as in *sagūṭrāpām* (1.2), *maṇi-guṇa* (1.6), etc.

As regards orthography the following points are worth noting. Consonants following *r* are generally doubled as in *Viśva-r-vārāham* (1.1), *varāmaṇa* (1.16), etc. The medial *ri* is mostly misspelt as *ri*, as in *mātrīkhi* (11.2, 3), *prithvi* (11.5, 8, 12, 15), *vridhaye* (1.24), etc.

¹ The figure has been so formed as to look like the letter *ri*.

² Read *maṭṭ*.

³ The first two alphabets of the following word have cursive form.

⁴ Read *maṭṭ-āpīyāna*. (The form *āpīyāna* is also correct. See above, Vol. XXVII, p. 44, n. 6.—Ed.)

⁵ For *Rahasyādīkṛitēna*, the Rithapur inscription has *rahasī-nigatāna*.

⁶ There is a mark indicating the end at this place.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 124 ff. and Pl.

⁸ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 232 ff. and Pl.

⁹ *Vienna Or. Comp.*, p. 235 and Pl.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the opening verse and the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses towards the end, the entire record is in prose. The text, however, is full of serious grammatical mistakes, such as *mālinasya* (I.19) in place of *mālinat*. As may be seen from the foot-notes and from the brackets in the transcript, many letters and words are either omitted, misspelt or corrupt. The grant portion is particularly faulty and shows numerous blunders of grammar and syntax.

Like other Chālukya grants, the present inscription opens with an invocation to the incarnation of Vishnu. Then it recounts the genealogy of the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi, of whom Satyāśraya-Prithivīvallabha-Kīrtivarmanarāja (I) : his son, Satyāśraya-Prithivīvallabha Pulakēśi-Vallabha-Mahārāja (II), who defeated Harshivardhana; and his son, Satyāśraya-Prithivīvallabha-Kokkuli-Vikramāditya-rāja (I), who meditated on the feet of Nāgavardhana and who conquered the three kingdoms of Chēra, Chāla and Pāṇḍya, are referred to in the order of succession (II. 2-12). After Vikramāditya (I) is mentioned his younger brother, Dharāśraya Jayasinhavarman (I.13), who was the founder of the Navasāri branch of the Western Chālukyas and father of the donor of the present grant. The inscription refers itself to the Western Chālukya prince of the Navasāri branch, Vinayāditya-Prithivīvallabha-Yuddhamalla-Jayāśraya-Maṅgalarasa (I.15), who like his father is called a *Paramamahēśvara*. The object of it is to record the grant by Vinayāditya-Maṅgalarasa of some villages and domestic sites for the benefit of the temple of sun-god at Mānapura with a view to ensuring the supply, to the shrine, of perfumes, flowers, incense, lamps, music and offerings and to provide for repairs to the temple (II.22-23). The endowments comprised the village of Dīpaka which was situated to the east of the Mānapura village, owned by the sun-god and included within the Kurāja *vishaya* (district); the domestic sites called Kukṣi and Mitunmīti in Valugrāma, and the Urushhaka village and the Bōlatta hamlet included within the Vāḍgi *vishaya* (II. 19-22). The grant is dated on the 15th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 613 (expired), which falls in A. D. 691-92 and which is expressed in words as well as in numerals (II. 17-18; 33-34). The grant was drafted by Bhagva Rudranāga, son of Kumāravāmiśikṣita, who held the high offices of *dīvarpati* (chief of the secretariat), foreign minister and revenue minister and is further styled as *niracādyapaṃsadhēvara*.

The inscription is important as it throws welcome light on the obscure history of the Gujarat (Navasāri) branch of the Western Chālukyas and helps to settle some doubtful points of chronology in respect of this little known branch. Hitherto the definite date of the foundation of this branch by Dharāśraya Jayasinhavarman was shrouded in mystery. By specifying that the year of the grant, viz. A. D. 691-92 was the twenty-first *rājya-samvatsara* (I.18) or regnal year, this record places it beyond doubt that the Navasāri branch was founded in the year A. D. 669-70. The regnal year mentioned in this record has to be referred to Dharāśraya Jayasinhavarman, since there is no evidence to show that Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa ruled in his own right as early as A. D. 691-92. This is confirmed by Yuvarāja Śrīyāśraya Śilāditya's Nāsari and Surat plates of K. 421 and 443 which testify that Dharāśraya Jayasinhavarman was ruling from A. D. 669-70 to at least A. D. 691-92.

The record supplies another information of historical and chronological importance. So far the only definite date for Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa was known from his unpublished Bahar plates,¹ dated Śaka 653 (A. D. 731-32). The present inscription, dated in Śaka 613 (A. D. 691-92), supplies for this prince a date, forty years earlier than that hitherto known for him. It is interesting

¹ [See below p. 20 n. 1. —Ed.]

² J. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, p. 5; Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII, p. 75.

to note that the Surat plates of Yuvarāja Śrīyāśraya Śilāditya of K. 643 also fall in the same year as the present record.

From the information gathered from this record as well as from other published inscriptions of the dynasty, the history of this house may be reconstructed as follows. Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman ascended the throne in A. D. 669-70. From the very beginning of his reign his eldest son, Yuvarāja Śrīyāśraya Śilāditya, was associated with him in the administration and was invested with the authority of issuing land-grants in his own name. Subsequently one of his younger sons, Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa was also made a viceroy and given charge of a province together with the privilege of issuing land-grants in his own name. In A. D. 691-92 both Yuvarāja Śrīyāśraya Śilāditya and Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa were simultaneously administering different portions of their father's dominion. The former held charge of its northern portion comprising the districts of southern Gujarat where the Kalachuri era was prevalent, while the latter governed the southern portion including the modern district of Thana where the Śaka era was in vogue. From the omission of any reference to Śrīyāśraya Śilāditya in the later records of the dynasty, it is evident that he did not come to the throne and apparently predeceased his father sometime after A. D. 691-92, his last known date. His younger brother, Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa, whose known dates range from Śaka 613 to Śaka 653, in all probability survived and succeeded his father as may be inferred from the following considerations. Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman must have been at least forty years old on his accession to the throne in A. D. 669-70, as his son Yuvarāja Śrīyāśraya Śilāditya was then grown up enough to take an active part in administration. It is, therefore, extremely unlikely that he should have lived up to A. D. 731-32, the last known date of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa, unless we credit him with an unusually long life of a century. Now, even assuming that he reigned till a grand old age of eighty, he must have died sometime about A. D. 710, leaving a margin of a little over two decades during which Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa ruled in his own right. This is corroborated by the testimony of the Nausari plates of his younger brother and successor Avantiśārāya Pulakēśin¹ of K. 490 (A. D. 738-39) wherein Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa is given full regal titles and mentioned as having succeeded Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman.

In the last mentioned plates Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa is given the epithet of *nija-bhūja-prabhāra-śpārjita-saktiya-bhūmanḍalab*. Does this epithet coupled with the omission of any reference to the contemporary Chālukya sovereign in his own grants, signify that he had ceased to owe allegiance to the paramount power? The omission, however, seems to be due to an oversight, as we find both his predecessor and successor acknowledging the authority of the suzerain power: The eulogistic references made to him in his own grants as well as in his successor's are purely conventional, and probably indicate that he was an influential and powerful prince. This is also attested by his seal being stamped on the undated Nirpaṇ plates of Tribhuvanaśraya Nāgavardhana who appears to be another younger brother of his, subsergent to him.

This inscription supplies many other interesting pieces of information. Firstly, it testifies to the existence of a solar temple at Mānapura, which is identical with Manor, the findspot of the plates. The endowments recorded in this grant were specifically made for the maintenance of worship in and conservation of this temple. Secondly, this record mentions a hitherto unknown functionary called *Deśilaka* (1.15) who appears to be connected with the administration of a *deśa* i.e., a district or a subdivision. Thirdly, like the Sanjan plates of Buddhavarasa,² this inscription invests Vikramāditya (1) of the Western Chālukya dynasty with the surname of *Kakali*.

As regards the place-names mentioned in the inscription Mānapura is surely the present village of Manor in the Palghar taluka of Thana district where these plates were discovered. Dipuka

¹ *Pisana Gr. Comp.* p. 220 and Pl.

² Above, Vol. XIV pp. 140 ff. and Pl.

which is specifically mentioned in the record as situated to the east of Mānapura is represented by the modern village of Tena, which is 2 miles east of Manor. The name of Kurāṭa-vishaya, wherein Mānapura was included, has perhaps survived in the modern name Kirat, a village, lying 12 miles north-east of Palghar town. The Vēṅgrāma of the inscription seems to be identical with Velgaon, 3 miles south-east of Kirat and 14 miles east-north-east of Palghar. As regards Vēṅgi'-vishaya, it is extremely doubtful if by this is meant the well-known homonymous tract between the Gōdāvari and the Kṛishnā on the eastern coast, as from aught we know of this ruler, his territory could never have extended so far. I am therefore unable for the present to identify Vēṅgi as also Urachhaka and Bōḍatta which were included therein.

I edit the inscription from the original as well as from a set of excellent stampages supplied through the kind courtesy of the Director General of Archaeology.

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 श्रो^१ स्वस्ति [॥*] वयस्याविकृतं विष्णोर्ध्वराहं शोभितार्णव(वम्) [†*] वंशजो-
पतव्यं पापविधात(त)भुवनं वपुः [॥*]
- 2 श्रीपतां सकलभुवनस्तूप[वान*]मानव्यसगात्राणां हारीतीपुत्राणां(नां) सप्तलोकमात्रि(तु)-
भित(स्त)स्त-
- 3 मात्रि(तु)भिरभिर्बद्धितानां काति(ति)केयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्ना(वन्ना)-
रायणप्रसादः^२-
- 4 समासादितवराहलोहनेक्षणमवशीकृताज्ञेयमहोभूतानां^३ वलुक्यानां कुलमलंकरिष्णोरश्च(श्च)-
- 5 मेधावभूयन्तानपवित्रीकृतगावस्य सत्याध्वधीमि(वु)विबोवल्भममहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभीकी-
तिव-
- 6 स्मर्राजस्य प्रियात्मजोनेकनरपतिशतमकुटतटयदितमभिगमकरनिकरसमृत्तस्तितोद्योति-
- 7 त^४वरणकमलमुगलस्योत्तरापथाविपतिबोहर्षबद्धनपराजयोपज[व]परममाहेस्वरोपरम-
- 8 न(ता)मयेय^५सत्याध्वधीमि(वु)विबोवल्भममहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरधोपुलकेशिवल्भममहाराजः त-

* [The correct reading is Vēṅgi'-vishaya. See below p. 21 n. 2. The present Bhendi, a village about four miles north-east of Manor, may represent the ancient Vēṅgi.—Ed.]

* Expressed by a symbol.

* The virga is superfluous.

* Read *and*Śrīdhī.

* This was inserted later on, below the line between *ta* and *na*.

* [This form may be derived from the root *yut*—*ādāna*. See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 97, n. 9.—Ed.]

* Read *yugala* (*Utharapatha*).

* Read as in other Chālukya grants परमेश्वरापरनामयेयः.

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- 9 स्वात्मजोनेकसामत (स्त) सकुटतटघटितवरपारविन्दो मेरुमंदरमलपविध्यतमानधेय्योजि (ऽ) हर-
 10 हरनिषर्द्धमानवरकरितुरमरुपवातिबलो मनोजवेकचित्रकंडाण्यप्रवरतुरंगमेनी (पो) पा-
 11 जितस्वराज्य (ज्यो) विजितचैरचोत्पंडपकमाजि (जि) तराज्यत्रयः परममाहेश्वरः श्री-
 नागवट्ट (वट्ट) -
 12 नपादानुध्यातः सत्याधयधीप्रि (पु) विदीवल्तमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरधोकोकुलिविकमादित्य-
 13 राजः तस्यानुजो भ्राता परममाहेश्वरो विजितसकलारातिपलो धराधयधीप्रसिय (सिंह)-
 वन्मराजः
 14 तस्य सुतः प्रकटपराकमाकांतविङ्मण्डलो धवलमशः सकलोन्मूलितशत्रुपक्षः परममा-
 15 हेश्वरः विनयादित्यप्रि (पु) विदीवल्तमपुत्रमल्लजयाधयधीमङ्गलरत्तराजः [*] सव्यानेवा-
 16 गामिबर्त्तमाननृपतिसामन्तविषयपतिभोगिकराष्ट्रग्रामकूटवेशिल्लकमहत्तराधिका-
 17 रिकादी (दीन्) समनुदायस्य (त्य) स्तु वः संविदितं ययास्माभिः [*] त्रयोदशोत्त-

Second Plate

- 18 रथदत्त (ज) तेषु शकवर्षेष्वतीतेषु प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्य [सं] वत्सरे एकविंशति [त*]-
 19 मे वर्त्तमाने कुराटविषयो (या) स्तानि विष्टमगवता (तो) दीधितिमालिनस्य¹ मान-
 पुरघा-
 20 नः [*] तस्य पूर्वदिग्भागो द्विजकग्राम [*] सोमङ्गः सपरिकर [*] पूर्वसीमापरिधि (विष्ट)-
 नः [*] तथा-
 21 न्यडेलुषामा (मे) कुकुटिमिडिमिडिवाव (स) कड्यं तथान्यडेलिंगि (जि) विषये उरखकग्राम-
 22 मोडतापल्लिक² एतदशेषमभ्यन्तरसिद्धिर³ चाटभटप्रावेश (यं) मानपुरदेवनट्टारकाव (पा) -
 23 वानां मंधपुल्लधूपशोपसंगीतकवत्पो (त्यु) पहारात्वं खंडस्फुटितसत्कारात्वं⁴ मावडका-

¹ Read दीधितिमालिनो.

² [The reading is clearly Venti; compare vta in sôkyastara in the next line. — Ed.]

³ Read पल्लिके.

⁴ Better read सिद्धिकमचाट-.

⁵ Read संस्कारात्वं-; the anuvāsa is redundant.

- 24 अंवावितित्व (स्वि) तिसमकालीनं मातापिशोरत्तमनश्च पुष्पयशोभिनि (वृ) ङ्गे भूमिधि (चिद्ध) -
ब्रन्वायेनोवकाति-
- 25 शर्गेण¹ [प्रब] लपवन्नेरितोदपिजलतरंगचञ्चलं² अन्वाधानुगतानां शीर्षकालम्भेयसञ्च वृक्षाना-
- 26 कलक्षण (ध्य सा) माग्यभोगभूप्रदानफले [पु] निः शशिकरश्विरं चिराम [य³] शपिच-
बीरवि⁴ भिरयमस्मश (हा) योनु-
- 27 मन्तव्यः⁵ प्रतिपालय (वि) तव्यश्च योवाज्ञानपटत्वादि (वृ) तमतिरातिन्धादाद्विद्यमानं वानुभवेत
त पंच
- 28 भिम्भंहापातकंरुपातकंश्च संयुक्तः⁶ स्वादित्युक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन⁷ वष्टिं
वर्षसहस्रा-
- 29 नि स्वर्गे भोवति भू (भू) मिदः⁸ आलेता वानुमता च तान्वेव तरके वसेत्⁹ [॥¹⁰]
विभपाटवीश्वतोषात्तु शु (शु) ष्ककोट-
- 30 रवासिनः¹¹ कि (कु) ष्णा¹² [ह¹³] पो हि वा¹⁴ [वि¹⁵] ति (न्ते) भूमिदायं हरति ये¹⁶ [॥¹⁷]
स्ववतां (त्तां) परवतां (त्तां) वा यो हरेत वसुन्वरा¹⁸ [॥¹⁹] कपिला-
- 31 अतपातो वञ्च नः संप्रतिपद्यति²⁰ [॥²¹] यानीह वस्तानि पुरा त (न) रेग्गंवांनानि चन्मात्वं-
वसन्करानि [॥²²] निर्मात्यवांतप्रति-
- 32 मानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनरावदीत²³ [॥²⁴] लिखितम (मि) दं विविरपतिमहासंघि-
विप्रेक्षितं²⁵ [प] टलाधिक-
- 33 रणाधिकि (कु) तनिरवधपरमेस्वरभट्टबीरदना (ने) न कुमारस्वामिदीक्षितपूजेनेति²⁶ [॥²⁷] शककालसंव-
- 34 स्सर १०० ६ १० ३ वैशाख शु १० [५] तिष (वि) तमिति ।

¹ Supply वसम् to be consistent with वृक्षवशेषम्.

² This sentence is redundant. After वञ्चनं should be supplied a synonym 'of human life like जीवितं to make the sense complete. [The latter one in ambodian has a closed top. It looks as if the engraver first wrote sun and then tried to make so of it. However, the expression remains imperfect. The corresponding expression occurs more frequently in the early Kalachuri records. A perfect example may be seen in the Vajñā plates of Buddharaja: *prabala-pasana-pratā-dādhā-jāta-saraga-chārichālam jīvalīkām-ādīte-ānugāte-ānārahāshikāra-dīrgga-kāla-ādhyasāśāha-grāhī-mahārāja śāntāpā-ādīpa-śāśā*, etc. Above, Vol. XII, p. 34, text 11. 23-25.—Ed.]

³ Read दिव्योपनि-

⁴ The last foot of this verse is corrupt and meaningless. [The intended reading is *kapila-śāntāpā-ādīpa-śāśā-jāta-pratigadyat*.—Ed.]

⁵ Read विप्रदिक्षित-

NO. 4—HARASUR INSCRIPTION OF KING SOMA

(I Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

THE epigraph was found on a piece of stone built into the platform in front of the temple of Anantāyana at Harasūr, a village in the Gulbarga District of the Nizam's Dominion. I visited this place in 1933 when I was a college student and copied the inscription.¹ I am editing it here for the first time from ink-impressions prepared by me.

The inscription is inscribed in Nandi-Nāgarī characters of the 12th century A. D. There are few orthographical peculiarities to be noted. Except in a few instances (e. g., cerebral *ṣ*) the convention of doubling a consonant combined with *r* is generally not observed. The language is Sanskrit and the whole composition is in verse of the ornate classical style. The poetry is not of high order and the writing contains some errors. As a part of the stone bearing the inscription is broken and lost, the record is incomplete. In lines 17-20 a few *akṣaras* at either end are damaged and missing. Even in the absence of explicit statement to the effect in the inscription, it is clear that the charter belongs to the southern Kalachuri dynasty familiarly known as the Kalachuryas of Kalyāṇa.² Save two copper plate documents³ which are in Sanskrit, the epigraphs of this family are generally in Kannaḍa. So this claims to be the first stone record of the house in Sanskrit so far discovered.

The epigraph describes the origin and the genealogy of the Kalachuri family. The genealogy stops with the king Sōma or Sōmāśvara who bore the *śiruda* Rāya-Murāri. Then we are introduced to the king's minister and general Mād̥hava. In the following passage the poet refers to a temple of Viṣṇu⁴ constructed by Mād̥hava and indulges in describing the beauty of its golden pinnacle (verse 14). The lost portion of the epigraph appears to have contained information regarding the provision made for its maintenance by Mād̥hava.⁵

If the record bore a date, it must have been obviously in the lost portion. However, it is clear from the genealogical context that it was drafted during the regnal period of the Kalachuri king Rāya-Murāri Sōvidēva (Sōmāśvara) who is known from other sources to have ruled from A.D. 1167 to 1176.

Damaged and incomplete as the record is, it is highly important in as much as it draws in, directly and indirectly, much new material for the reconstruction of the history of the southern Kalachuris, which is still shrouded in mystery.⁶ The statement regarding the origin of the family

¹ Inscriptions copied at Harasūr have found their place in the Mackenzie Collection preserved in the University of Madras. But this inscription in particular appears to have escaped the notice of the copyists. I am indebted for this information to Mr. M. Venkataramayya.

² Not Kalyāṇi as is often mentioned: for the correct name of the place is Kalyāṇa. The above name of the family can not stand full justification. Firstly, the family is not always referred to as Kalachurya, which is supposed to have been derived from Kalachuri. The name Kalachuri is met with in a large number of epigraphs which shows that both the forms were in use simultaneously. Secondly, Kalyāṇa was not the one and the only capital of these rulers. In fact Kalyāṇa enjoyed this privilege for a brief period during the reign of Bijjala II. Even he had his alternate headquarters at Maṅgalavādī (Sangli State, near Paṇḍharpur), which was the original and long-standing capital for many princes of this house. Hence, the Southern Kalachuris or Kalachuris of Kāṇṭhaka would, in my opinion, be a better denomination of this family.

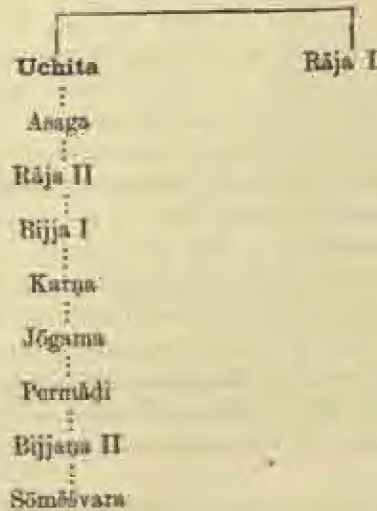
³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 374 and *J. B. R. A. S.* (Old Series), Vol. XVIII, p. 200.

⁴ The present day Anantāyana temple, near which the inscription was found, most probably represents the Viṣṇu temple.

⁵ More details about this Mād̥hava are known from another inscription at Harasūr, found in the Bhṛṅgāśvara temple. These will be utilised in a later context. Mād̥hava figures in this epigraph as one of the donors. The date of this epigraph is A.D. 1172. As the present epigraph might have come into existence about the same time, we may place it somewhere about that year.

⁶ No systematic attempt to reconstruct the history of the family from the sources discovered during the past half a century has so far been made. The account of the late Dr. Fleet (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II) deserves to be thoroughly revised.

is characteristically significant and not found in other records. It is revealed here for the first time in clear terms that the members of this house claimed their descent from the lunar race.¹ The genealogy narrated in the epigraph is as follows :



But the evidence of other inscriptions of the family shows that this genealogy, though it ushers in a few new names, is not complete.² To start with, another inscription from Harasūr itself, found in the Bhōgōśvara temple differs from the above in the following respects : Asaga had a son named Kannama. The record next mentions the latter's son whose name is irretrievably lost. This unknown son of Kannama had two sons, Rāja II and Bijja I. Bijja I was followed by his son Kartā.³ Thus it may be seen from this epigraph that between Asaga and Kartā there intervened

¹ Fleet's reference to the lunar descent of the family is based on an inscription in the Bhōgōśvara temple at Harasūr. The record is unpublished and I possess full copy of the text in my private collection. The passage in question from the epigraph runs thus :

Line 6 *Serata sura-kumar-ikadaya-lagadali-ud-epeta-nij-āśita-madara-paripa-*

Line 7 *ni-āśita-āśimāyasa Kannā-mahāra Sura-pa-āśara Sāi tadīya-kalāhara-sarkha-āpta-*
Sankara-vara-āśara-mad-uchi-

Line 8 *ni-cha-kāra-kal-āśara-mad-mukhikāra-*

This may be compared with verses 3 and 4 of the present epigraph. Also see *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 136.

² Most of the genealogical statements contained in the several genuine records of the family are scrappy and incomplete and one can also detect much divergency in these accounts. This shows that very little was known regarding the origin and the early history of the family which sprang to prominence in the time of Jōgama and his successors. This, therefore, makes it necessary to collate the varying information from different epigraphs and reconstruct an authentic genealogical picture of the family.

³ Fleet's genealogical account at this stage is based on faulty understanding of the text and hence misleading (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 468). As the record is unpublished and it is necessary to know the original text properly to find out the errors in his interpretation, I reproduce the relevant portion below :

Line 8 *Anta-gaurā-āśita-madā-kā-āśita-Uchita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-*

Line 9 *janamantara-dagava-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-*
āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-

Line 10 *... āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-*

Line 11 *āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-*
āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-

Line 12 *āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-āśita-*

From this it may be seen that there are no names like Santama or Santama and Sagarama as made out by Fleet.

three generations and that Rāja II and Bijja I were brothers.

Our record again does not furnish a full picture of the genealogy at this stage. We shall therefore take the help of a record from Harihar,¹ Mysore State, to fill up the missing gaps. In doing so we shall confine ourselves in the first instance to the account of the two brothers Rāja II and Bijja I. Of these, the latter, we are told, was the elder. Rāja II had four sons: Ammugi, Sankhavarma,² Kannara and Jōgama. After Bijja I the succession passed on to his brother's sons. Ammugi was thus the next ruler who was followed by his youngest brother Jōgama. According to this inscription Sankhavarma and Kannara probably did not rule. We may observe in this context the identity of Karpa of the present epigraph with Kannara of the Harihar inscription.

According to the inscription from Hire-Muddanūr,³ Jōgama married Tārādēvi and had a daughter by her named Sāvalādēvi. She was probably older than Permāḍi. She was given in marriage to the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI. Jōgama's son Permāḍi is mentioned by all the epigraphs.⁴

Permāḍi's son was Bijjala II, who usurped the Western Chālukya throne,⁵ Bijjala II had a younger brother named Mailugi and he is not mentioned by our record. He is known from three epigraphs in the Mysore State.⁶

Coming to the next generation our record speaks of Sōmāśvara as having ruled after Bijjala II. The former is more familiarly styled Rāja-Murāri Sōvidēva. Though he was probably the eldest surviving son,⁷ the succession from Bijjala II to Sōmāśvara was neither smooth nor

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 42.

² Sankhavarma is the same as Saṅkama of the Māḍḡmā inscription (above, Vol. XV, p. 310). Bijjala II's son Saṅkama II is mentioned as Sankhavarma in a later record (*S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, pt. 1, No. 297).

³ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 448, n. 3. In this record solar lineage is ascribed to Jōgama. An inscription from Ingaśvara, Bijapur District, opens with an invocation to the Sun god and mentions Kārtavīrya as the first ancestor of the Kalachuris, indicating thereby their solar descent (*B. K.* No. 11 of 1930-31). The two apparently divergent statements regarding the lineage of the southern Kalachuris are but reflections of similar statements found in the records of the northern Kalachuris. Whereas the two branches of the northern Kalachuris, etc., of Tripuri and of Serayṭpāra claim their descent from the lunar race, the third one, the Kalachuris of Raṇnapur, substitutes the sun for the moon as their primal ancestor. (Above, Vol. II, p. 3; Vol. VII, p. 88; Vol. XII, p. 210; Vol. XVIII, p. 131; Vol. XIX, pp. 78 and 211, etc.) This disparity can be reconciled by pointing out that Puruṣava, the ancestor of Kārtavīrya was an offspring of Bṛhmi and Hā, who were son and daughter of the Moon and the Sun respectively.

⁴ An inscription from Walasing, Jath State (*B. K.* No. 125 of 1940-41), incidentally reveals the hitherto unknown relationship of Permāḍi with the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI. In this record Chandalādēvi, wife of the king is referred to as the grand-mother (maternal) of Bijjala II. This relationship could be explained only on the assumption that a daughter of Vikramāditya VI, evidently by the above-named queen, was given in marriage to Permāḍi and that she was mother of Bijjala II. This was in keeping with the Indian tradition of family alliances. As we know in the case of Jōgama who gave his daughter to Vikramāditya VI, the latter also would have reciprocated a similar turn of matrimonial obligation by bestowing his daughter in marriage to the former's son.

⁵ Permāḍi appears to have forestalled his son Bijjala II in defying the authority of his overlord. An inscription from Tadālāgi, Jamkhandi State (*B. K.* No. 63 of 1938-39), is dated in the 12th regnal year of Permāḍi, which corresponds to A.D. 1129 and falls right within the regnal period of Sōmāśvara III. But it is curious to note that it neither mentions the name of the overlord, nor does it associate the feudatory title Mahāsamājādhīpāra with Permāḍi. This was perhaps condoned at the time on consideration of intimacy of relationship that subsisted between Permāḍi and the royal house and the dignified status held by the former in the kingdom. But it was a bad example to set which culminated in a grave catastrophe in the course of the next generation, viz., the overthrow of the Chālukya rule by Bijjala II.

⁶ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Hl. 30, Sk. 197; Vol. XI, Dg. 44.

⁷ Bijjala II had a son named Vajradēva by Echālādēvi (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 477 and above Vol. XV p. 199). I am inclined to take him to be the eldest. He must have died before the nomination of Sōvidēva to the Kalachuri throne.

undisputed. Bijjala II had other sons¹ and daughters² regarding whose existence our record is silent. The picture of the disturbed state of affairs that prevailed in the Kalachuri kingdom after the death of Bijjala II is available from other records and it would be worth while to take a glimpse of it here.

According to some inscriptions³ Bijjala II was succeeded by his younger brother Mailugi, who was followed by the former's grandson, whose name is given as Kaudāra⁴ in one epigraph and Kalidēva⁵ in another. But actually his name appears to be Karṇadēva.⁶ After Karṇadēva came his junior uncle Sōvidēva. The Bhōgēśvara temple inscription from Harasūt throws revealing light at this point.⁷ While narrating the circumstances of the accession of Sōvidēva, it states that the Kalachuri sovereignty was reduced to a chaotic condition by the evil counsellors such as Kaṣapa⁸ and others; Karṇa usurped the throne and ruled illegally; but he was eventually killed and the kingdom duly restored into the hands of Sōvidēva.

Piecing together the information furnished by these different sources, the facts appear to be as follows: At the time of his abdication⁹ Bijjala nominated Sōvidēva, his eldest surviving son, as his successor. If this be accepted, it should have created resentment and opposition in a section of the royal household and the official ranks of the kingdom. Soon after the death of Bijjala, which itself was brought about by an assassin,¹⁰ rival parties headed by claimants to the throne contended for power. Bijjala's younger brother Mailugi was the first to raise the standard of revolt. But he was removed from the scene. Next came Bijjala's grandson Karṇadēva, who

¹ Besides Saṅkama, Ahavamalla and Singhaya, Bijjala had yet another son named Mailugi, Mailugi or Mallikrjuna. He seems to have been junior to Sōvidēva and senior to Saṅkama. He usurped the Kalachuri kingdom and set up his rule for a very brief period at the end of Sōvidēva's reign. (*Ep. Carat.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 197; Vol. XI, Dg. 44; *R. K. No.* 93 and 96 of 1936-37, No. 51 of 1937-38; etc.)

² He had at least two daughters: one Sirigadēvi by Echalaḍēvi was married to the Sinda chief Chāronḍa II (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 477); another was the wife of Barmasas of Bardasika. (*Ep. Carat.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 243.)

³ *Ep. Carat.*, Vol. VII, III. 80 and Sk. 197 and Vol. XI, Dg. 44.

⁴ Kaudāra or Kaudāra can be derived from Kṛṣṇa or Karṇa. In the present case it has to be derived from and equated with Karṇa.

⁵ Kalidēva appears to have been his title.

⁶ It is beyond doubt that it was Karṇadēva. (Note the citation from the inscription in the Bhōgēśvara temple below: *Siddhārṇavachārīya* of Nāgavāṅka mentions one Karṇadēva (IX-2) and the reference is obviously to the same person. But his relationship with Bijjala is wrongly stated therein to be that of brother (karma) instead of grandson (samasa).)

⁷ In view of its great importance I quote below the original passage of the inscription from my private collection:

*Kalichari-uripa-kala-rājya-
kalauḍ-ahamantri-Kaṣapapūṭigajindan-
pūṭibalam-ḍyera-nija-dē-
r-kaladivādubanditā Mādharava post-sōvidēva-
Adant-ava-
Ahavamalla-rāja-Lakṣmī-
r-atramadī-śāḍa Karṇanama-kunda-
Chakrman-sōvidēva-
atramadīva Adant-uripant-ḍyera-madadāt* (lines 35-38)

⁸ Kaṣapayya Niyaka was a minister and wielded much influence in the state during the time of Bijjala II (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, pp. 466 and 472; *Ep. Carat.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 102; Vol. XI, Dg. 35 and 42).

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 92; *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 477.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 479.

appears to have been a son of Bijjala's eldest son,¹ who was now no more. But he was opposed by Sōvidēva's party and in the encounter that ensued Karṇadēva was killed by Sōvidēva's general Mādhava. Eventually Sōvidēva succeeded to his father's kingdom. These events might have taken place in the course of a few months during the latter part of A.D. 1167.²

An attempt may now be made to furnish a chronological setting to the above genealogical account. In order to achieve this we have to start from Bijjala II and trace backwards towards his ancestors. The earliest date available for him is from an inscription at Walasang,³ Jath State. The epigraph which is dated in the 5th year of the Western Chālukya king Jagadēkamalla II (=A.D. 1142) introduces him as the latter's subordinate and mentions his administration over the province of Karahāḍa Four Thousand. Hence we might approximately assign A.D. 1140 for the commencement of his career. Permāḍi must have started his career by A.D. 1118 as an inscription from Tadalbhāgi⁴ refers to A.D. 1129 as his 12th year. Jōgama was governing the province of Karahāḍa Four Thousand in A.D. 1087-88 as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI according to an epigraph from Kōlagiri,⁵ Jath State. Hence we may reasonably place the initial date of his career by A.D. 1080.

Between Jōgama and Uchita, the earliest ancestor, there intervened five generations. Counting at an average of 25 years per generation we obtain A.D. 955 as the approximate date of Uchita. It may thus be concluded that Uchita was the founder of the Kalachuri line and that he laid its foundation⁶ by the middle of the 10th century A.D.

But indications are not wanting to surmise that Uchita was not the first and direct immigrant from Central India to the south and that the southern movement of the Kalachuris might have taken place a few generations earlier. The growth of the Gurjara Pratihāra power in the north and its impact on Central India, the homeland of the Kalachuris in the 9th century A.D.,⁷ seem to have brought about the disruption of the latter. It was under the force of such circumstances that some dispossessed members of the Kalachuri house seem to have migrated to the south and settled at Mangalivē(vā)ḷa.⁸ It is possible to gather from the Māḍgihāl record that some generations might have passed in obscurity with the early settlers in the Deccan before the family rose to some distinction.⁹

¹ As suggested previously Vajradēva might have been the eldest son of Bijjala II, who predeceased his father.

² As shown by Fleet, Bijjala abdicated after 19th July 1167 A.D. (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 477.) The records of Sōvidēva show that his reign commenced in the same year. The commotion created by the rival claimants must have followed in the immediate wake of his accession and he might have succeeded in putting down the disturbances before the end of the year. So we have to fit in the statements regarding the rule of Maḍḍugi and Karṇadēva within the brief period of a few months that intervened between the abdication of Bijjala and the final accession of Sōvidēva. There is nothing improbable about this.

³ *B. K.* No. 128 of 1940-41.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 66 of 1935-39.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 103 of 1940-41.

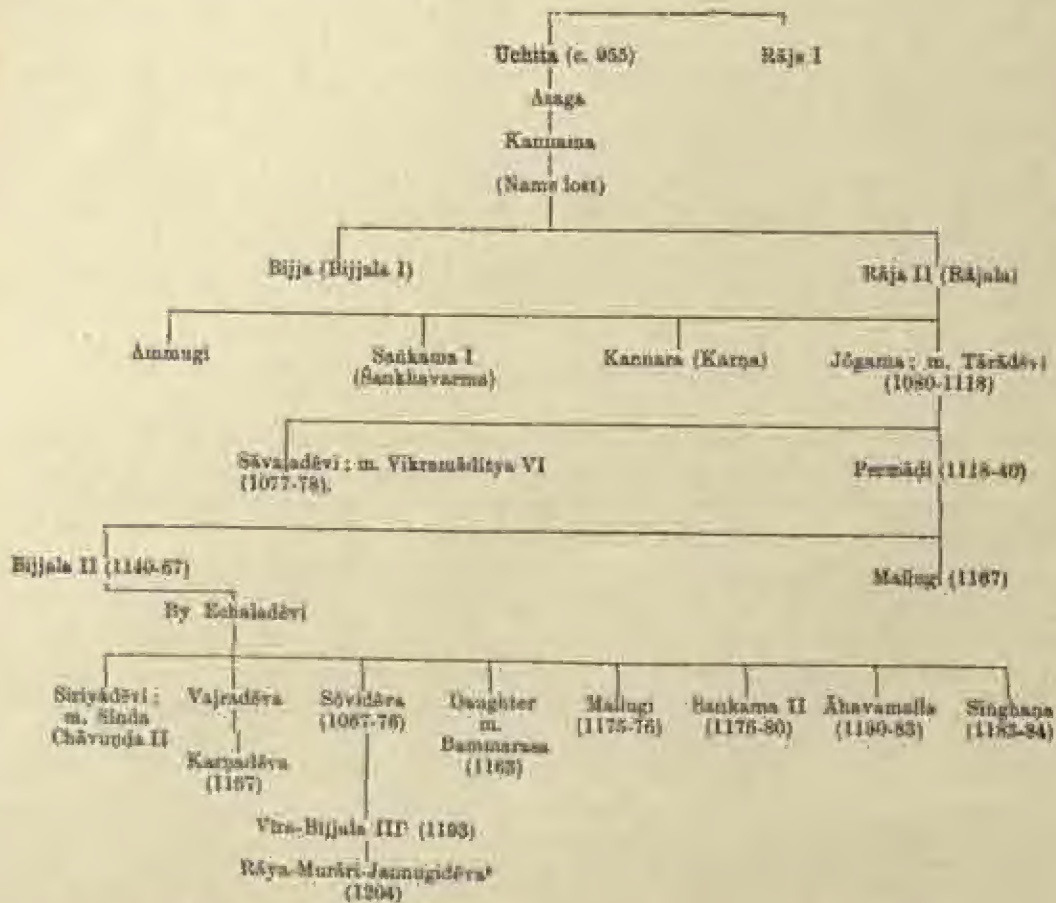
⁶ The name of Uchita as the founder of the southern Kalachuri line is known for the first time from the present record and also from the inscription in the Bhūḡāvara temple, Harasūr. (See n. 3 above, p. 24, line 8 of the quoted text.)

⁷ Kāśmīra-maḡḡala, the ancestral seat of the Kalachuris of Central India was under the sway of the Gurjara Pratihāra ruler Bhūjadēva in A.D. 836 (*Above*, Vol. XIX, p. 18).

⁸ Māḡḡalivēḡḡa or the modern Mangalavēḡḡa (near Pandharpur) was the early seat of the Kalachuris migrating to the south. It was the chief town of the Tapikāḡḡa māḡḡa (tribe). (*Above*, Vol. XV, p. 315.) This area became the ancestral home for the later members of the family, who are at times introduced in association with these local terms. For instance, Jōgama is spoken of as Tapikāḡḡa Jōgamarasa and the Māḡḡalivēḡḡa of Mangalavēḡḡa. (*Ep. Cars.*, Vol. XI, Pg. 42 and *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 448.) His son Permāḡḡi is spoken of as Tapikāḡḡa Permāḡḡidēva in *B. K.* No. 96 of 1935-37. Mangalavēḡḡa never ceased to be the headquarters of the Kalachuris even during the hey-day of their power in spite of their occasional preference for other centres.

⁹ *Above*, Vol. XV, p. 319.

In the light of the foregoing discussion the revised and consolidated genealogy of the family will tentatively be as follows :



Regarding Mādhava, the minister and general of the Kalachuri king Sōma, not many details are known from the present record. The Bhōgāvara temple inscription mentioned above, however, furnishes an authentic account of his achievements which, as described before, shows that he played a distinguished role in the troublous days following the death of Bijjala. He sponsored the cause of Sōvidēva and successfully crushed the machinations of his rivals. It was through his valour combined with diplomacy that Sōvidēva was restored to his father's throne. This entitled Mādhava to the well-deserved praise, *Kalachuri-bhūpala-vipula-rājyōddharaṇa* (upholder of the mighty rule of the Kalachuri king), which is bestowed upon him in that epigraph.

* This son of Rāya-Murāri Sōvidēva is known from an inscription at Sankh, Jath State (E. K. No. 103 of 1940-41). The ruler of Mangalore (Mangalagiri) whom Bhallama is described as having vanquished (*jagatāda*) could be this same person. The name Bhallama in the passage narrating the exploits of Bhallama by Hemādri, *gōḍa-mangalagiri-jagatāda* (*Śatavahana*), *Śatavahana-jagatāda* (Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. II, p. 271), appears to be a mistaken reading for Bijjala. Or, if we accept the other reading *Fajirama*, it may be taken as a Sanskritised form of Bijjama.

* E. K. No. 44 of 1936-37. It is suggested tentatively that Rāya-Murāri Jannagidēva of this record might have been son of Vira-Bijjala III and grandson of Rāya-Murāri Sōvidēva.

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TEXT*

- 1 [Śrī][*] Jayaty-āviśhkrītam Viśhṣōr-Vārāham kshōbhīt-ārṇṇavam | śakrah-ōnnata
damaṣṭr-āgra-viśrānta-bhuvanam vapuḥ || [1*] Jayati kshira-vārāṣī Śrī-vivāh
ākshatair-iva | bindu[hl]-
- 2 r-Mahādar-ōbhūtair-yō Mukundam-avākīrat || [2*] Tataḥ samudyaśv-īmdur-baṁdhuḥ
Śrīhṡāra-janmanah | jagaj-jana-drig-ānamda-ahrit=sarva-kālā-nidhīḥ || [3*] Tad-vamśa-
samibhavō
- 3 bhūthpīd-Uchitas=tasya ch=ānujō (j)ah | mahān-Rājō mahā-viryō tau(Sau)bhādra-kula-bhū-
shaḥō (ṇ)ah || [4*] Tad-vamśō=kaga-bhūpatīḥ samabhavat-prōddāma-dōr-vikrama[s=ta]d-
vamā-ā-
- 4 rṇṇava-madhyataḥ samudagāch-ohhrīrāja-Rāj-āhvayaḥ | Bijja-kahōnipatī=tataś-cha
nīpatī-bhōrājahūn-manli-sphuran-māṇky-ācān-gaḥ-āru-ānighri-yuga-
- 5 lah prauḍha-pratāp-ōdayah || [5*] Vamśō tasya babhūva Karṇṇa-nīpatīḥ Śūr-āmkū-ēty-
ādibhīt-nūm-aughaiḥ prathitah khitau prati-appaty-amibhōdhi-Kuṁbh-ōdbhavaḥ |
tasmā-
- 6 d=apy-atula-pratāpa-visa(sa)daḥ Śrī-Jōgama-khmāpatir-yān-ācī-parirakshatā khitim-
imām rājanvad-uhchair-jagam(t) || [6*] Tasmād-bhūri-nīpāla-bhāla-tilakah samyak-
prajā-pālaka(h)
- 7 Śrī-kāntā-vudan-ālakah samabhavat-Perināḍi-bhūpālakah | yō datvā nija-khadga-pātama-
arayō vikriya labdhair-ya(s)ah-piyūshaiḥ samapūrayat-prithutara-v(b)rahm-ām-
- 8 ḍa-bhāmḍ-ōdaram || [7*] Ta(t-sū)hur-Giridurgamalla-Subhāśadity-ādi-nāmēvali-khyātaḥ
Śakra-parākramah samudagāch-ehri-Bijjaṇa-khmāpatīḥ | yaś-Chālukya-kulād=ball
bhujā-
- 9 balād=āchchhidya rājya-śriyam bhōjō Kuṁtala-chakravarti-padaśim-ēkātapatr-ōjvalām(m) ||
[8*] Mādya(d*)-damti-kaṭa-athala-pravigalad-dān-ām(v)ubhūḥ paṁkilā mārgā durgama-
- 10 tān yayuś-cha parita(h*) arōṣānchī ch=ōhur-javāt | prāvṛt-kāla-iva prayāga-samayō yasya
prapashṭa-dvīsha(h*) śrimad-Bijja-nīpāya tasya vibhavaḥ sō-yaṁ kathadī kathya-
- 11 tā || [9*] Tasmād=ōdbhuta-vikramah kṛtamatīḥ satya-pratijñō vātī śrimān-Rāja-Murārī-
ity-abhimūtaḥ Śrī-Sōma-prithvīśvaraḥ | yasy-ābhyaḡama-samibhramō haya-khura-kha-
- 12 ṇa-kshamā-mahājāla-prōḍya(t*)-sāmdra-parāga-nashṭa-nayanō u=śhṭē rīpuś-ohēh(ī)tm(h)(m)
|| [10*] Darpihṭb-Āmdhra-mahidhām-saditāti-paviḥ prōttutaga-Vahg-āmbudhēr-anrvō
gārviṭa-Chōla-v(b)ā-
- 13 la-kadālī-kāṇḍa-prachamḍa-dvipah | garjad-Gārjara-mēgha-chaṭṭa-pavānah Karṇṇa-
ṭa-Karṇṇ-Ārjunō Nēpāla-khitipāla-dāru-dahanaḥ Śrī-Sōma-bhūpālakah || [11*] Kēchi-
- 14 t-kānanam-āśo yaṁti gahanaṁ kēchid-dhuvā(m*)ty=anguliḥ kēchit-kōśam-upārpayaṁtī
chakīṭah kēchit-palāyanātī cha | kēchit-aviyam-urō=ukayanti balīnah kē-
- 15 chit-pramūhyanti tā kēchid-bhūpatayaḥ prayāntī vilayanti yaśmīn-prayāḡ-ōdyatē || [12*]
Tasy-ābhūt-parirakshataḥ khitim-imām mamtri kṛti dhārmikah | śriman-Mā-
- 16 dhava-darḍanāṭha-tilakō Vāsishṭha-vamś-ōdbhavaḥ | Sāvītri janani tu yasya viditā yā Vēda-
mūt-ōva sā tāta(s=cha) prathitō-va(trā) viśva-bhuvanō Śrī-Māyidōv-ā(hva)yaḥ || [13*] — —

* From the impression prepared by me. The illustration which accompanies this article is from an
stampage of the inscription kindly sent by Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad,
Deccan, to whom my thanks are due.

* This and the next three verses are in the *śuśhṭāḥ* metre.

This and the following verses are in the *Sārdhā-ikāśā* metre.

- 17 〰 〰 Mādhavēna rachitē Lakṣmīpatēr-mamdirē sauvarṇasā kalāṣaṁ tataḥ suragirir-yam
vīkahya chintām-śgāt | nūtnō dakṣhiṇa-Mēru-śaṣa samabhūn-mattō-pi śōbh-ānvitāḥ
prāyaḥ
- 18 — 〰 〰 — śrayēyur-amarāś-tyakṣhyaṁti tē mām-iti " [14*] Kim brūmō vayan-asya-
śauryam-atulam yasy-ōgra-yuddh-āṁgaṇē mastiśh-ōlbaṇa-paṁka-saṁkṣa-taḥ
— 〰 — 〰 —
- 19 — kō-pi piśācha-raṁka-nikarō n-ādy-āpi — 〰 — tē sphit-śapik-paripūrit-ōdara-bhar,
krāntō vinishkrānti || [15*] Śō-yam yasya samasta śatru 〰 〰 — 〰 — 〰
- 20 — 〰 — 〰 — 〰 — dhvāmsi-yāśah-samasta-bhuvana-dhvānt-aika-sarv-ōdayaḥ | saumādyam
andati-vilōla nayanā — 〰 — 〰 — 〰 —
- 21-24 damaged.

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

- V. 1. Praise of the Boar Incarnation of Vishnu.
- V. 2. Victorious is the Milk Ocean who sprayed Mukunda with drops of water emanating from (the mountain) Mandara, auspicious grains of rice, as it were, showered at the time of marriage of (his daughter) Śrī.
- V. 3. From him (Milk Ocean) across the moon, the joy of the world.
- V. 4. In his (lunar) race was born Uchita. He had a brother named Rāja.
- V. 5. In his family came forth Asaga, aggressive with his mighty arms. Next in descent was Rāja. After him rose to power king Bijja, whose feet were touched by the crests of rulers of the earth.
- V. 6. In his house appeared Karṇa who was renowned by the titles, such as *Śūrāṅkusa* (Goad to the Brave), etc., the veritable Agastya to the ocean of hostile kings. He was succeeded by Jōgama who was unsurpassed in valour.
- V. 7. He was followed by Permāḍi, an ornament of the circle of kings.
- V. 8. After him rose to eminence his son Bijjaṇa who was distinguished by the titles, *Grīdur-gemalla* (Champion of the Hill-fort), *Subhātāditya* (Sun among the chosen warriors) and others. He, the mighty one, wrested by force the sovereignty from the race of the Chālukyas and secured the paramount position of the lord of Kuntala, adorned with a single parasol.
- V. 9. Who can describe his triumphant expeditions that put his enemies to flight?
- V. 10. His successor is king Sōma of extraordinary prowess. He is praised as Rāya-Murāri (veritable Murāri among the kings). The enemy is motionless before him.
- V. 11. King Sōma, the veritable Arjuna to Karṇa, the Karpāta, is the thunderbolt to the mountain, the Āndhra; submarine fire to the ocean, the Vaṅga; elephant to the tender plantain, the Chōla; whirlwind to the rumbling cloud, the Gūjara; fire to the wood, the Nēpala king.
- V. 12. When he prepares for an expedition, his enemies are struck with terror and run away halter skelter to save their lives.
- V. 13. He has a minister in Mādhava-daṇḍanātha. Born of parents, Māyidēva and Sāvitrī, he is a descendant of the sage Vaiśiṣṭha.
14. 17-20. A temple of Vishnu was constructed by him. Seeing its golden pinnacle, the divine mountain (Mēru) felt anxious that the gods would forsake him and resort to this, the more distinguished new Mēru of the South.
- The heroism displayed by this (general Mādhava) on the fields of battle is beyond description.

No. 5.—ALAND INSCRIPTION OF YUVARAJA MALLIKARJUNA

(I Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

This inscription was copied by me in the summer vacation of 1933, when I was a student in the Karnatak College, Dharwar. The stone slab bearing the epigraph was built in a wall of the *darqah* of Lādle Mashāk Sāheb at Aland, a fairly big village in the Pāyagāh Jāgirs of the Gulbarga District, Hyderabad State. The record was published in the *Karnāṭak Historical Review*, Vol. IV (1937), pp. 61-71. But in view of certain imperfections of the publication and the importance of the epigraph mainly for the study of the family history of the eminent Western Chālukya ruler Vikramāditya VI, I propose to re-edit it here.

In the process of trimming the slab to fit it into the construction, damage has been caused to the writing in some places. Consequently, a few letters at the commencement of almost all the lines are lost. The rest of the inscription is in a fair state of preservation. The characters are Kannada of the 11th century A. D. and generally conform to the style of the age. The length of the medial *i* is invariably clearly distinguished by a spiral to the left of the curve at the top. Regarding orthography there are no special features worth mentioning except for those common to the period. The *upadhamaṇiya* is used in ll. 38, 41 and 42. The language is Kannada and the composition is partly in prose and partly in verse. The imprecation towards the end is, as usual, made up of Sanskrit verses.

The record refers itself to the reign of Tribhuvanamalladēva or Vikramāditya VI and is dated the Chālukya-Vikrama year 7, Dundubhi, Pushya, *su.* 5, Sunday, [Uttarā]yapa-samkrānti. The date is irregular. In the cyclic year Dundubhi, Uttarāyapa commenced on Pushya *su.* 3, Sunday. Its Christian equivalent would be A. D. 1082, December 25.

The object of the epigraph is to record the gift of income derived from tolls and levies such as *perjūka*, *bilkoḷe*, etc., in the district of Alande Thousand for the daily worship and offerings to the god Sōmēśvara of Alande by the king¹ at the request of the queen Chandalalāvē. The gift was entrusted to the hands of the teacher Surēśvara Paṇḍita² who was in charge of the temple. Further donations to the god were also made by Yuvārāja Mallikārjuna and others.

Yuvārāja Mallikārjuna was a son of Vikramāditya VI. Kumāra Sōmēśvara was another son who also figures as the donor in the inscription (ll. 55-56). Mallikārjuna is addressed as Yuvārāja-Vallabha and described as the crest-jewel among the princes (*Kumāra-tikkhamaṇi*). He was brave and valorous in war. Impressed by his ability, the king installed him as his heir apparent. He was the seniormost among the princes.³ Under instructions from the king he was governing the district of Alande Thousand.

¹ It is clear from the context that the expression *Ballabhasur* occurring in lines 36 and 51 refers to the reigning king. The word *Ballabha* which is a general term, is evidently derived from the specific title *Vallabha* borne by the Western Chālukyas of Hādāmi and the Elastrakṣayas of Maḥkṣaḍ. It is met with in its *abhye-nāṭa* derivative form in some records of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa also, who followed the ancient tradition. See for instance, *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, pt. 1, No. 104, l. 26; No. 110, l. 11; No. 121, l. 12; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 127, l. 11. Also see the *Ajñātrihakaroparāṇatīlakaṁ* (*śāśva* i, verse 45) of the Kannada poet Ranna, wherein *Ballaba*, the variant form of the same title, is used to denote the reigning king who was Taila II.

² This teacher is identical with his namesake who figures in an inscription from the Bellary District, as the administrator of a small tract, 17 years later, *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, pt. 1, No. 165.

³ *B. E.* No. 1 of 1937-38.

Mallikārjuna figures in a fairly large number of inscriptions¹ almost from the commencement of his father's reign and it would be useful to summarise the main facts gathered about him from these records. He is consistently spoken of as Yuvārāja² and the epithet *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* is never applied to him as in the case of the other sons of the king. This testifies to the unique and exalted position held by this prince among the princes of the royal household. He is specified as the son of the crowned queen (*Paṭlamahādēvi*) who was most probably Lakshmādēvi.³ He had a daughter named Mahādēvi. Besides the territory under his administration noted above, he was administering the tract of Tardayāḍi Thousand in A. D. 1095, 1109, 1112 and 1115 and the province of Karahaja Four Thousand in A. D. 1116. The last date so far known for him is A. D. 1123.

Before reverting to Sōmēśvara alluded to above, we have to take note of another son of Vikramāditya VI, named **Jayakarpa**. He seems to have stood next in seniority to Mallikārjuna. Chandaladēvi was his mother.⁴ He figures in five records⁵ ranging in date from A. D. 1102 to 1122. From the provenance of these epigraphs it may be gathered that he was connected with the administration of the area now comprising portions of the Gulbarga, Bijapur and Belgaum Districts.

We now come to **Sōmēśvara** who appears to have been junior to Jayakarpa. Born of Chandaladēvi,⁶ he was the co-uterine brother of the latter prince. He is mentioned in later records ranging until the last year of his father's reign.⁷ He bore the title Chālukya-Gaṅga-Permādi,⁸ which he must have inherited from his father.⁹ As the epigraphs containing information about him come from the Warangal, Karimnagar and Nalgonda Districts of the Hyderabad State and are of A. D. 1106-7 and 1124-25, it may be surmised that he was connected with the administrative machinery of those areas in these years.

The fourth and the last known son of Vikramāditya VI was **Taila** or **Tailapa**. He seems to have been the juniormost of the lot. From the epithet *Chandaladēvi-nayana-sarasya-sūrya* (delight to the lotus eyes of Chandaladēvi) applied to him in some inscriptions, it follows that he

¹ I have listed 12 records referring to this prince which range in date from A. D. 1079 to 1123. They are as follows: above, Vol. XV, p. 29; *B. K.* Nos. 99 of 1929-30, 3 of 1930-31, 182 of 1933-34, 1 of 1937-38, 120 of 1940-41, No. 13 of 40-41 of the Kanada Research Office, Dharwar; Bandaravāḍi inscription (*Mackenzie Collection*); one inscription each at Aland and Ruddevāḍi and two inscriptions at Māyāl (my private collection). Most of these are unpublished. In *B. K.* No. 99 of 1929-30, dated in A. D. 1095, Mallikārjuna is given the title *Māhara-bala-bhāṣāra-samāna* (whirlwind to the clouds, the force of Mājara). This shows that he had distinguished himself in one or more campaigns against Mājara. *B. K.* No. 3 of 1930-31, dated in A. D. 1112, mentions two more titles of this prince, viz., *Padmanābha-giri-vajra-daśam* and *Vimāraṇya-kucara-jana-daśam*. As Padmanābha-giri which is identical with modern Panhāḷa, was under the sway of the Śiṣhāra princes, these titles seem to contain a reference to an expedition conducted by Mallikārjuna against the rulers of that house (vide *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. 3, p. 549).

² It is interesting to note that Jayasinhha, the younger brother of Vikramāditya VI, is also styled Yuvārāja in a good many inscriptions ranging from A. D. 1077 to 1082; vide *B. K.* Nos. 237 of 1923-29, 128 of 1926-27 and *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 449.

³ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 443.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 449.

⁵ Khajuri record (*ibid.*, p. 455); Bandaravāḍi inscription (*Mackenzie Collection*); *B. K.* Nos. 93 and 94 of 1930-37; Konnur inscription (*J. B. S. A. S.*, Vol. X, p. 287). I am indebted to Mr. M. Venkataramayya for the references to the *Mackenzie Collection*.

⁶ This piece of information is furnished by an inscription from Tengali, Gulbarga District, dated Śaka 1064 (=A. D. 1163) in the reign of Taila III (my private collection).

⁷ *Telangana Inscriptions*, Western Chālukya records: Nos. 13, 35 and 36.

⁸ The last two of the above-noted inscriptions associate his name with this title.

⁹ Vikramāditya VI bore the title Chālukya-Gaṅga-Permādi on account of his relationship with the Gaṅga family through his mother who was a princess of that house (*S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pt. I, Nos. 95 and 118; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Pg. 140).

was born of her.² He figures in ten records³ of his father's reign, which range in date from the 38th to the 46th year (A. D. 1113 to 1122). For most of this period he appears to have been holding a responsible office in the southern part of the kingdom. Inscriptions from the Anantapur District show that he was in charge of the tract Sindavādi Thousand with his headquarters at Tumbula.⁴ About A. D. 1122 his sphere of activity shifted to the north and we find him functioning in the area of the modern Nalgonda and Mahboobnagar Districts of the Hyderabad State. His headquarters was now at Kōjārn. His wife Lakshmīdevī and son Perinādi also figure with him in these northern epigraphs.⁵

It may be seen from the above discussion and from the subsequent history of the Western Chālukya house that neither Mallikārjuna nor Jayakarna survived their father to assume the reins of the kingdom. Vikramāditya VI was succeeded by Sōmēśvara III. This leads to the inevitable conclusion that both of them must have predeceased their father at the close of his long reign somewhere between the years A. D. 1122-23 and 1126. But Taila survived and he figures in an inscription⁶ dated in the 7th year of his brother Sōmēśvara's reign (=A. D. 1132). Being the brother of the reigning king and seniormost member of the royal family, his status must have improved by this time; for we find him addressed as *Yuvarāja* in that epigraph.

The present epigraph contains the following **place-names**. Alande, mentioned in a number of contexts and also referred to as Alandāpura, is the present-day Aland,⁷ the provenance of the record. It was evidently the headquarters of the territorial division Alande-Sāsira, which must have taken the name after it. This position is further confirmed by the specific statement, in l. 35, that it was the first and foremost village (*modala kōla*) in Alande-Sāsira. Alande-Sāsira or Alande One-Thousand comprised a political and geographical unit made up of one thousand villages. It represented roughly parts of the modern Gulbarga District and the adjoining area.⁸

TEXT⁹

- 1 ✠ *Śrīmat-kaijāśa(na)din-akhi-āmar-maṇi-makuta-ghaṭita-charaṇ-āśi-
- 2 bhōjanī Sōmēśvaran-avataṛisidan-i-mahitāja-tījakam-onip-Alandāpura-
- 3 doḷ || [1]* Śrīmat-Alande pavitrāṇi Sōmēśvara-dēvarinī-Alandāpuradidul-i-mahī
- 4 pavitrām-onitūṇi tānu pavitrāṇi Sūrēśvara-bratīyīmūlāṇi || [2]* Jñānamayan-a-
- 5 upita-vākyaṇ-anāna-guṇ-śhkarāṇan-onipa 15k4bhavaraṇig-i-mandanān-ābandhana-
- 6 n-ēn-odavisiḍanō Sūrēśvaraṇi muni-tījakam || [3]* Śrīmat-Sūrēśvara-bratī
- 7 Sōmēśvara-charaṇa-yugala-sarasija-bhṛīṅgam kōmaja-rachō-vijāśaṇi sāmī-
- 8 [nā]m-e Chakravartti-vinṭa-paḍ-ābjam || [4]* Kṛta-yugam-ādudu Kaliyugam-a

² The suggestion thrown out on p. 89 of the *Madras Epigraphical Report for 1921-22* regarding the identity of Jayakarna with Tailapa, is untenable. Firstly, the two are names of two distinct individuals; and secondly, epigraphical evidence is clear enough to show that they were functioning in two different and distant parts of the kingdom at a particular period of time.

³ *Mad. Epi. coll.*, Nos. 352 and 358 of 1921; *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, pt. 1, Nos. 190, 202, 221 and 238; *Telangana Inscriptions, Western Chālukya records*, Nos. 33, 34 and 37; Akkalkot inscription of Sūlāhāra, *Indica*, above, Vol. XXVII, p. 71.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, pt. 1, Nos. 190, 202 and 221.

⁵ *Telangana Inscriptions, Western Chālukya records*, Nos. 33 and 34.

⁶ *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, pt. 1, No. 226.

⁷ It is situated at a distance of 27 miles north-west of Gulbarga. The place is referred to as Aladi by the ordinary folk. Also see above, Vol. V, p. 243.

⁸ I am indebted to Khwaja Muhammad Ahmed, Esq., the Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad, Deccan, for having furnished excellent estampages of the inscription for reproduction in this article.

⁹ *In situ* and from ink-impressions prepared by myself and those sent by the Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad, Deccan.

¹⁰ This and the next four verses are in the Kōnda metre.

- 9 [i]dhārmikam-āyā Vilkrāmāditya-nripatī pralipāḥṣa-rāshṭrak muni-patīy-ājñeyo[-ām
10 Surāvarat kōvajam-ā || [5]*] ¹Ari-bhūpāḥa-ti(ki)riṭa-tāṭita-padam eṣṭ-ābhi-saṁ-madrit-ā-
11 rrvareg-orrvatī pati saṁda vambī-bodha-brūḥadakk-eṭṭuv-omī-āṁdadit pīrīd-ivam
dig-ibh-āḥ-damita-khaṣitā
12 [ta]t-kīrtiy-omī-akka[ri]m dharey-ellam sale baṇṇisakke negaḍam āri-Vikram-ōrvvīś-
varam || [6]*]
13 [Ści-Vikramārīka-nripatig-i]ā-viṇṭam **Mallikārjjunam** janyisidam bhū-vallabham
14 ², , , guṇ-āvāsam Makara-kēṭanam puttuvavōl || [7]*] ³Paṭ-gaṇḍiṇd-idir-āntarati tavisi
15 — — — — — sad-bhaktiyim besan-ām nūḥ taray-ēṇdu barida ripa-bhūpārīkkaḥam kādu kā-
16 [yisā] koṇḍ-ā-nripa-Vikramāṁkama bhūja-ataṁbbam-bol-oppāḍapam vasudhā-maṇḍana Ma-
17 [llikā]rjuna-kumārām Vīra-Nārāyaṇam || [8]*] ⁴Ātan-avāryya-īsuryyaman-i]ā-prabhu
Vikrama-
18 [chakra]vartī kaṇḍ-itāṁ yauvarājya-pada-paṭṭada perimēge nōṭtan-ēṇdu sat-pritīyam-ā-
mahi-
19 [prabhu] kumāra-śikhāmaḥ-Mallikārjjunam-ātata-kīrti kaṭṭisidam-etsavadit yuvarāja-
20 [paṭṭa]mam || [9]*] ⁵Manuvamā-ōttaman-āty-adāṭta-mahimam dēva-dvijam-ōṭkar-
ārchchanadūḍam sale som[pu]-
21 [vetta] vibhavam Chāṅkya-chakrēsa-chāru-niyōg-āpadam-ā-nripāgra-mahim(āḥ)-gēḥakke
22 — — — — — pradhānam-ēṇdu bhū-nūṭa Kāḍḍiṇan-ēṇḍam daṇḍādhup-āgrēsarām || [10]*] ⁶Eṇe
negaḍa Kāḍḍiḍāsa-
23 [na ta]ṇyam Nāchāṇa-asēṣa-dhātī-viṇṭam Manu-mārggaṇ-akhiḥa-vidvajana-brūḥa-
chakrēsa-ā-
24 ... dīta-chandrarā || [11]*] ⁷Manu-mārggaṇ charitakke pāṇṭi samam vāṇṭi(ā) gāḥ-
bhīryadit damij-ā-ri-
25 [Tri]dā-āvaram vibhavaḥṇḍ-irpp[ā]m samāṇa-āḥ-ā-dina-āṭṭ-āmaṇ-ēṇdu tāṁṇa
jagam antipritīyam baṇṇi-
26 [sitt-e]nēṭṭam tēḍam jasadde neḷey-ādam Nāchi-daṇḍādhupam || [12]*] ⁸Dharey-ellam
sale poḷaḷu para-ḥi-
27 ... rūḍyam percheḥi Nāchamam-i]ā-viṇṭam tāṁ Paṇṭiṭha-Vidyādhara-ōṇḍra-pesaram
28 [pa]ḍam || [13]*] ⁹Ā-Nāchi-daṇḍanāthan-anūnagumam Chakravartī dayeyim besasā
tān-ā-yu[m-ā]-
29 [maha] nripatige māṇam-ēṇe nikkīḥa-mamtrī-padamam taḷeda || [14]*] Svasti [i] Samasta-
bhuvam-āṁ-
30 [ya] Ści-Pṛthvi-vallabham Mahāśāḍḍiṇam Paramāvaram Paramabhāṭṭarakam Satyām-
31 [ya] kuḥa-tiḥakam Chāṅkya-ābharaṇam Śrīma[ṭ]*-Tribhuvanamalla-dēvara vijaya-rājya-
32 [m-atta]r-ōṭṭar-ābhividdhi-pravanāḥamānam-āchadde-āṭṭa-tāraḥ-baram saluttam Kalyā-
33 [ṇam]raḍa neḷevīḍu[-sukha-samkathā-viṇḍadit rājyam goyyuttam-ā-] ¹⁰Śrīmaḥ-Chā-
34 [ṇkya]-Vikrama-varahada 7 noya Duṇḍubhi-samvatsarada Pushya-ēṇḍha 5
Ādivārada

* Metre: *Matikhamikṛdita*.

* Metre: *Kanda*.

* The three asterisks here might be omitted.

* Metre: *Matikhamikṛdita*.

* Metre: *Uṇḍamāḍi*.

* Metre: *Matikhamikṛdita*.

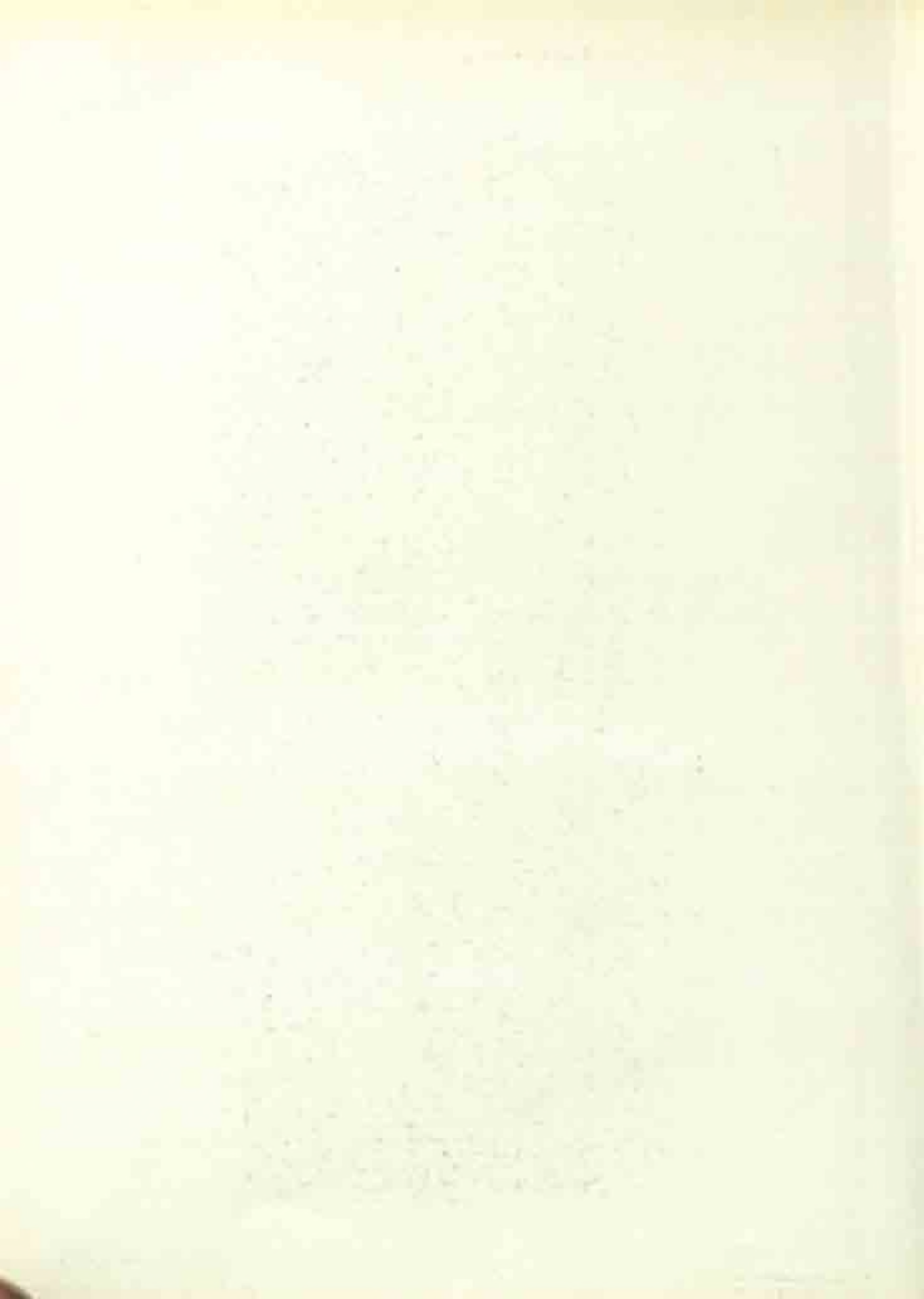
* Metre: *Kanda*.

* Three asterisks are lost after this.

* Metre: *Matikhamikṛdita*.

* This and the following verse are in the *Kanda* metre.





- 35 [Uttarā]yaṇa-saṁkrānti-parvva-nimittadiṁd-Alaṁde-sāirada modala bhājav-Alaṁ[dā]-
puraḍa
- 36 [Svayam]bhū-Sōmēśvara-dēvar-aṁgabhogakke śrī-Ballavarasar || Svasty-anavarata-
parama-kalyāṇa-
- 37 [p-ābhyu]daya-sahasra-phala-bhōga-bhāgini vāṭa[kke] mada-dvirada-gāmini Rāya-jagadaḷa-
ma[nōja]-
- 38 [rati] machcharipa savati-mada-bhaṁjane Rāya-bhaṁgāra-dēva-manar-payōnidhi-pravard-
dhamā[na]-
- 39 [chamdra]-vadane saubhāgya-sādane Rāya-jaḷappa-Kalp-āvanija-samūlinda(gita)-jagama-
late śara-
- 40 [pāgata]-samuddharaga-parigate duṣṭa-darppishṭa(ṭha)-savati-śrī-vajra-muṣṭiy-anavarata-
[an]-
- 41 [varuṇa]-vriṣṭi samast-āntarpura-jagadaḷa-pavitrikṛita-viṁoddha-kuḷe Rāya-Nēśyaṇa-ḥpi-
42 [day-ā]nadhala-pradāyaki Gauri-pad-āṁboj-ārādhaki saubhāgya-garvva-durevini-āntarpura-
kā-
- 43 [at-ōpa]hāsini śrīmaṭ[*]Tribhuvanamalla-dēva-viśāḷa-vakshasthaḷa-nivāsiniyar-appa śrī-
44 [Nṛ]ṭiya-vidyādhari Chamdaladēviyara biṁnapadiṁd-alliya-āchāryyar || Svasti[!]* Yama-
niyama-ś(ā)vā-
- 45 [dhyā]ya-dhyāna-dhāruṇa-maṇa-ānushthāga-japa-samādhi-āḷa-saṁpattinark vibudha-jana-man-
bhivāṇchechhi-
- 46 [ta]-samutpattinath diu-ānātha-jathara-dēva-pāvaka-nivāraṇam durita-gaja-mada-nivāraṇam
47 [sa]māya-saṁrakhaṇa-āḷa-dakṣhaṇa-anavarata-subbikhaṁ paḍita-chnāḷa-maḷi śūṭa-jana-
chittā-
- 48 [maḷi] śrī-Vādidēva-Paḍitadēva-pād-ārādhana-labha-vara-prasādam parōpakāra-viṁodaṁ
nityā[-]
- 49 ... vaḷi-virājamānar-appa śrīmat-Surēśvara-paḍita-dēvarge dhārī-pūrvvakam-āgi
50 [Alaṁde]-sāiradoḷam sāira pēruv-ettinṅa perjunnka hikkōḷe vadḍarāvaḷa-v-ōḷagāgi suṁkav-
ellaṁ
- 51 [pa]rihāraṁ māḷi biṭṭaṁ [!]* Mattaṁ śrī-Ballavarasaru yuvarāja-vallabhaṁ Mallikārjuna-
dēvaṁge
- 52 ... diṁd-Alaṁde-sāirammanam daye-pēydu kuḷal-ā-nāḍa perḷḷaḍe daṁḍanāyakam Nācha-
53 ... biṁnapadiṁ yuvarājam Mallikārjuna-dēvaṁ śrī-Ballavarasarge biṁnapadi-goyd-
Alaṁdeya
- 54 [Sva]yamābhū-Sōmēśvara-dēvarge-āḷva 12 raj-irṅgaḷa Jallaṁ Kaḷḷavaḷike Sādah Baṁnigeyane
55 [pa]rihāraṁ māḷi biṭṭaṁ [!]* Mattaṁ paṭṭaṇḍa haggade Gommalaya-nāyakana biṁnapadiṁ
Kumārath Sōmē-
- 56 [ēva]rath dēvara nandādivigē-Alaṁdeya mudrāvaṇaḍa suṁkadoḷage tinṅaḷ-dinṅaḷge hatin-
hattu dra-
- 57 [vyamaṁ] biṭṭaṁ [!]* Gommalayyan bhāvam Sillapayyan tapōdhanargam chā(chhā)ṭargam
vidyārthi-nāḷiyargam 'Harṇa-
- 58 ...[ha]ṭṭeya(yiṁ) paḍuvaṇa Baṭadēva-āṭṭevyalā nāḷu māvina macana biṭṭa-Alaṁdeya
Nagarāṁ dēva-
- 59 [riḷḷe] māḷida pēriṅṅ-ayvatt-eḷeyam biṭṭaṁ-int-untumam Nagara-Mahājana-Paṁchā-maṭha-
sthā-
- 60 [mam-ācham]dr-āḷkka-sthāyi-varaṁ naḷeyuvuru || 'Alaṁdeḷaḷaḍ-ellaṁ tanag-
ilīroḷe sādhyam-a-

* This appears to be a place-name.

* Metre : Kanda.

- 61...g-o]pane bagova punya-mūrttige kanasinn[ac] kiḍipen-andavañ tām kiḍagurū || [150*]
 'Suvarṇam-ā-
 62 [kañ gām-ā]kām bhūmār-apy-ekam-aṅgulañ ||*] haṁ(n)-narakam-āpuṭi yāvad-āhū(bhū)-
 is-satiplavāñ ||
 63 [*Parira]khiśad-ā-āthānak-araṇaṁ bagad-a[ll]idavañge niśchayaḍiñ kēḷire Vāraṇāsiyo[=]
 pā-
 64... kavileyuman-ājida pāpañ ārgum ||.....*

TRANSLATION

Verses 1. Sōmēśvara, whose lotus feet are butted by the jewelled diadems of all the gods, descended from the glorious Kailāsa to this Alandāpura, an ornament of the earth.

V. 2. The illustrious Alande is holy on account of the god Sōmēśvara and this earth is holy on account of Alandāpura. How much more is it holy on account of the sage Surēśvara !

V. 3. How great is the delight accorded by this son, Surēśvara, an ornament of the monks, to (his teacher) Lōkēśvara, replete with knowledge, truthful and embellished with sterling virtues !

V. 4. Is he an ordinary human being, the illustrious ascetic Surēśvara, a bee at the lotus feet of Sōmēśvara, pleasingly gentle in speech, whose lotus feet are praised by the emperor !

V. 5. As the king Vikramāditya is ruling according to the behests of this prince among monks, the Kali age has become Kṛta age and the kingdom has become supremely righteous. Is Surēśvara ordinary ?

V. 6. The illustrious Vikramāditya, lord of the earth, has earned renown being aptly praised by all the people in this manner : " His feet are butted by the coronets of hostile kings : he is the unrivalled overlord of the earth encircled by the seven seas : he is a great and constant donor, in his own characteristic way, to the deserving assemblage of bards and the learned : his reputation has been engraven on the trunks of the rows of elephants of the quarters ".

V. 7. From king Vikramāditya is born prince Mallikārjuna who is an abode of all virtues and is praised by the people, in the same manner as was born the Crocodile-bannered God (i.e., Cupid).

V. 8. Prince Mallikārjuna, an ornament of the earth, and Vira-Nārāyaṇa (Vishnu in heroic form), appears graceful like the pillar-like arms of king Vikramāditya, having routed the hostile kings who encountered him with sham bravery, protected those who approached him with awe and reverence saying, " you are our saviour ! What command ! " and exterminated those who were a source of trouble.

V. 9. The far-famed emperor Vikramāditya seeing his irresistible prowess and thus appreciating with genuine affection, " He alone is worthy of the great office of the heir-apparent ", installed Mallikārjuna, the crest-jewel of princes, as his successor with due ceremony.

V. 10. Distinguished is the general Kālidāsa, foremost among the commanders of the forces, praised by the world, supreme among the scribes of Manu, exalted in prowess, glorious with the eminence earned by the worship of the gods and the Brāhmaṇas, a charming receptacle of authority vested by the Chālukya emperor and counsellor to the household of the senior queen.

V. 11. Thus renowned Kālidāsa's son is the famous Nāchaga, a follower of the path of Manu and the veritable moon imparting delight to the *chakora* birds, namely, the assembly of the learned.

* Metro : Anuakṛtā.

* Metro : Kanda.

* One or two lines after this appear to have been damaged and lost.

V. 12. The commander of the forces, Nācchi, became the repository of renown when the world sang (*his vīrasa*) in admiration in the following terms: "His conduct is in keeping with the path of Manu; in serenity he compares with the ocean; in eminence.....and in valour he is on par with the son of the Lord of the Day (*i.e.*, Karna)".

V. 13. Being aptly described by the world in commendable expressions Nācharasa earned the epithet, *Parātha-Vidyādāra* (*i.e.*, the *Vidyādāra* among the philanthropists).

V. 14. The commander of the forces, Nācchi, who possessed excellent virtues and was like his own mind to the king, assumed the office of principal counsellor as directed by the emperor.

Lines 29-33. Hail! The asylum of the entire earth, lord of the Goddess of Fortune and the Earth, the paramount overlord of sovereigns, the great ruler, the supreme master, ornament of the lineage of Satyāśraya, embellishment of the Chālukyas, the illustrious king Tribhuvanamalladēva is carrying on his victorious rule with ever-increasing prosperity in happiness and entertainment of pleasing conversation, to endure as long as the sun, the moon and the stars, from his residence Kalyāna.

Ll. 33-51. On Sunday, the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Pushya of the illustrious Chālukya-Vikrama year 7, corresponding to the cyclic year Dundubhi and on the holy occasion of the Uttarāyana-samkrānti, the king, hail!—at the request of the queen Chandradēvi who is privileged to enjoy the thousand-fold fruit accruing from the unceasing supreme welfare and prosperity; who strolls like an intoxicated elephant in the royal premises; the Goddess of Love to the Mind-born God (*i.e.*, Cupid, in the form of her husband), the illustrious sovereign; subduer of the sense of elation of the jealous co-wives; bearer of the face-moon that swells the milky ocean (in the shape of) the mind of (*her husband*) the distinguished sovereign; abode of splendour; moving cresper hugging the wish-fulfilling tree, namely, the illustrious monarch; adept in supporting those who seek her protection; who is the blow of adamantine fist on the heads of malicious and conceited co-wives; who showers gold incessantly; whose immaculate lineage has purified the whole realm¹ of the harem; who imparts delight to the heart of the god Nārāyaṇa among kings, to wit, Vikramāditya VI; who is worshipper of the lotus feet of the goddess Gauri (=Pārvatī); who derides the ladies of the harem, indecorous with the elation of their good fortune; who dwells in the expansive chest of the illustrious lord Tribhuvanamalladēva and who bears the title, 'Fairy Queen in the art of dancing';—made over with the pouring of water a gift of income, free from all impositions, derived from tolls and levies such as *parjuḍḍa*, *hūkoḍa*, *vaḍḍarūḍa*, on a thousand pack-bullocks in the region of Alande Thousand, for the offerings to the god Svayambhū Sāmāvara of Alandapura, the first and the foremost town in the district of Alande Thousand, to the illustrious divine Surāvara Paṇḍita, in charge of the temple of Sāmāvara; hail!—who is endowed with self-restraint, self-discipline, spiritual study, meditation, conservation, silence, religious practice, incantation, absorption and exemplary character; who is an outcome, as it were, of the heart-felt wishes of the wise persons; who quenches the wild fire of hunger of the helpless and the destitute; who quells the intoxication of the elephant of sinfulness; who is ever wakeful in protecting his creed; who is the never-failing abode of plenty; a crest-jewel among the learned; wish-fulfilling jewel to the elite; who has secured the gracious boon by propitiating the feet of the eminent divine Vāhidēva Paṇḍita; who diverts himself in doing good to others.

Ll. 51-55. And Yuvarāja-vallabha Mallikārjuna who is holding the administrative charge of the province of Alande Thousand by the favour of the king, exempted the taxes, *jalla*, *kallavalike*, *sāda* and *bannige* in the twelve villages endowed to the god Svayambhū Sāmāvara of Alande, after making a request to the king, at the instance of Dandanāyaka Nācharasa, the *peruḍa* of the province.

¹ As required by the context, I have translated the expression *paṇḍala* as 'realm'. Its other meaning 'illustrious' does not suit here. See above, Vol. XV, p. 357, verse 12.

Ll. 55-57. And again at the request of Gommala Nāyaka, the *heyya* of the town, Kumāra Sōmēśvara made a gift of ten coins per month out of the money income accruing from the mess in the town of Alande for a perpetual lamp to the god (Sōmēśvara).

Ll. 57-58. Silapayya, the brother-in-law of Gommala, made a gift of four mango trees in the garden of Baladāva lying to the west of the road leading to Harṇa[gi] for the benefit of the ascetics, their disciples and the lay-students.

Ll. 58-59. The merchant guild of Alande made a gift of fifty (bets) leaves on the sale of every load to the god.

Ll. 59-60. The merchant guild, the *Mahājana* of the town and the establishment of the five *mathas* will maintain all these charities as long as the sun and the moon endure.

Ll. 60-64. (Imprecation against the transgressors of charity.)

NO. 6—JAVANTINATHAPURAM INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNA-MAHARAJA

(1 Plate)

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, OOTACANUND

The subjoined inscription¹ is engraved on a slab now built into the front wall, right of entrance, of the Lakshminārāyaṇa temple at Javantināthapuram, Lāṅgāḍi taluk, Tiruchirappalli District. The engraved stone must have originally stood elsewhere in the vicinity since the wall in which it is now built appears to have been recently constructed. It is fragmentary, the lower part containing the concluding portion of the inscription being broken and lost. Nevertheless in the extant portion is retained the main purport of the record, which belongs to the reign of the early Pāṇḍya king, Māraṇḍajaiyan alias Varaguna-Mahārāja.

The inscription is engraved in Tamil characters of about the 9th century A.D. found in the locality.² A few Sanskrit words and letters are in the Grantha characters. The script does not call for any special remarks. The language of the record is Tamil.

The inscription is dated in the 4+9th year of the reign of the Pāṇḍya king, Māraṇḍajaiyan alias Pāṇḍya-adhipati Varaguna-Mahārāja. It registers the gift, made by the king, of gold for the expenses of burning, day and night, two perpetual lamps before the god, Perumāṇḍigaḷ of Tiru-Mayilraṅgam, (a suburb) of Iṇḍiāṅṇaṅḍalam. The gift was placed, for management, in the hands of a Vājān of Aṇḍanāḍu, whose name is lost in the missing part of the inscription.

The record is important for the details of date contained in it as they help in calculating the corresponding date in A.D., thereby solving a few problems pertaining to the chronology of the reign of this Pāṇḍya king. The record bears the date 4+9th year of reign, Dhanuṣ, Monday, Avittam. The form in which the year of reign is quoted, in years 'opposite to the 4th year', is to be noted in particular in view of the existence of a large number of records dated similarly, in years added on to 4, issued in the reign of Māraṇḍajaiyan.³ There are again some others men-

¹ Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 1946-47, No. 194.

² As in the Tondir inscription of Dantivarman, *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, plate V; Tillasthānam and Nerkunam inscriptions of Rājasekharavarman (Aditya I), *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, plate VII.

³ No. 460 of 1617 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. (4th year + 360 day) at Kuttalam (Tinnevely Dt.); 90 of 1608 (4+345 day) at Tirupattūr (Ramanath Dt.); 304 of 1607 (4+1+1st year) at Aṇḍuturai (Tanjore Dt.); 358 of 1607 (4+1+1+1+1st year) at Aṇḍuturai (Tanjore Dt.); 13 of 1608 (4+4th year) at Kumārakūṇḍam (Tanjore Dt.); 136 of 1608 (4+8th year) at Tirupattūr (Ramanath Dt.); 414 of 1604 (4th year + 2001st day) at Tiruchirappalli; 413 of 1604 (4+9th year) at Tiruchirappalli; 84 of 1616 (4+9) at Tiruvellurai (Tiruchirappalli Dt.); 103 of 1606 (*Ep. Ind.* IX, 84) of 4+12th year at Ambhamundinam (Tinnevely Dt.); 157 of 1625 (4+12th year) at Tiruchirappallam (Tanjore Dt.); No. 137 of 1608 (4th year + 4635th day) at Tirupattūr (Ramanath Dt.); No. 51 of 1806 (4th year) at Tillasthānam (Tanjore Dt.) mentioning Varaguna Mahārāja and Kṛpā-Pāṇḍita (i.e., Vīraśaivya Saṅgiyan?).

tioning Varaguna alone but likewise dated in years 'opposite to 4.' At Lālgudi, about 4 miles from Javantināthapuram, were found two records, one of which refers itself to the reign of Mārāṇjadaiyan alias Pāṇḍya-kulapati Varaguna-Mahārāja and dated in the 4+9th year of his reign. The other which does not specify the ruling king is dated in the regnal year 4+1. The former contains the additional details of date, viz., Dhanna, Tuesday, Salsiyam. These details show that this record was issued just one day later than the Javantināthapuram inscription under study. Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar who has edited these two inscriptions¹ worked out the date of the record containing astronomical details, as equivalent to A.D. 824, Nov. 29, Tuesday, after taking into consideration several alternatives. The other record, which mentions as donor the Pallava king Nandivarman III, the victor of Tejjāru, he assigned to A.D. 816. He assigns both the inscriptions to Varaguna I. Accepting for the nonce the correctness of the date proposed by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar for the record giving astronomical details, the date of our record would be Monday, Nov. 28, A.D. 824, which is the day on which the details found in it tally. But as will be shown presently, the above dates for the Lālgudi inscription and for our epigraph are not acceptable on several grounds, one of which is the existence of still another set of corresponding dates for them which compels acceptance in preference to any other alternative.² These are A.D. 875, December 5, Monday for our record and December 6, Tuesday for the Lālgudi record B. It is found that by accepting these dates we get A.D. 861-3 as the year of accession of this Pāṇḍya king, a date which is precisely the same as the one obtained for Varaguna from the Aivarimalai (Ayyampālayam) inscription which couples his eighth year of reign with Śaka 793.³ Scholars are agreed that this Varaguna is identical with Varagunavarman II, the son and successor of Śrīmāra, of the Pāṇḍya genealogy furnished in the Bigger Singamanūr plates of Śaḍaiyamāraṇ (Rājasimha).⁴ Yet another record of Pāṇḍya-Mahārāja Mārāṇjadaiyan at Tiruvallāri dated in the 4+9th year of reign contains the astronomical details, Vṛśchika, Monday, Aśvati which correspond to A.D. 874, November 22, Monday, yielding A.D. 861-2 as the initial year of the king's reign.⁵ It would follow from all this that the king who consistently issued his records in the years 'opposite to 4' though variantly called Mārāṇjadaiyan, Varaguna and Mārāṇjadaiyan alias Varaguna-Mahārāja may be considered as one and the same ruler and identical with Varagunavarman II, the eldest son and successor of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha and whose accession took place in A.D. 861-2. It will not be wrong to arrive at this conclusion since we have a similar instance in respect of another Pāṇḍya king, Śaḍaiyamāraṇ, most of whose records being dated in regnal years 'opposite to 2' enable us to identify him with Śaḍaiyamāraṇ Rājasimha, the donor of the Bigger Singamanūr plates which were issued in the 2+14th year of his reign.⁶

Another important consideration which would make the dates proposed by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar for the Lālgudi inscriptions A and B assigning them as he did to Varaguna I unacceptable is that while the Lālgudi record A, the date of which is fixed at A.D. 816 by Mr. Aiyar, mentions as donor Pallava Nandivarman III, the victor of Tejjāru, latest researches show that this king ruled approximately between c. 851 and 873 A.D. and not between c. 812 and 844 A.D., as held by Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar; for, it can now be accepted as more or less correct that Nandivarman II, the

¹ Above, Vol. XX, pp. 46 ff.

² Mr. M. S. Sarma in a paper entitled *Prithvipati, Varaguna and Aparajita in J.O.R.*, Vol. IX, pp. 227-8, equates the date of the Lālgudi record B with December 5th, Tuesday, A.D. 789. This date is rather too early to be accepted in view of the reasons set out by us above.

³ No. 705 of 1905 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

⁴ *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 448; *Pandya Kingdom* (1929), p. 45.

⁵ No. 84 of 1910 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.; above, Vol. XI, p. 232. Mr. Sarma, however, gives A.D. 780, November 13, Monday as its equivalent (*J.O.R.*, Vol. IX, p. 228). Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar ascribes the record to Varaguna I giving the corresponding date as A.D. 824, November 7, Monday (above, Vol. XX, p. 50 and n. 3, p. 51).

⁶ *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 441 ff.

grandfather of Nandivarman III of Tellāga fame, ascended the throne somewhere about A.D. 733.¹ In consequence, Nandivarman III could not have come to the throne before c. 851 A.D. (733 plus 65 and 52 years, the duration of the reign of Nandivarman II and Dantivarman). The victory at Tellāga is mentioned in his records from the 18th year² of reign onwards, i.e., c. 858-9 A.D., though it is not unlikely that it was secured several years earlier.³ Hence the date of the Lālgudi record A cannot be earlier than c. 850-1 A.D., the approximate date of the accession of Nandivarman III. Our date for the record, assigning it as we do to Varaguna Mahārāja II, would be A.D. 867. This date falls well within the reign of Nandivarman III, besides indicating that the king's victory at Tellāga was won before that date.

On the strength of the foregoing considerations, the Javantiāthapuram epigraph under study may be assigned to Varaguna II who ruled from A.D. 861-2 and consequently the equivalent of the details of date cited in it would be A.D. 875, December 5, Monday. It can, therefore, be concluded that inscriptions of Mārañjadaiyan alias Varaguna Mahārāja issued in the regnal years 'opposite to 4' may be assigned to this king in preference to Varaguna I. At present there are no means of identifying Mārañjadaiyan, whose inscriptions are dated in a peculiar roundabout way like such and such year opposite to the 35th year,⁴ with his namesake whose records are dated in the more common fashion of giving simple regnal years, like 5, 10 and so on.⁵ It is not unlikely that some of them may belong to Varaguna II. Nevertheless, taking into consideration only those records of Varaguna II dated in the years 'opposite to 4', a tolerably good account of the events of his reign may be given.

From these records of his reign it is learnt that he conducted a campaign against Idavai in the Chōla country and after overrunning it proceeded as far as Arakkūr on the bank of the Pennār in Tenjai-nādu,⁶ which was the dominion of the Pallavas. The attendant circumstances of this campaign seem to be somewhat as follows: he entered the Chōla territory on the Kāvēri about A.D. 866.⁷ Thence he seems to have directed his campaign against the Pallava Nandivarman III who perhaps had earlier caused discomfiture to the Pāṇḍyas by a victory over them at Tellāga and had occupied the Chōla territory, the bone of Pāṇḍya-Pallava contention. By A.D. 867 the Pallava was humbled, since we find him figuring as donor in the record of the Pāṇḍya king at Lālgudi (ins. A.). The Lālgudi (A) and the Javantiāthapuram records actually testify to the presence of Varaguna II in A.D. 867 and 875 at Idaiyārrumadgalem in the Idaiyārrumādu, evidently the Idavai in the Sōla-nādu against which the Pāṇḍya Mārañjadaiyan is specifically stated to have gone on a campaign.⁸ Idaiyārrumadgalem

¹ See J.O.B., Vol. XV, p. 119. Approximately the same date for the accession of Nandivarman II can be arrived at from the recently discovered Uchala record of Chālukya Vijayāditya. (*Ancient India*, No. 5, Jan. 1949, p. 54.)

² No. 283 of 1901 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. In *Madras Christian College Magazine*, Vol. VIII, p. 98, Vembayya publishes another record of the king from the Ulagaṇḍapuram temple, Conjeeveram, dated 18th year of reign and mentioning his victory at Tellāga. (S.I.L., Vol. V, 567.)

³ Nos. 52 of 1890 and 11 of 1899 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. are dated in the 10th and 12th years of a king whose name is not stated, the records commencing with the word 'yāga' only. But they record benefactions by Nandivarman, the victor of Tellāga. Should the records be assigned to his reign, we may believe that by his 10th year, i.e., c. 861-2 A.D. Nandi won the victory. This date would tally with the facts of the Lālgudi record A of c. A.D. 867 in the mention it makes of Nandivarman of Tellāga fame.

⁴ Nos. 425 of 1906 (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXII, 5), 431 of 1914, 298 of 1916, 363 of 1917 and 12 of 1920, all of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

⁵ Nos. 9 and 10 of 1899; 311 and 313 of 1904; 104 and 128 of 1905; 37 and 43 of 1908; 322 and 430 of 1914; 605 of 1915; 226 of 1916; 10 and 55 of 1927; 21 of 1930-1; 257 of 1940-1, all of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

⁶ No. 105 of 1909 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.; published above, Vol. IX, p. 34.

⁷ No. 21 of 1930-1 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

⁸ No. 490 of the 1905 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.; above, Vol. IX, p. 84.

means the Maṅgalam (*agrahāra*-village) between (two) rivers (*idai* + *aru*) and the present Javantināthapuram and Lālgudi are situated just between the rivers Kāvēri and Koḷḷiṭam (Coleroon) which was the region called Idaiyāru-nādu or perhaps Idavai for short. It is not unlikely that it was during one of these campaigns that Varaguṇa II destroyed Vēmbil (Vēmbaṅṅūr) and encamped at Niyamam (Nēmam, Tanjore taluk) as stated in his Tiruchirāppalli records¹ (c. A.D. 874-5). His Ambāsamudram inscription² of A.D. 878 states that he encamped at Araiśūr on the bank of the Pennār in Toṇḍai-nādu, an event which might have taken place in the course of the subjugation of Nandivarman III which achievement, as pointed out above, occurred before A.D. 867. The text of the Ambāsamudram record does not militate against such a possibility. Perhaps it was on the occasion of his presence in the Pallava country that Tennavaṇ Pallavaraiyaṇ *śiṣa* Māgaṇ Āchōḥaṇ of Pōḷiyūr (i. e. Pōḷūr near Arkōṇam), the seat of a minor Pallava family³ sought service under him. This chieftain figures in a record⁴ of Varaguṇa at Tiruppattūr, Ramnad District, of A.D. 867-8. It cannot be said, however, that even after these military marches across the Chōḷa country into the Pallava dominion, Varaguṇa II was able to establish anything like sustained or supreme control over the region. For, we find that the Pallavas were not completely dislodged from the Chōḷa territory in these years. Records of Nandivarman III of the 21st and 22nd years of reign (c. A.D. 872-3)⁵ and of Nripatūṅga of the 2nd year of reign (c. A.D. 875) are found⁶ in the Chōḷa country which, apparently, continued to be a disputed land till Nripatūṅga, by his resounding victory against the enemy in or about A.D. 880 established his rule firmly over this territory too.⁷ In a record of the 18th year of the reign (c. A.D. 890) of the Pallava king at Tiruvadi in the Cuddalore taluk, Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa-Mahārāja figures as the donor.⁸ Subsequent to this date we rarely meet with any records of Varaguṇa II in Chōḷa territory while records of Nripatūṅga of regnal years 22⁹ (c. 894), 23¹⁰ (c. 895) and 24¹¹ (c. 896) are found in the same region. It would, therefore, appear that in the latter part of the reign of Varaguṇa II, the Pāṇḍyas lost both in power and in prestige.

Turning now to the text of the Javantināthapuram record under study, a few remarks may be offered regarding the places mentioned in it. *Idaiyārrumaṅgalam*, the meaning and derivation of which have been explained above, may be Javantināthapuram itself. The residents of this village say that it had another name *Mayilraṅgam* which is evidently what is mentioned in the inscription as *Idaiyārrumaṅgalastu-Tirumayilraṅgam*. *Tirumayilraṅgam* was perhaps another name for *Idaiyārrumaṅgalam* or, more likely, a suburb of it. *Aṇḍanādu*, the region whence the Vēḷḷi hailed, is identical with the country round about Dīḍḍigal,¹² in the Madurai District.

¹ Nos. 413 and 414 of 1904 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.; *As. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1903-4, pp. 271 ff. Above, Vol. IX, p. 86.

² Above, Vol. IX, p. 84.

³ Above, Vol. VII, pp. 25-26.

⁴ No. 90 of 1908 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

⁵ Nos. 144 of 1929 and 180 of 1907 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, Nos. 56 and 57.

⁶ No. 122 of 1929 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, No. 61.

⁷ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 3 ff.

⁸ No. 360 of 1921 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, No. 71.

⁹ Nos. 391 of 1901 and 38 of 1931 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

¹⁰ No. 84 of 1897 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.; *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 331, plate VII.

¹¹ No. 22 of 1901 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, No. 79. In view of the presence of Nripatūṅga's records in Chōḷa country on these dates, the date c. 890 A.D. generally assigned to the final annexation of Pallava territory from *Apaṇḍita* by Chōḷa Āḍitya I has to be reconsidered.

¹² *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 450.

TEXT

- 1 Svasti Srij [*] Kō-Mā[ṛāḥ]-
- 2 [ja]ḍaiyarkk-iyāṇ[ḍa]
- 3 ṇāṅgām-āṭṭaikk-edi[ṭ]
- 4 oṇbadām yāṇ[ḍa]
- 5 Daṇu-ṇāyarru-tṭi[ṇ]-
- 6 gaṭ-kiḷamai perra [A]-
- 7 vittu mūdai-āga [ḍa]
- 8 yārrumaṅgalat[ṭu]-
- 9 Tiro-Mayilraṅgat[ṭu]
- 10 Perumāṇaḍiga[uk[ku]
- 11 iravum paḷalimūm-i[ra]-
- 12 ṇḍa ṇoṇḍāvi[uk[k-e]
- 13 rippad-āga Kō-Māraḍ[ja]-
- 14 ḍaiyar-āyina Pāṇḍya-
- 15 adīpati Vacaguna-ma[ḡa]-
- 16 [rā]ḡar A[ṇ]ḷaṇṇaṭṭu [Vē]-
- 17 [ān]ḷaiyyil viḍu[ṭa]-
- 18 a[ḍa] pōṇ pāḍi

No. 7—CURZON MUSEUM INSCRIPTION OF KANISHKA'S REIGN; YEAR 23

(I Plate)

R. CH. CHRAHRA, OOTACAMUND

This short but highly important record appears on the pedestal of a Bōdhisattva image, now deposited in the **Curzon Museum of Archaeology at Mathurā**. It has been briefly noticed in the *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, for 1920-21, p. 35. A pointed reference to this has subsequently been made by Prof. V. V. Mirashi, urging the desirability of its proper edition.¹

The inscription is not well preserved. Portions of it have apparently been destroyed. The writing is arranged as follows: the upper band of the pedestal contains one line uninterrupted; below that, in the centre, appears the *tri-ratna* symbol flanked by two human figures, apparently one male and one female; behind each figure occurs a short line of inscription; to the extreme left there is a figure of rampant lion; corresponding to this there must have been a similar figure on the extreme right also, which is now damaged; the last line of the inscription occurs on the lower band, right at the bottom; a portion of this line seems to have been obliterated. In this way the inscription occurs in four sections rather than in four regular lines.

The characters are Brāhmi of the usual Kushāṇa type. The form of *m* in the very first word is noteworthy inasmuch as it is of the southern class. That in *Mayagutasya* is of the northern class, which is more common in the Kushāṇa inscriptions, while *m* in [ma]ḥarasya, which immediately precedes the word *Mayagutasya*, is not clear. In fact, it is doubtful whether it is *m* at all. The subscript *y* in the first word is of the tripartite kind, while elsewhere in the inscription it is throughout of the bipartite type.

¹ The rest of the inscription is lost.

² Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 295, n. 2.



The language is the mixed dialect that is generally found in the Mathurā inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period. It may be observed that the scribe has either wrongly omitted a few letters or else purposely used abbreviated forms in certain words. The very first word, for instance, reads *maharasya* which obviously stands for *mahārājasya*. The next is *Kaṇi*, by which no doubt Kanishka is meant. It is, however, strange that the scribe should have shortened the usual expression *Kanishkasya samvatsarē*, or something to that effect, into a simple *Kaṇi*. The title of Masyaguta is also given as [*ma*]hāranya. As has already been indicated, the form of *ma* here is very uncertain.

The object of the inscription is to record the setting up of a Bōdhiśattva image by a lady, called *Puśya*(*datā?*) (*Pushyadattā*), daughter of *Mahāro Masyaguta* (*Mahārāja Matsyagupta*), in her own¹ monastery, in the first fortnight of the *Grishma* season of the year 23 (of the reign) of *Mahārāja Kanishka* (which in continuation is counted as the Kushāṇa era).

The importance of the date has already been recognised. The year 23 is proved to be the last year of Kanishka's reign, because we have got an inscription of his son and successor Huvishka, which is dated in the year 24 of the era thus established.

What is of much greater importance is the mention of a *Mahārāja Matsyagupta*² as a contemporary of Kanishka. This is evidently a new name; and, what is more, an indication of the existence of a contemporaneous royal family. Whoever this Matsyagupta was, it is apparent that he was on friendly terms with Kanishka, as is to be inferred from the fact that he or his daughter had built a *vihāra* in the kingdom of the Kushāṇa monarch, as the inscription has it.

It may be argued that Matsyagupta might have been an ordinary individual and not a king, and the word read as *mahāranya* might in reality be something different, may be one denoting the name of the place from which Matsyagupta might have hailed. The reading of the first letter as *ma* has been admitted to be doubtful. It may not be *ma*, but just two horizontal strokes, one above the other, meant for a sign of punctuation.

Two considerations are against the foregoing argument. The first is: *Maharasya Kaṇi*, it may be admitted, stands for *Mahārājasya Kanishkasya*, and just as here the first word is imperfectly written, so may it be in the case of *Mahāranya* preceding *Masyagutasya*. Secondly, the name ending in *guta*, i.e., *gupta*, strongly suggests itself to be that of a king. Besides, the contraction *Kaṇi* may equally be significant here. Possibly the scribe was an employee of Matsyagupta, who attached more importance to the contents of the record than to the particulars of the date. He thought, his abbreviation *Kaṇi* was clear enough to serve the purpose, whereas he had to mention his master's name in full. Finally, it may be observed that the two human figures, noticed above as flanking the *trident* symbol, that are not usually met with in such cases, in the present instance, may be taken to represent *Mahārāja Matsyagupta* and his daughter *Pushyadattā*. This lends some further weight to the supposition that in Matsyagupta we have a king and not an ordinary individual.

It will be worth while to search for more particulars about this *Mahārāja Matsyagupta* in literature and in epigraphy.

¹ That is how the syntax would have it, but possibly the meaning intended to be conveyed is 'in his own monastery', 'his' referring to the father of the lady.

² The equation of Masyaguta with Matsyagupta was kindly suggested to me first by Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao. I have no doubt about its correctness. Personal names in the period concerned are often after the names of various constellations such as *Pushya*, *Vishkha*, *Prabhata*, etc. And in the present instance *Matsya*, i.e., *Mina*, is also one such.

TEXT:

- 1 Mahārasya Kani 23 gra 1 śtasya pu(r)vayātā [ma]hārasya Matsyagutasya dhītā Puṣya[da]—^a
 2 bodhinattā[th]
 3 [pratiśāhāpayati]^b
 4 svake viharā [sarva-satvānāṁ]....^c

TRANSLATION

The first fortnight of Summer, the year 23 of Mahārāja Kanishka—on this day, Puṣya(dattā), the daughter of Mahārāja Matsyagupta, establishes [this] Bōdhinattva in her own monastery.^d

No. 8—MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF THE TIME OF NARENDRADHAVALA

(Plate I)

DINER CHANDRA SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

There are in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund several sets of impressions of a copper-plate inscription which is now preserved in the Madras Museum. The impressions originally belonged to the office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle. The find-spot of the record is unknown; but there is little doubt that it was secured from some locality in Orissa. According to the *Catalogue of Copper-plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, 1918, p. 58, the plates were received from the Collector of the Ganjam District. They were examined by the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy and a short note on the inscription was published in his report for the year 1916-17, No. 11. This note was utilised by the compiler of the *Catalogue of Copper-plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*. It was, however, not noticed at that time that the record reveals the name of a new king of a hitherto unknown royal family of ancient Orissa. Considering the importance of the inscription, I examined the original plates which had been kindly lent to the Government Epigraphist's office by the Superintendent of the Madras Museum. I edit the record for the *Epigraphia Indica* with the kind permission of Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India.

The set consists of three oblong plates each measuring $4\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth and 4" in height. They contain four sides of writing in all, the first and the third plates having inscription only on one side. There are ten lines of writing on the first plate, nine lines on the obverse and eight on the reverse of the second plate, and only five lines on the third plate. The size of an akṣara is about $\frac{1}{4}$ " \times $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The plates have no rims, but the incision is deep and the writing is in a good state of preservation. A layer of metal has, however, peeled off from some parts of the outer or blank

^a From inked estampages kindly supplied, in July 1942, by Mr. M. M. Nagar, the then Curator, Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Mathurā.

^b What follows Puṣya looks like the upper portion of a da. Possibly the name was Puṣyadattā (Puṣyadattā). The change of ā into ē is common in this type of inscriptions. Compare Puṣyemino and Puṣyemirita of certain other inscriptions from Mathurā (Liders' *List of Buddhist Inscriptions*, Nos. 16, 34).

^c The word is faintly visible. The subscript r of pra looks more like medial a. The medial i of ā is hardly to be seen. The subscript ā and medial ā of śāśā are indistinct. The right-hand stroke of pa is mixed up with the left-hand stroke of pa that follows. While pa is fairly clear, the last ā is not at all clear.

^d This must have been followed by āṁ-sukṣip-dāte or some such expression.

^e Or 'in his own monastery'. See above, p. 43, f. n. 1.



INSCRIBED SCULPTURE



(FROM A PHOTOGRAPH)

face of the first plate and this has also affected some letters of the inscription on the other side of the plate (cf. lines 1, 2 and 10). All the three plates have a ring-hole which is about $\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter and is about $\frac{1}{4}$ " from the proper right margin. When the plates were examined in the office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy there was no ring with them. This is known from a short note found with the impressions. The ring was apparently taken out by making a slit at the margin near the ring-hole, which is still noticed in the second and third plates. The margin near the ring-hole in the first plate is broken. The *Catalogue of Copper-plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, however, describes the plates as "string on a ring without a seal", and this ring is seen with the plates even today. Whether the ring was found with the plates or was later made for them cannot be easily determined.

Regarding the **palaeography** of the inscription, the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy says in his report, "The characters are of about the thirteenth century like those of the plates of Daudimahādēvi (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, p. 136)". He is no doubt right in assigning the record on palaeographic grounds to a date not much later than the age of the Bhaumakara queen Daudimahādēvi of Orissa; but it is impossible to believe now, with Kielhorn¹ whom he follows, that the characters of Daudimahādēvi's inscriptions belong to the thirteenth century. They are certainly earlier than the first half of the twelfth century, when the greater Gaṅgas were in possession of the lower part of Orissa. Daudimahādēvi must have ended her rule considerably before the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōdagaṅga who was crowned in 1078 A. D.² Some records of Daudimahādēvi are dated in the year 180 or 280 probably of the Harsha era.³ The date would thus correspond to A. D. 786 or 886. It has also to be remembered that the date is written in the old style with symbols for 100 or 200 and 80 and that this system is not usually found in inscriptions of a date later than the tenth century.⁴ The plates under discussion should, therefore, be assigned to a date not later than the tenth century A. D. As we shall presently see, this dating is supported by the internal evidence of the inscription.

Interesting from the palaeographical point of view is the use of the initial vowels *a* (lines 8, 14, 16, 18, 23, 27, 28), *ā* (line 6), *i* (lines 14, 26), *u* (lines 12, 13, 19, 30) and *ē* (lines 15, 17). Medial *ē* has two forms being used often above the consonant as in modern Oṣvanāgarī and sometimes to the left of it as in Bengali and Oriyā. The first type is quite common, while the second is employed only in a few cases. There is no distinction between the signs for *v* and *b* and between those for subscript *v* or *b* and *ā*. What resembles a visarga sign has in all cases been put before the *daṇḍas* apparently as a part of the punctuation mark.

The **language** of the record is only seemingly Sanskrit and is greatly influenced by the local dialect. The rare use of the *case-endings*, especially the first and the second, has rendered the real interpretation of the inscription greatly difficult. Attention may be drawn to the use of words like *bṛikata* (line 10) or *bṛikata* (line 8) for Sanskrit *bṛihat* and *pāthara* for Sanskrit *prastara* (lines 8, 10, 12, 13). Words like *māhāśānta* or *māhāśānta* (for *māhāśānta*, lines 13-14), *pāśa* (for *pāśa*, line 28), *jaṣa* (for *jaṣa*, line 24) and many others are interesting from the view point of **orthography** and exhibit influence of local pronunciation. The duplication of *ā* in *Arādhāśānti* (line 8) is also interesting. The *daṇḍas*, which have been quite extensively used, are in most cases not necessary at all.

¹ Above, Vol. VI, p. 136.

² Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 1099. The lower part of Orissa was conquered by Chōdagaṅga from the Sōmarāditi and not from the Bhauma-Karas.

³ Above, op. cit., p. 139; Bhandarkar, op. cit., No. 1413. The correct reading of the hundred symbol seems to be 100 and not 200.

⁴ G. H. Ojha, *The Palaeography of India* (in Hindi), 1918, p. 115.

The record is **not dated**. But as pointed out above, it has to be assigned to a date not much later than the tenth century. In this connection, it may be pointed out that the inscription refers to one Śilābhañja who seems to be no other than Śilābhañja I Āṅgaddi, founder¹ of the Bhañja royal family of Khijjālī-maṇḍala (about the Keonjhar State) ruling from Dhritipura and Vañjat-vaka. This is suggested by the fact that the record under discussion was engraved by Padmanābha who was a son of the *Vapil* Pāṇḍi and was an inhabitant of Gandhatapāṭi. Now this person seems to be identical with the *Vapil-samrakṣā* Padmanābha, son of Pāṇḍi and engraver of the Sonpur plates² of Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja who was the son of Śatrubhañja and the grandson of Śilābhañja-Āṅgaddi. It is interesting to note that Śatrubhañja was also known as Gandhaṭa and was possibly the founder of Gandhatapāṭi, the native place of Padmanābha son of Pāṇḍi. The Patna Museum Plates³ of Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja mentions his queen Vijyā who was the daughter of Rāṇaka Niyārgama. It is very probable that this Niyārgama is no other than Rāṇaka Niyārgava mentioned in the Santa-Bommāṣī plates⁴ of the Gaṅga king Dhvendra-varman (dated Gaṅga year 520 falling in 1019-18 A. D.)⁵ as the father of Bhimakhēdi and the grandfather of Dharmakhēdi of the feudatory Kadamba family of Jayantyāpura. The Mandasa plates⁶ (dated Śaka 917-990 A. D.)⁷ mentions Kadamba Dharmakhēdi as the feudatory of Gaṅga Anantavarman. His grandfather Niyārgava or Niyārgama thus appears to have flourished about the middle of the tenth century which, or rather the third quarter of the tenth century, seems to have been the age of Raṇabhañja. It is then possible to assign Raṇabhañja's grandfather Śilābhañja to about the first quarter of the same century. As, however, the name of Gandhatapāṭi mentioned in our record seems to presuppose the rule of Śilābhañja's son Śatrubhañja-Gandhaṭa and as Padmanābha is known to have served under Śilābhañja's grandson Raṇabhañja, the inscription under discussion may be roughly ascribed to the age of the Bhañja kings Śatrubhañja and Raṇabhañja of Khijjālī-maṇḍala who, as already indicated above, probably ruled about the second and third quarters of the tenth century.

The record under discussion is a *kraya-sāsana* (cf. lines 4 and 7) which literally means 'a deed of purchase' and indicates actually a sale deed. It may also indicate 'land sold by means of a *kraya-sāsana*'. The village that formed the subject of the *kraya-sāsana* is called Taḍṣava-(va)ragṛāma (line 7) which was apparently situated in **Khindarasirṅgha** (i.e., Khindarasiṅga), forming part of the **Gōmūṇḍa-maṇḍala** (or Mōmūṇḍa-) in the kingdom of the illustrious **Narēndradhava** (line 1). Gōmūṇḍa-maṇḍala (or Mōmūṇḍa-) may actually have been the name of Narēndradhava's kingdom (cf. Khijjālī-maṇḍala forming the entire kingdom of a branch of the Bhañja family). In lines 1-5 of the epigraph, it seems to be said that a person named Sōḍā, who was the son of the *Bhaṇḍārī* (Sanskrit *Bhāṇḍāpūrīka*) Bapiyā and the grandson of the *Kulaputraka* (nobleman) Vanaḍēva, purchased the above village from the illustrious Śilābhañjadēva, as a *kraya-sāsana*, paying some *cāpyaka*, i.e., silver or money; the purchase appears to have been made through the illustrious Rāṇaka Ghṣāḡhāka who was the son of the illustrious Rāṇaka Vikāra and the grandson of the illustrious Rāṇaka Mūlharavāṇa (probably *Mūlha-carāka*) and was a scion

¹ The Jaugarpada plates (JAHSS, Vol. I, pp. 181 ff.) of apparently the 14th regnal year of Śatrubhañja appear to represent this Śilābhañja as the son of Malla-Gandhadrādēva and the grandson of Vasthaukhaḍēva. The identification of Śatrubhañja of this inscription with the homonymous ruler of Khijjālī-maṇḍala is, however, not entirely beyond doubt.

² JAHSS, Vol. VI, pp. 483 ff.

³ Above Vol. XX, pp. 100 ff.; Mhamlaker, *op. cit.*, No. 2063.

⁴ JAHSS, Vol. III, pp. 178 ff.; cf. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 286, note 2.

⁵ JAHSS, Vol. I, pp. 318-31.

⁶ JAHSS, Vol. XVII, p. 184.

⁷ *Sanskrit Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 458, note 1.

of the Nāga family hailing from a locality called Dharagimpha or Dharagā¹; the *rāpyaka* seems to have been paid through Rājaputra Vighraha who may have been the son of Rāgaka Gbhōghāka.

Lines 5-6, together with line 17, appear to say that, some years later, the village was resold by Sôjā as a *kraya-sāmanā* to three persons called Thākura Kāvi, Thākura Umbā and Dōmbī on receipt of an amount of *rāpyaka* specified as *pla 10 ā | mā 3 ga 4*. In this specification *pla* stands for the well-known weight called *pala*, which is equal to four *karshas* or sixty-four *māshas*. It is, however, interesting to note that the form *pla* instead of *pala* is found usually in other early inscriptions of Orissa in connection with *rāpya* or *rāpyaka*. A copper-plate charter² of the Sāmavānī king Mahābhavagupta I Janamāyaya which records a *kara-sāmanā* (i.e., a revenue-paying grant and not a revenue-free gift), has the following interesting endorsement: *prati-varshā shālā sāmanā kara[sa]* [sic] *pālāha rāpya-plāni nishāhāya kara-sāmanā idam dātāva yatra rā pla 3*. The annual rent of the village granted to some Brāhmaṇas by the Sāmavānī ruler was thus fixed at five *palas* of *rāpya*. The Talcher copper-plate inscription of the Orissan ruler Gayādatunga, edited by N. N. Vaid³ and by R. D. Banerji,⁴ records a similar grant of a village in favour of three Brāhmaṇas with the following endorsement: *rāpya-pla chatoṣi sālā rāpya pla 4*, although the learned editors of the inscription failed to decipher the passage correctly.⁵ It is not made clear in the record whether the four *palas* of *rāpya* were realised as the nominal price of the village granted or were to be annually levied as revenue. Of the two other contractions used in our record, *ā | mā* is difficult to explain, although it is tempting to suggest that *mā* stands here for *māsha*. *Ga* is very probably an abbreviation of the well-known weight *gaṇḍā*, otherwise called *raṭikā* (modern *ratī*), which is one-sixth of a *māsha*. Thus the price or annual rent of the village of Taḍśavaragrāma seems to have been fixed at silver weighing ten *palas*, two *māshas* and four *gaṇḍās*. The reference to silver instead of coined money is interesting from the view point of the economic condition of ancient Orissa. Probably there was dearth of coined money. It may, however, be suggested that the three contractions actually indicate three varieties of coins. But the paucity of ancient coins from Orissan sites as well as the fact that *ga* or *gaṇḍā* could not have been a coin possibly goes against the suggestion.⁶

Lines 7-13 of the inscription describe the boundaries of Taḍśavaragrāma. In this description, the words *sāndhi* and *prākachhāda* are repeatedly used. The meaning of both the words is uncertain. The former word apparently also occurs in some other early Orissan records. The Ganjam plate⁷ of Danyimāhādēvi seems to use the same word in the form *sāndhi* (*sāndhi*?). I have tentatively taken it to mean the same thing as Sanskrit *sandhi* or junction. *Prākachhāda* has been similarly taken to stand for Sanskrit *prākachhāda* or the dividing line (i.e., boundary) well-known from former times. The village is said to have had in the east the big stone at the *sāndhi* of Chāmpā, the *gaḍa* (Sanskrit *garthā*) at the *sāndhi* of Paḍumbā and the *prākachhāda* of Ardhāśrōtri; in the south the *prākachhāda* of a *gaḍa* (fort); in the west the *sāndhi* of the Vōṛi *stūpa*; in the north-west the *prākachhāda* of Kōṇa(mbe), that of Galachhīnā on the big hill, that at the centre of the Srivijā hill and that at the stone of Galachhīnā to the north of the Srivijā; in the north the boundary at the stone of Guḍāsara; and in the north-east the *prākachhāda* of the stone hill at Vīna.

¹ JPASAB, Vol. I, pp. 12-13. Cf. the word *pala* in *prākachhāda-sāndhi-rāpya-plāni-pala-kara-sāmanā vinitāhāya* (ibid., p. 3).

² Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj, Vol. I, pp. 152-54.

³ JASB, N. S., Vol. XII, pp. 292-94.

⁴ Vaid (op. cit., p. 160) and Banerji (ibid., Vol. XII, p. 138) could not also read correctly the passage *Siagrapamāka tria-sādhā va[rā]pya-pla 2* in the Talcher plate of Sukti Kolaśambhā. Similarly we have to read *va[rā]pya-pla 4* in lines 32 and 34 of the epigraphic text printed above, Vol. XXIV, p. 29.

⁵ For the miserable economic condition of Orissa in early times, note the observations of the seventeenth century writer Thomas Bowrie quoted by me in JPASB, Vol. VII, p. 32.

⁶ Above, Vol. VI, p. 140.

Lines 13-17 say that the village was offered as a *kraya-bhāna* with the consent of *Mahāsāmanta* Karāṣṭi, of Sōnapa who was the son of *Mahāsāmanta* Alcharā, of Khāṣārādāmsya,¹ of Thākura Bahulā and of Kaṣṭkullīṅga. Lines 17-18 appear to contain the names of the following witnesses: Bhāṣaputra Amkura, Bhāṣaputra Vāghaḍa, Bhāṣaputra Kaṣṭḍiyā, Bhāṣaputra Hen and Māhā (i.e., *Mahā* or 'senior,' or *Mahāsāmanta* for *Mahāsāmanta*) Kaṣṭapōlu. In lines 18-28 are quoted some of the usual imprecatory verses in Sanskrit, although they contain all sorts of mistakes.² Line 28 also contains the *maṅgala*: 'Let there be peace to the cow, the Brāhmana and the world as well as to the king'. In lines 28-29 there is a passage which seems to mean 'the village is to be enjoyed according to the custom prevalent in the country in succession by grandfathers, fathers and sons'. Another interesting passage in lines 29-30 says that, even if there are passages in the deed which are short of letters or in excess of them, they should be regarded as genuine.³ Lines 31-32 say that the deed was engraved by Padmanābha who was the son of the merchant Pāṇḍi and was an inhabitant of Gandhatapāṇi.

The name of king Narēndradhavalā is very interesting, as the name-ending *dhavala* seems to suggest the existence of a ruling family called Dhavala in ancient Orissa side by side with the families of the Bhāṣja kings whose names end with the word *bhaṣja*. It is also interesting to note in this connection that there is a tract of land in the Singhbhūm District of Bihar still known as Dhalbhūm or Dhavalabhūm, 'the land of the Dhavalas'. This name of the territory is associated with a line of kings whose names end with the word *dhavala*. Indeed some late-medieval rulers of Dhalbhūm, such as Gopināthadhavala and his son Anantadhavala who was the patron of the poet Jagannātha Sena, author of the *Hitopadeśa Pāṇḍalī*, are famous in the history of Bengali literature.⁴ These Dhavala kings were neighbours of the Bhāṣjas of Orissa. As a matter of fact, part of the Singhbhūm District containing Dhalbhūmgarh lies immediately to the north of Mayūrbhaṇj ruled by a Bhāṣja royal family up till today. There is, however, another Dhavala ruling family in the heart of Orissa. Mr. P. Acharya of Baripada (Mayurbhanj State) informs me that the Rājās of Dompāra in the Cuttack District of Orissa belong to a Dhala or Dhavala family. What relation may have existed in former times between the Dhavalas of Dompāra and those of Dhalbhūm cannot be determined. It is, however, not improbable that both these families are offshoots of an ancient royal family of Orissa to which king Narēndradhavalā of the record under discussion belonged. It is also possible to suggest that both the Bhāṣjas and Dhavalas were originally feudatories of the Bhāuma-Karas and that they began to rule more or less independently only after the decline of the latter.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, the location of only one place is certain. Gandhatapāṇi, mentioned also in several other Orissan records, is undoubtedly modern Gandhādāṇi in the Raṇḍh State. I am unable to identify Khupdarasiṅgha, Gōmūḍamaṅḍala or Mōmūḍa,⁵ Dharagimpha or Dharagai⁶ and Tagḍavaragrāma. The localities mentioned in the description of the boundaries of Tagḍavaragrāma also cannot be identified. The kingdom of the Dhavalas, however, appears to have been contiguous to that of the Bhāṣjas of the Kōnjar

¹ This expression may represent more than one personal name. Whether they were also the sons of Alchar cannot be determined.

² These verses were apparently inserted in order to represent the sale of land as a gift. Cf. *Mitāksharā* on the Yājñiñīya-sūtra, II, 114: *sthāvarāyo vithvya-pratishāṣāt. dhana-pratishāṣāt vithvya-pi karārye* as *sthāvarāya dhātā dhana-rāṣṭra sthāvarā-ābhayaḥ karāyē*. See Kāśi, *History of Dharmakīrti*, Vol. III, p. 667.

³ For the same passage in other early Orissan records. Cf. the Dhenukani plate of Jayastambha, *J.BORS.*, Vol. II, p. 407. (See also above, Vol. XII, pp. 203, 263, etc.)

⁴ Cf. Sen, *Fāṅḍi Sāhitya Itihāsa*, Vol. I, second edition, p. 838. These Dhavala chiefs are said to have lived at Ambikānagar and enjoyed the title *Sāhāṇika*.

region. Whether Khigdarasingha has to be identified with the territory called Ghirisingi mentioned in the Dirghasi stone inscription¹ or Kandarasinghā in the S.L. sheet map, 73H/5a2, cannot be definitely determined.

TEXT²

First Plate

1. [Siddham]³ | **Khigdarasinghē**⁴ | ⁵ Śrī-Narēndradhavaia⁶-rājyē | Gōmūḍa⁷-maṇḍalē |
Dharaṇimpha⁸-vi.⁹
 2. nīṣṭita | Nāgavansa-samhaya | rājaka-śrī-Madhavarāja¹⁰ | sūta-rājaka-śrī-Vikāra-
 3. | Vikāra¹¹-sūta-rājaka-śrī-Ghōṣṭhāśāhā | rājaputra-Vigraha-śāśasthēna¹² | rāpyaka-śā¹³
 4. pūṣṭinā | kraya-śāsanatvēna | kulaputraka | Vapaḍēva¹⁴-sūta | bhāṇḍārī-Raṇḍiyā
 5. | taya sūta Sōḍā | śrī-Silābhāṇḍāḍēva-kṛitā¹⁵ | thākura-Kōṇvi | thākura-
 6. Umvā(mbā) | Dōmvi(mbī) | ayōbbhanadaggē tīrṇa¹⁶ | rāpyaka pla 10 ā | ¹⁷ mā 2 gū 4 ||¹⁸
 7. Taḍḍavaragrāma | chatu-simā-paryantatayā | śa-sūla-vana-kānanna-samāta | purva-
 8. diśēna¹⁹ | Chāmpā-sāndhi-vrī(bṛī)hata-pāthara | Paḍumvā(mbā)-sāndhi | gāḍa Arthaha-
 9. śrī-
 10. prākachhōḍa | dakshinē gāḍa-prākachhōḍa | pūschimēna Vūri-etupa-sāndhi | pa-
 11. śchima-utarēna Kōm(mvā)-pāthara-prākachhōḍa | vrī(bṛī)hata-parvatē | Gaḷla-

¹ Above, Vol. IV, p. 318.

² From the original plates preserved in the Madras Museum and impressions preserved at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Cochinampul.

³ Expressed by symbol.

⁴ Possibly the reading intended is *śiṅgha* for *śiṅga*.

⁵ The *daṇḍa* is superfluous. The vicarja-like sign before the *daṇḍa* is a part of the stop (cf., e.g., *Annual Report of the Madras Museum for 1939-40*, p. 8 and plate). With the exception of a few only, the *daṇḍa*, so abundantly used in the inscription, are superfluous. In many cases the *daṇḍa* has been used just as a hyphen is done in English.

⁶ Metal has peeled off from some places on both sides of plate I. The damage is fortunately on the blank side. Due to the peeling off, the passage *śrī-Narēndradhavaia-rājyē* | *GS* (or *MS*) has been partially damaged. Whether the partial effacement of the king's name was intentionally done by some person is difficult to say. But it seems to me that the peeling off is natural. Cf. remarks at p. 44 above.

⁷ What has been read as *GS* may possibly also be read as *MS* or *GS*.

⁸ What I have read as *vi* may possibly be also read as *ai*.

⁹ Read *vīśarita-Nāgavansa-samhaya*.

¹⁰ The correct form of the name was possibly *Madhava*.

¹¹ It is better to omit the name here.

¹² *Śa-śāstha* seems to be intended.

¹³ *S-pūṣṭinā* is possibly intended.

¹⁴ The correct form of the name would be *Vapa*.

¹⁵ The idea seems to be: *Kṛitā-sūta-śrī-Silābhāṇḍāḍēva-kṛitā*.

¹⁶ Possibly *śāśa* which stands for Sanskrit *śāśana* and refers to the three persons, viz., Kōṇvi, Umvā and Dōmvi. Does *ayōbbhanadaggē* stand for *Śāśanadaggē* and indicate the place where the three persons were living? The superscript of the *śāśana* read *gā* looks like *ā* and the *śāśana* may be *śāśa*; but the *ā* sign should then have been longer. The idea may be: *thākura-Kōṇvi-śāśa thākura-Umvā-śāśana thākura-Dōmvi-śāśana*.

¹⁷ This *daṇḍa* is not straight like the others but is slanting and peculiar.

¹⁸ Possibly *rāpyaka-pla 10 māḍa 2 pūṣṭi 4* is intended.

¹⁹ In Sanskrit the passage would stand: *Taḍḍavaragrāma chatur-simā-paryantatayā śa-sūla-vana-kānanna-samāta pūrva-diśi*. The following passage (lines 8-13), describing the boundaries of the village *Taḍḍavaragrāma*, is greatly influenced by the local Prakrit. As already noticed above, the words *śāndhi* and *prākachhōḍa* are repeatedly used; but their meanings are not absolutely certain. *Śāndhi* possibly means the same thing as *śāndhi* or *śāndhi-śāndhi*, while *prākachhōḍa* possibly stands for *prākachhōḍa* meaning *pūrva-śāśana-śāndhi*, dividing line of former times, i.e., the well-known boundary.

No. 9—MADANPUR PLATE OF SRICHANDRA ; YEAR 44

(1 Plate)

R. G. BASAR, Calcutta

This copper plate was found in June, 1946, while earth was being dug out for the foundation of a wall on the land belonging to one Sekh Newajuddin in the *manza* of Madanpur, near the old and famous village of Sabhar, situated about 15 miles north-west of the city of Dacca in East Bengal. After its discovery, the plate was made over to the father of Babu Sami Banjan Roy, a pupil of Mr. Gura Prasad Ganguli, B.A., B.T., Head Master of the Sabhar H. E. School, to whom the former brought it for presentation. I am thankful to Mr. Ganguli, who was himself a student of mine during my professorship at the Rajshahi College long years ago, for his kindly sending the plate to me for decipherment. The plate was, at first, in many places of its surface, covered with a thick coating of hard earth and vermiculite, but after it was cleaned by me, it was found that the inscription on it was in a fair state of preservation. Unfortunately, a portion of the plate towards its proper right corner at the bottom was obliquely cut away by some one amongst the ignorant finders, probably for testing its metal out of greed for gold. This has caused a loss of a few letters from the beginning of each of the lines 15 to 25 on the obverse side, and also at the end of each of the lines 29 to 42 on the reverse side. Most of these missing letters could, however, be restored with the help of the published plates of Śrichandra.

The chronology of the discovery of the five copper plate grants, including the present one, of king Śrichandra of East Bengal may be interesting to epigraphists and historians. The Edilpur (Faridpur) plate, the existence of which in the house of a rich man of the locality for several decades past was known to scholars in Bengal, but which has not yet been available to them for decipherment of the inscription thereupon inspire of strenuous attempts on their part, was the subject of a note on its contents gathered from a hurried study by the late Babu Ganga Mohan Laskar, published in the October issue of the now defunct journal, the *Dacca Review*, in the year 1912, and extracts thereof were quoted by the late Dr. N. K. Bhattasali, in the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 189-190. The second grant of this king, the Rampal (Dacca) plate, was first brought to light by the present writer in April, 1915, and was edited and published by him in this journal, Vol. XII, pp. 136-142 and plates. The third one, the Kedārpur (Faridpur) plate, was found in April 1919 by Dr. Bhattasali, the then Curator of the Dacca Museum, and was edited and published by him in this journal, Vol. XVII, pp. 188-193. The fourth epigraph, the Dhulla (Dacca) plate, was also discovered by Dr. Bhattasali in 1925. It is deposited in the Dacca Museum. It remains unpublished, but a short account of its contents was published by the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar, in an Appendix to his edition of *Inscriptions of Bengal* (Vol. III, pp. 165-6), published by the Varanasi Research Society, Rajshahi. The present plate is, therefore, to be regarded as the fifth amongst the grants, hitherto discovered, of this king. Thus within the course of 34 years (1912-1946) Bengal historians have come in possession of five grants of king Śrichandra to help them in reconstructing the history of East Bengal under the Chandra dynasty.

This is a single plate inscribed on both sides. It measures about $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Its edges are raised into rims on the obverse side, evidently for the preservation of the writing. It bears a seal attached to the middle of the top, measuring about $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$. It projects about $1\frac{1}{2}''$ into the inscription thereby causing a break in the middle of the first three lines of writing on the obverse. This seal has a protuberant top and a pedestal-like bottom. It contains in the middle four concentric circles, the outermost having floral decorations which adorn the base. The innermost circle, the diameter of which is nearly 2'', has in its upper part the famous Buddhist emblem of the *Dharmachakra* (the wheel of law) flanked by two couchant deer, which device must be representing

the *reign-dāra* (the deer park) of Kāśī (now Sarnath, Banaras) where the Buddha delivered his first sermon on Dharma. Just below this representation, between two lines, occurs the legend *Śrī-Śrīchandradēva* written in relief. There is also a floral base for the support, as it were, of the legend, as is the case with the wheel emblem within its own circle. It may be noted that the Buddhist Pāla kings of Bengal also used the same emblem on the seals attached to their copper charters.

The inscription consists of 42 lines, the obverse containing 23 lines and the reverse 19 lines. The execution of the writing is excellent, the letters in all lines being almost of uniform size, which is about $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The characters employed in the inscription belong to a variety of the northern alphabet which was used, specially in Bengal, in the 10th-11th century A.D. From a comparison of the script of the Vishnupāda (Gayā) temple inscription¹ of the 7th year of king Nārāyaṇapāla and of that of the Naraiṇīśadēva (Gayā) temple inscription² of the 15th year of king Nayapāla, with that of our inscription (though engraved on copper), it may be assumed that our inscription belonged to a period intermediate between these two kings' reigns. It may also be surmised that the script of this inscription does not belong to any period much earlier than that of the inscriptions³ of the time of the Varman kings of East Bengal. Of initial vowels we have the signs for *a* (in *anāpa*, line 15, *ardha*, line 24, *a-chāpa*, line 27, *a-bhūch*, line 27 and *Agastya*, line 28); *ā* (in *ādihāra*, line 11, *ādīkṛti*, line 25); *i* (in *ī-*, line 7, *ī-*, line 31 and *ī-*, line 33); *u* (e.g. in *ubha*, line 33) and *ī* (in *ī-*, line 3, *īkṛta*, line 15, *īkṛdā*, line 33). It is noteworthy that as in Nārāyaṇapāla's inscription referred to above and in the Silimpur stone-slab inscription⁴, the initial *i* is represented in this plate also by two ringlets placed side by side with a short horizontal bar above them. There are to be noticed some peculiar forms of consonantal conjuncts, such as *kaś* (in *bhakṣa*, line 4, *dīdrikṣa*, line 9, *dhyakṣa*, line 23, *īkṣā*, line 25, *śamāśa*, line 33); *kty* (in *bhaktyā*, line 7, *kty-antāḥ*, line 29); *tsa* (in *anātsa*, line 28, *kṛtsa*, line 28, *bhātsa*, line 39); *sha* (in *śaśha*, line 13); *hy* (in *grāhyā*, line 27); *ta* (in *-ātma*, line 29), *ṣā* (in *vajṣāḥ*, line 15, *vāṣā*, line 21); and *raṇ* (in *pūraṇa*, line 5, *-Pūraṇa*, line 5, *śuaraṇa*, line 8 and line 9, *śuaraṇa*, line 9).

As regards orthography, as almost in all the eastern epigraphs specially in Bengal, the letter *h* is throughout expressed by the sign for *v*. Other peculiarities which call for special notice are the following:—(1) almost all consonants such as *g*, *ch*, *ṣ*, *t*, *m*, *y* and *v* are doubled after *a*; (2) *s* is substituted for the *visarga* before a following *s* (in *dīmas-sa*, line 1, *du-sādhyā*, line 24, etc., but the *visarga* sign has been retained after *pūribhāḥ saha*, line 39); (3) the sign for *anuvāsa* has sometimes been used (as in *chandra-bhāva*, line 5) and sometimes omitted (as in *Dharmas-py*, line 2); (4) final *t*, *n* and *m* are indicated by signs of the letters smaller in size, but the final *m* has a peculiar shape of its own in *chikṣā* *m*, line 15, *trityāḥ*, line 28; and (5) the guttural nasal *ṅ* has been used instead of the *anuvāsa* before the palatal sibilant *ś* (*śakṣā*, line 4, *śakṣā*, line 7).

The language is Sanskrit, which is generally correct, except where some mistakes occur due to the inadvertence of the scribe or the engraver. After the introductory words *Om svasti* the inscription contains 8 verses in praise of the predecessors of the royal donor, which are followed by about 13 lines of prose after which we have 6 verses describing the genealogy of the donee and eulogising the donee himself. The grant then has again 2 lines of prose and this is followed by three of the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses. It may be noted here that the first 8 verses which describe the history of Śrīchandra's dynasty are identical with the 8 verses in the Rāmpāl plate of the king. So far as these verses in the present plate and the (yet

¹ Vide B. D. Senapati's *The Palas of Bengal* (Mem. A.N.R., Vol. V, No. 3), plate No. XXIV.

² *Ibid.*, plate No. XXVI.

³ E.g. the Balava plate of Bhūjavarmanadēva, above, Vol. XII, plates opposite pp. 40-41.

⁴ Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 294 ff. and plate.

2.

[illegible]

三、

किंवा या ककेयः । सुविदाय वृत्त मन्त्राय ककेयः । सुविदाय न
 १२ नमः । अल किंवा या धरया ककेयः । अतः दिसैकः । अतः सया
 धरसिमयः । अतः यद्वदिसैकः । विना या धरय वृत्तया ककेयः । आ
 १४ सा सा मन्त्र करीः । आ सा सा मन्त्र ऊ० यमाः । सुत सा मयः । ग्रा
 सा सा मयः । अक्षर वृत्तलाः । कदकुलिङ्गाः । अतः स
 १६ वृत्ता मन्त्रैकः । या या या मन्त्रला (विदुमैकः । अतः मन्त्र
 यथा सा विदुः । आ सा यं कुयु सा सन् वयनः । अतः मन्त्रि
 १८ तयाः । आ मयुत्तं कुतः । आ मयुत्तया ददः । आ मयुत्तं
 उदियाः । आ मयुत्तं ददः । आ मयुत्तं ददः । आ मयुत्तं ददः

20 वेदुमिः। गमकेयाः। सुखारुमाः। तादृशुगसदस्यालि 20
 सुदुलोकं विवृतिः। सयतामायनयतामाः। व्याहृते
 22 निवसुवताः। विष्ठायां कसिरुतः। विवृतिः। दयशुतः। 22
 तलाकां सद्रुचैः। सुसुमेव शतैवतः। गीसु
 24 सद्रुचैः। सुसुमेव शतैवतः। सुसुमेव शतैवतः। सुसुमेव 24
 सुसुमेव शतैवतः। सुसुमेव शतैवतः। सुसुमेव शतैवतः। सुसुमेव
 26 मद्रुचैः। सुसुमेव शतैवतः। सुसुमेव शतैवतः। सुसुमेव शतैवतः। सुसुमेव 26
 निवसुवताः। विष्ठायां कसिरुतः। विवृतिः। दयशुतः।

28 श्रीमद्रुतासवः। सुलयावि सुखारुमाः। सुलयावि सुखारुमाः। सुलयावि सुखारुमाः 28
 विवृतिः। सुलयावि सुखारुमाः। सुलयावि सुखारुमाः। सुलयावि सुखारुमाः 28
 30 मोदयानेवः। सुलयावि सुखारुमाः। सुलयावि सुखारुमाः। सुलयावि सुखारुमाः 30
 विवृतिः। सुलयावि सुखारुमाः। सुलयावि सुखारुमाः। सुलयावि सुखारुमाः 30
 32 विवृतिः। सुलयावि सुखारुमाः। सुलयावि सुखारुमाः। सुलयावि सुखारुमाः 32
 विवृतिः। सुलयावि सुखारुमाः। सुलयावि सुखारुमाः। सुलयावि सुखारुमाः

unpublished) Dhulla plate of this king are concerned, the draft seems to be almost identical, the latter having only a ninth verse added to it which is the seventh one of the Kedarpur plate mentioned above. These three plates come from the Dacca District. The Edilpur and Kedarpur plates which belong to the Faridpur District have greater affinity between themselves with regard to these eulogistic verses. The opening verse in honour of the Buddhist *triratna* (the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha) is, however, common to all the five plates of Śrīchandra, hitherto discovered.

Our grant is dated the 14th year, evidently referring to the regnal year of the king, and the 28th day of the month of **Mārgga** (*śiraha*), i.e. November-December. This date is followed by the abbreviated forms of two official endorsements, viz., *Mahāmāniśasaṁ Mahāśakha* (?) which indicate 'approved by the *Mahāsādhivigrahika* and then by the *Mahākṣapatalika*'.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of rent-free land measuring 8 *śroṅga* exceeded by 8, . . ., in a locality called **Vaṅgasāgara-sambhāṇḍāriyaka** in **Yōlāmanḍala** (mentioned also in the Dhulla plate¹), situated in the **Puṇḍrabhukti** (i.e., *Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti*), by the *Paramasauḅhata Paramajivara Paramabhottāraka Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious **Śrīchandrādēva** who meditated on the feet of his father, *Mahārājādhirāja Trailōkya-chandrādēva*, to a Brāhmana, named **Śakradēva**, son of **Hara**, grandson of **Varāha**, and great-grandson of **Mahādēva** who was himself born in the family of three *samapitā* Brāhmanas, named **Mākha**, **Rāma** and **Dhruva**, having the three wellknown *pravara*. The *gotra*, *śāla* and *kāśhā* of the family are, however, not mentioned. The grant was issued from the royal victorious camp (or capital) situated at **Vikramapura**. The king dedicated the grant in the name of Lord **Buddha-bhaddāraka**, after having bathed on the *Agastīpitiyā* day, for the sake of enhancing the merit and fame of his parents and of himself.

A summary of the historical information that can be gathered from the plate may be given here for ready reference. King Śrīchandra calls himself a *Sauḅhata* and all the charters issued by him bear the royal seal containing the emblem of the Buddhist *dharmacakra* and describe with devotion, in the opening verse, the Buddhist "three jewels", the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The next verse describes the place of origin of the **Chandras** who possessed vast fortunes, enjoyed by them at a locality called **Rōhitāgiri**. Bengal scholars differ in their view regarding the identification of this place-name. Some take it to be Rohtasgarh in the Shahabad District of Bihar and others headed by Dr. N. K. Bhattacharya suggest it to refer to the Lalmai Hills, situated west of Comilla in East Bengal.² So it remains yet a question as to whether the Chandras emigrated to Eastern Bengal from outside, or were original inhabitants of that part of Bengal. It appears, however, that the first nobleman in the dynasty, named **Pūrṇachandra**, became very famous; his name could be "read on the pedestals of images and on (stone) pillars of victory and copper-plates in which new epigraphs were inscribed." Such is his description in verse 2 of this inscription. This description and the reference in verse 2 of the Kedarpur plate to Pūrṇachandra's parasol, in the form of the canopy of dust raised by his vanguard, being resorted to by his enemies, make it possible to presume that in his own land he behaved like an independent ruler, though not declared as a formal king. The next two verses (vv. 3 and 4) disclose the fact that Pūrṇachandra's illustrious son, **Suvarṇachandra**, was known in the world as **Buddha**. So it is clear that he was the first in the dynasty to embrace Buddhism. He also is not described in the inscription as having ruled as a king. His son, **Trailōkychandra**, with his title *Mahārājādhirāja* mentioned in all the records became the first independent king, ruling probably from **Vikramapura** as the capital of his kingdom.

¹ *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 165-6.

² *History of Bengal*, Vol. I (Published by Dacca University, 1943), p. 194.

He is described in verse 5 of the Kodārpur plate as having his desire of conquering the earth, (bounded) by the four oceans, fulfilled, and he is further spoken of as having extinguished the fire of his enemies by means of the water of his creeper-like sword in many a battle. This description certainly corroborates the view of Dr. R. C. Majumdar,¹ that "Trailōkyachandra laid the foundation of the greatness of the family." In verse 5 of our inscription we have an indication as to how he strove to expand his territories. The most important epithet of Trailōkyachandra, as we find in this verse, "*ādhār Harikēlarāja-(ka*)[kala-chchhatra-smitānān īryān]*", read along with "*paś-
Chandr-ōpapāde va(ba)hhūva nripatir-devī*", conveys the fact that at first he was a king of Chandradvīpa and later became "the repository of the Fortune (goddess) whose smile was the (white) umbrella, the symbol (of royalty) of the king of Harikēla". Bereft of rhetorical figurativeness, the epithet leads one to believe that Trailōkyachandra acquired the royal fortunes of the Harikēla kingdom. The interpretation put on this phrase by the late Mr. S. G. Majumdar and quoted by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in the *Dacca University History of Bengal*, Vol. I, does not stand scrutiny. The net result of the political achievements of Trailōkyachandra seems to be that he was at first a king of Chandradvīpa but later became the ruler over the whole of Harikēla. Who can vouchsafe that in the period under discussion Vikramapura was not the capital of Harikēla itself? Of course it is difficult to ascertain the exact political relation previously prevailing between the kingdoms of Chandradvīpa and Harikēla. Although in the seventh century A.D. the country of Harikēla is referred to by I'tsing² as 'the eastern limit of Eastern India', yet during the 10th-11th century A.D. we should follow the lexicographer Hēmachandra³ (born 1089 A.D.) who identified Harikēla with Vaṅga (*Vaṅga-ṭa Harikēlīyāḥ*) and explain the reference to Harikēla in our inscription as identical with Vaṅga whose capital was Vikramapura in those centuries. As to Chandradvīpa, it was a territory in the South-east of Bengal in the district of Bakerganj and in mediaeval period it was known as Bāklā Chandradvīpa which comprised within its boundaries some portions of the modern districts of Bakerganj, Khulna and Faridpur. Trailōkyachandra's wife was Śrīkāśchanā who gave birth to her illustrious son, who was destined to be a great king, having been born in an auspicious *mahūrta* of *Rājā-yōga* (vs. 5-7). Then we have a description of this son, Śrīchandra (v.8), which indicates clearly that this Buddhist king attained full paramount power, by putting his enemies into prison-cells. That this king had to fight some enemies and become victorious in battles (*rapēcha jayī*) is mentioned in verse 7 of the Kodārpur plate also. But it is difficult to surmise as to who these enemies of Śrīchandra were. It only seems evident that this king's father, Trailōkyachandra, who was at first a king of Chandradvīpa only, in the south-eastern portion of Bengal, began gradually to extend his dominion towards the north, i.e. towards the localities represented by the modern districts of Faridpur and Dacca, and ultimately took possession of the citadel of Vikramapura which was in all probability in the hands of the Pāla kings of Puṇḍra-vardhanabhukti and Magadha. In still earlier centuries we have epigraphic evidence to prove that Kāntidēva and later Ladāchandra ruled independently in East and Southern Bengal, the former's kingdom having probably comprised a portion of Western Bengal also. We know that a great calamity overtook the Pāla kingdom during the reigns of Gōpāla II and his son and successor Vīrahapāla II during the latter half of the 10th century A.D. It is quite probable that the Chandra rulers of East and South Bengal were able to found an independent kingdom during that epoch, and that Śrīchandra, whose rule continued at least for 44 years, might have been a contemporary of the great Pāla king, Mahipāla I (c. 988-1033 A.D.). On this chronological basis it may be surmised that the king Gōvindachandra of Vaṅgāladēla (East and South Bengal) who had to make

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 194-195.

² I-tsing (Tahakusa), p. xiv.

³ *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II by Winternitz (English translation published by Calcutta University, p. 482).

⁴ Cf. Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. V, p. 224.

* *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 309.

mention the word *tarāṅi-saṁbhāṣa* used in the *Rāmācharita*¹ of Sandhyākaranandin which is explained by the old commentator as *navāḥ-mālakēna* (a fleet of boats). All these three words refer, however, to fleets of boats plying in the Ganges. Some other inscriptions² of the Pāla kings of Bengal and Magadha have introduced the word *navā-śataba* in their description of the riparian capital towns like Pātaliputra and Mudragiri (Munghyr) and also other towns like Villārapura and Rāmavutī, which possessed, in addition to elephants, cavalry and infantry, also *navāśataba* 'a fleet of boats'. The reference to the word *navāśata* in the Kānsauli plate³ of Vaidyadēva in connection with his victory in a battle in *anuttara-Vaṅga* (probably South Bengal) makes it clear that the word must be interpreted as a fleet of boats and the war-cry of the navy is what is described in that inscription as *navāśa-hi-hi-ravah*. In the context of our plate the word *navāśataba* may, therefore, refer to the Head of the royal navy, and a junior officer in charge of half a division of the fleet may have been referred to by the term *ardha-navāśaka*.

TEXT

[Metres : Vv. 1, 3, *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 2, 5, *Śārdūlavikīrītā* ; vv. 4, 7, 8, *Upajāti* ; v. 6, *Indra-rajā* ; vv. 9-10, *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 11, *Pushpitāgrā*.]

Obverse

- 1 Ōm⁴ Svasti || Vandyō Jinas=sa Bhagavān=karuṇa-aka-pā-
- 2 tra[m] Dharmmō=py=asa viyajayatō jagad-āka-dīpaḥ |yat-sāvayā
- 3 sakala ēva mahānubhāvaḥ surasāra-pāram-upaga-
- 4 chehanti Bhikṣusa[m]ghaḥ || [1 || *] Chandrānām=cha Rōhitāgiri-bhujāḥ vaṇḍe (vaṇḍō)
viśāla-kriyārū vi-
- 5 khyātō bhuvī pūrṇa-chandra-sadīśaḥ Aśi-Pārṇachandrō⁵ bhuvat aśohā(rehah)uām
pada-pīṭhikāsa paṭhitah sātī-
- 6 [mā]n-agraśah=śāṅk-ōtkīrṇa-nava-prāstatiḥ jaya-stambhāḥ tāmraḥ cha || [3 || *]
Vu(Bu)ddhasya yah Śāka-
- 7 jātakam-sūka-santakhaḥ bhaktyā vi(ha)bhartī bhagavān-amṛt-ākar-āśu(r-āśu)ḥ Chandra-
ya tasya kula-jāta it-
- 8 va Van(Bu)ddhaḥ putrah śrutō jagati tasya Suvarṇachandraḥ || [3 || *] Darśē=ya mātā
kila dōhadēna dipti-
- 9 khamānō-ōdayi chandra-viśvach(hiṁsaḥ) suvarṇa-chandrōḥ hi tōśat-ēti Suvarṇachan-
draḥ⁶ yam-ulāharanti || [4 || *] Putra-
- 10 =tasya pavitri-ōbhayakuḥ kaulina-bhūt-āśayō(yai)=trailōkyē viditō diśām-atīthi-
- 11 bhī-Trailōkyachandrō guṇāḥ ādhārō Harikūla-rāja-[ka*]kula-chehhatra-amitānāḥ
⁷riyāḥ [ya]-

¹ V. 10. of Chapter II, p. 46 of the Vasudra Research Museum (Rajshahi) edition, 1929.

² Ganga-Nākamā. Devapāla's Munghyr plate, p. 28 ; Nāriyapāla's Bhagalpur plate, p. 60 ; Mahipāla's Bangor plate, p. 63 ; and Madanapāla's Manihā plate, p. 123.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 130, sect. II, 12, 6.

⁴ From the original plate.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol. Some scholars take it to be the *svastika* mark. [In a Buddhista record like the present one, the symbol may perhaps better be taken for *śiddha* ; cf. above, Vol. XXV, p. 333, n. 8 ; Vol. XVII, p. 232—II, C. 13.]

⁶ Read *śiṣṇat*.

⁷ Here I read incorrectly *amitānāṣat* in my edition of the Rāmpāl plate of Śrīchandra (above, Vol. XII, p. 439).

[illegible]

24 याति त्रुष्टि वा शक्तो नावाधक्तु यथाशुद्धा विक्ताया अदि म्मा 24
 26 त्रिस्तुष्टि वा शक्तो नावाधक्तु यथाशुद्धा विक्ताया अदि म्मा 26
 28 याति त्रुष्टि वा शक्तो नावाधक्तु यथाशुद्धा विक्ताया अदि म्मा 28
 30 याति त्रुष्टि वा शक्तो नावाधक्तु यथाशुद्धा विक्ताया अदि म्मा 30
 32 याति त्रुष्टि वा शक्तो नावाधक्तु यथाशुद्धा विक्ताया अदि म्मा 32
 34 याति त्रुष्टि वा शक्तो नावाधक्तु यथाशुद्धा विक्ताया अदि म्मा 34
 36 याति त्रुष्टि वा शक्तो नावाधक्तु यथाशुद्धा विक्ताया अदि म्मा 36
 38 याति त्रुष्टि वा शक्तो नावाधक्तु यथाशुद्धा विक्ताया अदि म्मा 38
 40 याति त्रुष्टि वा शक्तो नावाधक्तु यथाशुद्धा विक्ताया अदि म्मा 40
 42 याति त्रुष्टि वा शक्तो नावाधक्तु यथाशुद्धा विक्ताया अदि म्मा 42

- 12 ś=chandr-ōpapadē va(ba)bhūva nripatir-dvipē Di(Di)lip-ōpamaḥ || [5 || *] Jyōtsn=śva
Chandrasya Śach-iva
- 13 [Ii]shgōr-gGauri Harasy-ē[va*] Harēr-iva Śriḥ tasya priyā kāñchana-kāntir-āsīt Śrīkāñcha-
14 n=ōty-añchita-śāsanasya || [6 || *] Śa rāja-yōgēna śubhē muhūrttē muhūrttikaiḥ sūchita-
rāja-
- 15 [chihua]m | avāpa tasyām tanayam naya-jāḥ Śrichandram-ind-ōpamam-Indra-tājāḥ
|| [7 || *] Ēk-ātapa-
- 16 [tr-ābhara*]hān śriya[m] yō va(ba)bhūm* vaidhēya-jan-āvidhēyaḥ cakrē kārṣṇa nivṛtīt-ā-
17 [ir-yaśa*]h-sugandhini dīśām mukhāni || [8 || *] sa khalu śri-Vikramapura-samāvṛta-śri-
18 [maj-jaya*]-skandhāvārāt-Parama-saujatō Mahārājādhirāja-śri-Trailōkyachandradēva-pā
19 [dānudhyā*]taḥ Parama(mē)śvara[ś*] [Para*]mahatīārako Mahārājādhirājaḥ Śrīmān
Śrichandradē-
- 20 [vaḥ kuśa*]lī śri-Paundra[bhu*]kty-antahpātī-Yōlāmaṇḍalē Vaṅgaśāgara-sambhāṇḍ-
śriyakō
- 21 [...*]jāḥ-ādihik-śabha-drōṇa-bhūman samupagat-śēśha-rājñi-rāṇaka-rājaputra
22 [rājapa*]rōhita mahāśāndhivigrahika | mahāśeṇāpati | mahāśāmanta |
23 [mahādīharmā(?)*]dhyakṣa maha(hā)sarvva(vvā)dhikṛita | mahātantrādhyakṣa mahā-
pīlūpati gōchha[ka]-

Reverse

- 24 pati* ardhannuvāṭaka | nuvāṭaka | dussādhyasādhanika | gō-mahishy-aj-ā(dy-adhya(?)*)-
25 kshān=anyānā=ch-ānuktān Vra(Brō)hman-ōttarān mānayati vō(bō)dhayati | vadati ā(dī)śa-
26 ti cha | bhūmīr-iyam sva-sam-āvachchinnā | s-ōddēśā | sa-guvāka-nālikārā | s-āmra-pa-
27 nāsā | sa-gartt-ōcharā | a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravṛtā | a-kiñchid-grāhyā | sa-das-āparādh[ā] [sa-(?)]
28 prajā Agśatya*¹tritiyāyān snātva vidhivad-udaka-pūrvvakam kṛtvā bhagavantam Buddha-
[bhaṭṭā]-
- 29 rakam=uddiśya mātā-[pi*]trōr-ātmanas=cha punya-yaśō-'bhiva(vri)ddhayē Mākha-Rāma-
Dhruv-ākārā [yajñ(?)]-
- 30 yāḥ sōma-pitimah(naḥ) bhūmī-dēvāḥ kil-ābhuvana(a) su-khyāta-pravara-trayāḥ || [9||*] Tad-
anvayō [samutpa*]-
- 31 nō Mahādēva iti dvijaḥ dēvēśv=iva Mahādēvō bhū-dēvēśva va(ba)bhūva yaḥ || [10||*] Śruti-
krato-pri(pri)ya-
- 32 s=tasya Varāh-ākhyah sutō-bhavat Harēr-Ādi-varāhasya sālōkyam prētya yō-gamat
|| [11 || *] Dharā(dhā)-
- 33 ra-samakāḥ yaḥ sākāḥ=Dhara iv-āparaḥ Harō nām=ābhavat-tasya tanayō vinay-
śuvitāḥ || [12 || *] Bhāvi[ta?]-

¹ A portion of the plate is broken and lost on this side. The letters within square brackets here and in the following lines are supplied from the published records of the king.

² The Rāmpāl plate reads here *śāśāṅga* which appears to be a better reading, in the absence of a *cha* in the verse for grammatical concord.

³ The term *gōchhaka* is not clear.

⁴ The original reading looks like *Agastya*. The engraver appears to have used his chisel twice to correct his error. The proper reading should be *Agastya* (adjective), or, *Agastī* or *Agastya* (both noun).

- 34 Vārdhakas-trayyām-āryyas-sajjana-Vāsavaḥ | Yadukah Kramukah Śrīmān Śukradēvō-
bhavat-ta[taḥ] || 13 || *
- 35 Ekadēśa-bhavas-tasmāi smita-pūrv-ābhībhāṣiṇē Śrīmatē Śukradēvāya Śrīchandra-
nripa[tir-dā*]-
- 36 dan¹ || 14 || *] Tad-bhavadbhīr-anumōdanīyā² bhāvibhīr-āpi bhūpatibhīr-bha(bhū)mi-dānē
mahāphala-[gauravāt] harapē [cha mahā]-
- 37 pātaka-darśanād-anupa(pā)lanīy-ōti || Bhavanti ch-ātra dharmm-ānusaśi(śamā)naḥ ślōkāḥ
[||*] Bhū(mih) yaḥ pratigri*]-
- 38 hṛātī yaś-cha bhūmim prapachchati ubhau tau puṇya-karmṇāṇaṁ niyastāṁ svargga-
gāminau || 15 || *] [Sva-dattān*]-
- 39 para-dattānvrā(m) vā yō harēta vasmudharā(m) sa viśvthāyāḥ kṛimīr-bhūtvā pīṭhibhī
sa[ha pachyatē] || 16 || *
- 40 hi kamala-dal-ādhvu(m)bi-vi(bi)udu-lōlāḥ śriyam-anuchintya manushya-jīvitāṁ-cha | sa-
[kalam-idam-u*]-
- 41 dāhṛitāṁ-cha vu(bu)dhvā(ddhvā) na hi puruṣaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyāḥ || 17 || *] Śrī-Śrīcha-
ndra[dēva³-pādiya(?)*]-
- 42 samva(sachya): 44 Mārgga-dinē 28 Mahā Sā ni ann ni Mahā[kaha(?)*]⁴

TRANSLATION⁵

(V. 9) It is said that there were Brāhmaṇas (lit. gods on earth) like Mākha, Rāma and Dhruva who were ritualist and soma-drinking and who had the three well-known *pravaras* (noble ancestors).

(V. 10) In their family was born a Brāhmaṇa (*devija*) named Mahādēva who was as prominent amongst the Brāhmaṇas (*bhādēvas*), as was the god Mahādēva, amongst the gods (*of heaven*).

(V. 11) His son was, by name, Varāha who, after death, attained the same world with the Primeval Boar (*incarnation*) of Hari (Vishnu).

(V. 12) His son, self-restrained (or full of modesty, or well-disciplined), was Hara, who was, as it were, a second Hara (i.e., the god Śiva), in presence of the Dharādharma (the mountain, or Vishnu).

(V. 13) From him were born (three) sons, Yaduka, Kramuka and Śukradēva, each of whom was noble (*āryya*) and eminent amongst good men, and displayed maturity (*of wisdom*) in the three Vedas.

(V. 14) King Śrīchandra who belonged to the same country (*of his donee*) made a gift (*of the land*) to this illustrious Brāhmaṇa, Śukradēva, who used to speak (*with people*) with a smile.

¹ This verb is evidently to be connected with some such words as *indm bhāṣas* understood, as its object.

² These two words are to be connected with the words *bhāṣurūpaḥ* in line 26.

³ Such a word as this, or *śloka-rūpa* seems relevant here.

⁴ The unpublished Dholla plate of this king has *Mahāśā* here.

⁵ I need not translate the whole inscription, as the translation of the first 8 verses already occurs in my edition of the Rāmpāl plate of Śechandra in this journal (Vol. XII)- I, therefore, put in here the translation of the six new verses (vv. 9-14) which describe the genealogy of the donor Śukradēva.

No. 10—GODACHI PLATES OF KATTI-ARASA ; YEAR 12

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

These copper plates were discovered in 1927 by Dr. S. C. Nandimath, Principal, Basavēśvara College, Bagalkot, Bijapur District. They were in the possession of a Svāmi of a Virasaiva Maṭha at Godachi, a village in the Torgal taluk of the Kolhāpur District, Bombay State. Nothing is known in regard to their previous history and how they came into the possession of the Svāmi. Dr. Nandimath has edited the record on these plates twice.¹ But on account of certain misreadings in the published text and other defects, I edit it here again in this journal.²

The plates which are three in number and contain holes bored at the extremities must have been originally held together by a ring which is now missing. It is not known whether the ring bore the seal also. The writing is engraved on one side only of the first and the third plates and both sides of the second. The plates are of almost equal size and each measures 6.75" in length, 2.6" in breadth and about $\frac{1}{16}$ " in thickness. The diameter of the circular hole is $\frac{5}{16}$ ". The total weight of the three plates put together is 31 tolas. Though the rims of the plates are not raised, the writing is in a good state of preservation. The record comprises twenty lines which are distributed evenly on the four sides.

The characters are boldly incised and belong to the southern class of alphabet which was prevalent in the Kannada country in the 6th century A. D. They are quite regular for the age and the locality. The initial *a* occurs in three places, viz., lines 2, 5 and 11. The letters *r* and *k* present two-fold forms, viz., one having its lower loop half developed (l. 4) and the other fully developed (l. 3). The medial short and long *i* are distinguished by a complete circle and a spiral respectively drawn at the top of the letter; for instance, *Hārīṣi* in l. 2, *°pavīṣi* in ll. 3-4, *vīṣi* in l. 9, etc. The sign for the ligature *ri* of the letter *kṛi* is made out in two different ways, one by a hook attached to the lower end of the letter *k* (l. 4) and the other by suffixing a knotted curve underneath it (ll. 8 and 16). The form of the letter *dh* in the expression *dānamādhā* in l. 3 is rather peculiar in that it looks more like *b* (cf. ll. 11 and 12) as contrasted with its more normal forms in ll. 4, 5, etc. The Dravidian letters *r* and *l* are used once each in the expressions, *mugamannam* and *Nulgāla* respectively in l. 13.

In regard to orthography, the consonant following *r* in a conjunct letter is invariably doubled with the exception of *rsa* in l. 19. The writing is generally free from errors. The following two instances of wrong spelling may, however, be noted; *lāstrārtha* for *lāstrārtha* in l. 5 and *daṭṭāṣa vā* for *daṭṭāṣa vā* in l. 19. The last mistake may be attributed to the undue stress laid on the syllable *ṣa* in pronunciation.

The language of the record is Sanskrit.

The inscription is of great importance in more than one respects. It is the earliest epigraphical record of the Western Chālukya house with the solitary exception of the Bādāmi Rock Inscription of Chalukya Vallabhēśvara, of Śaka 465, discovered recently in 1941. No copper plate records of the early rulers of this family have been discovered so far till we come to the reign of Pulakāśin II. So it may be further claimed that this is the first copper plate document of the family.

¹ *Journal of the University of Bombay*, History, Economics and Sociology series, Vol. V, pp. 163 ff.; *Prabuddha Karmāṭaka*, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, pp. 25 ff.

² My thanks are due to the Government Epigraphist for India for having kindly secured the copper plates for my study and to Dr. Nandimath for his kind permission to edit them here.

The epigraph commences with the *prāsasti* of the Western Chālukya family and introduces the king **Katti-arasa** as the favourite son of Raṣavikrama Dharmamahārāja. At the request of Vyāghrasvāmin, the king made a gift of land to a learned Brāhmana by name Kṛṣṇasvāmin in the 12th year of his reign.

Katti-arasa is a new name¹ in the genealogy of the Western Chālukya house. But there seems to be little difficulty in regard to his identification with Kirtivarman I. For he was the son of Raṣavikrama, i.e., Pulakēśin I.² Kirtivarman is similarly referred to by his other names or titles, such as Kirtirāja³, Pururaṣaparākrama⁴ and Śrīvikrama.⁵

The charter is dated the **full moon day in the month of Kārttika of the 12th year of the king's reign**. The Bādāmi Vaiṣṇava cave inscription of Kirtivarman I mentions all the details of the above date with the addition of the Śaka year 500.⁶ So taking this clue from the latter record we may assign the date of the present record as A.D. 578.

The title *Dharmamahārāja* applied to Raṣavikrama or Pulakēśin I in this record is significant. This is the first and the only record so far discovered, wherein a Western Chālukya king is given this epithet. The title with its variants, such as *Dharmarāja*, *Dharmamahādhirāja* and *Dharmamahārājādhirāja*, was borne by many rulers of the Western Gaṅga, Kadamba and Pallava dynasties of South India.⁷ The Kadambas were the last to exhibit this title which is found even in the records of the last rulers of the house, viz., Harivarman and Kṛṣṇavarman II.⁸ The Western Chālukyas who succeeded the Kadambas to the sovereignty of Karnaṭaka appear to have adopted in the beginning the larger portion of the Kadamba *prāsasti* including this title. The Kadamba *prāsasti* which was concise, expanded after its adoption by the Chālukyas.⁹ The form of the Chālukya *prāsasti* appears to have been in a fluid state until the time of Pulakēśin II, in whose reign it was regularised by giving a fixed form.¹⁰ It is no wonder therefore that the Chālukya *prāsasti* of the

¹ The following instances seem to bear affinity with this name: (i) Mahāsāmanta Ketyara of the Chālukya family, *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, pt. 1, No. 64. (ii) Kattiyara of the Chālukya lineage in the Dāḍiga inscription, above, Vol. VI, p. 263. (iii) Kattiyaradeva probably identical with Kirtivarman I or II of the Western Chālukya family; above, Vol. V, p. 20. (iv) Kattirāja in an archaic Telugu record, *A. R.* No. 529 of 1912. (v) Kattirāja, *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 798.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 17.

³ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 345.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 14.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 37.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 57.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 139-40.

⁸ The title *Dharmarāja* is met with in one of the three copper plate records of Harivarman, viz., the Sangoli plates which give him the latest regnal year, above, Vol. XIV, p. 166. Kṛṣṇavarman II is associated with the title *Dharmamahārāja* in three out of four copper plate records of his, so far discovered. In the remaining one, viz., the Banahalli record, the same title is applied to his great grandfather Kṛṣṇavarman I, above, Vol. VI, p. 13.

⁹ The original expression in the Kadamba records was only *Śaśani-Mahārāja-Mātrigopasādhipati-ādhipati*; and it assumed the expanded form in the Chālukya records as *Saśa-Lakṣmīpāṇi Saśa-Mātrigopasādhipati-ādhipati*. *Karttikēya-paripāṭa-saśa-prāpā-taṭṭa-paripāṭa*.

¹⁰ That the Chālukya *prāsasti* had not attained fixed form in the beginning, is illustrated by the following instances. The Bādāmi Vaiṣṇava cave inscription of Kirtivarman I and the Nūrī copper plate record of Mangalikā contain the simple expressions, *Śaśani-pādhipati* and *Śaśani-Mahārāja-pādhipati*. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 59 and Vol. VII, p. 161.) The Sāṭār grant of Viśṇuvardhana I bears in addition the following uncommon epithets: *Mātrigopasādhipati-paripāṭi-taṭṭa-paripāṭi*, *Kāśīrādhipati*, *Saśa-saptādhipati*, *prāsasti-paripāṭi*, *Paripāṭi-ādhipati*. (*Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 309.) The enlarged Chālukya *prāsasti* is met with for the first time in the Hyderabad grant and Koppuram plates of Pulakēśin II. (*Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 72 and above, Vol. XVIII, p. 257.) Even in these records we may note the following variations in the standard form of one of its components, *Karttikēya-paripāṭa-paripāṭi* and *Karttikēya-paripāṭi-ādhipati*.

present charter which falls within this transitional period, is not only in accord with the Kadamba *prastāva*, but retains the characteristic title *Dharmamahārāja* which was dropped in the Chālukya records of subsequent date.

Kirtivarman I carried on extensive expeditions against the enemies¹ and consolidated the kingdom founded by his father. According to the implications of the statement in the Chiplun grant of the time of Pulakāśin II, he rebuilt and made improvements in the capital of Bādāmi.² The conditions conducive to an undertaking of this nature would have prevailed after he had completed his conquests and established internal peace in the country. Such a state of affairs appears to have been in existence by A.D. 578, the date of the present record which expressly avers (lines 6-8) that 'he had vanquished all the foes by virtue of his diplomacy and valour and kept all the subjects contented by protecting them according to the rule of the vargas (four-fold classes) and āśramas (four-fold orders of life)'.

Vyāghrasvāmīn who figures in this record for the first time, appears to have been a very eminent and versatile personality. He was learned in the Vēdas and Vādāngas; he was well-versed in the science of polity; he owned exceptional mastery in grammar, logic, poetry, drama, historical literature, music and *Purāṇas*. He is styled Mahā-Brahmaṇa and Bṛhaspati (the preceptor of the gods) of the present age (lines 9-11). Lastly he is described as holding the foremost responsibility of the entire kingdom (*rājya-sarvasva-dhuraṇdhara*, ll. 11-12). From this description we might infer that he was the chief minister and head of the administrative affairs of the Chālukya kingdom.

The donor Kṛishnasvāmīn, we are told, belonged to the Kanyājīnya *gātra*, was proficient in the Vēdas and Vādāngas and was *sa-dvīṭhī*. The last expression consists of three words (*sahīta*, *dei* and *atīthi*) and means 'along with two guests'. This sounds like a queer epithet of the donor and does not afford proper sense by literal interpretation. In the Vedic context *atīthi* means 'fire' and Agni is familiarly addressed as *atīthi* in the Vedic hymns.³ This metaphorical sense of the word *atīthi* fits in the context. Thus the expression connotes 'he who possessed or maintained two fires'. The 'two fires' are the 'Śrauta-agni' and the 'Smārta-agni', which every householder is expected to maintain according to the injunctions of Vedic ritualism.⁴

The gift land comprised twenty-five *vinastanas* measured by the royal standard (*rājamāna*) and belonged to the village Nulgāla. The gift was inclusive of all the produce (*sarva-jātakam*), garden cultivation (*sa-tūṭam*), *jiruka*, water, and house—site (*nicēṣa*). *Jiruka* need not be interpreted literally as cumin seed.⁵ It may be taken to represent any wild or cultivated crop of the cumin variety; or equating it with *jirapaṭa*⁶ or *jirga* it may mean 'whatever is inured in the soil'. Another expression figuring in the context is *marumanna*. This word along with another *uśāhā-manna* is met with in the records of slightly later period.⁷ The interpretation of this word is still a puzzle.⁸ This is the earliest occurrence of the word so far known. The village Nulgāla cannot be identified.

¹ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 4-5 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 7.

² Above, Vol. III, p. 50.

³ Macdonell: *Vedic Mythology*, p. 95.

⁴ Compare *The Institutes of Vishnu*, pp. 180-91 (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. VIII).

⁵ Dr. Nandimath comments that the gift was made by pouring water along with the cumin seed. This is unwarranted. (*Bomb. Unt. J.*, Vol. V, p. 170.)

⁶ This interpretation compares well with the familiar expression, *sāthi-nīlāṭṭa-pāṭṭa-sāthi*.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 68; *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 244, etc.

⁸ For a discussion on the interpretation of these terms see *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. XI, pp. 183-2. Mr. R. S. Panikkar suggests that *maru* may be equated with *maru* meaning 'land' and *maru-manna* or dry. This suggestion is invalid particularly in the context of the present passage which shows that the gift land was neither waste nor dry. Further, little credit will redound to the donor of a waste land.

There are clear traces of the influence of Kannaḍa in this record. Apart from the words *Nulgāla* and *maṇumaṇu* which contain the Dravidian letters *l* and *ṇ*, the name *Katti-arasa*¹ appears to be purely Kannaḍa. More pronounced is the compound expression *sa-tōṭṭam* (l. 13) wherein the word *tōṭṭa* or *tōṭa* is glaringly Kannaḍa. In this passage which is prose, the poet could have easily substituted its Sanskrit equivalent.

TEXT*

First Plate

- 1 Svasti² [*] Svāmī-Mahāsēna-Māṭṛigaṇ-ānuddhyāt-ābhishiktānār³ *Mānavya-sa-
- 2 gōtrāṅgām Hāritī-patrūpām Chulukyānār⁴ Agnishiṭṭam-Agnichayana-
- 3 Vājapāya-Bahusavarṇa-Paundarik-Āvama⁵ [dh-ā] vabhiṭha-saṇa-pa-
- 4 vitrikṛita-sarirasya Raṇavikrama-Dharmma-mahārājasya⁶
- 5 priya-tanayaḥ⁷ Katti-arasa-nāmadhēyaḥ sarva-kṣātr-ārta(rtha)-

Second Plate : First Side

- 6 pāra-gaḥan-ārabōdha⁸ smṛitī-dhāraka⁹ kusala-buddhi(r-ma)ya¹⁰ pra-
- 7 tāp-tāśidina-sarva-dāyādah¹¹ varuṇ-āstama-nyāya-paripāla-
- 8 a-ānuraṃpita-sarva-prakṛitih svarājya-sathvatsarē dvādaśē¹² Kārtti-
- 9 ka-paṇṇamāsyām Vēda-Vēdāṅga-pāragōna nīlā¹³ strā-viśārādōna
- 10 sa-pada-vyākaraṇa-nyāya-kāvya-nāṭak-ōtīhāsa-gāndharva-purāṇē-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 11 shv-asādhāraka-vyākhyāna-sathpaulā adyatāla-Bṛihaspatinā rā-
- 12 jya-sarvasva-dhuraṃdharēṇa Vyāghraśv[ā]minā mahā-Bṛāhmagōna vi-
- 13 jhāpitaḥ¹⁴ Nulgāla-grāmasya maṇumatman sarva-jātakaṃ sa-tōṭṭam sa-jīra-
- 14 kaḥ sa-pāṇiyati sa-nivēśam rājamāṇōna pañchaviṃśati nivantanaḥ
- 15 kshātrah Kaundinya-sagōtrīya Vēda-Vēdāṅga-pāragāya¹⁵

Third Plate

- 16 sa¹⁶ dv-ātīthayē Kṛiṇṇasvāminē dattavān¹⁷ [*] ya śanaḥ harati
- 17 sa pañcha-mahā-pātaka-sathiyuktō bhavati [*] ya śanaḥ smṛpā-
- 18 layati sa puṇya-phalabhāg-bhavati || Sva-dattāḥ para-da-
- 19 tāḥ vā(vā) yō harēta vasundharāḥ [*] shashṇim¹⁸ varsha-sa
- 20 harāgi narakē pachyatē tu saḥ || ☉

¹ In the literal sense *katī* means 'a sword' and *arasa* 'a king.'

² From the original plates.

³ This word is engraved in the left-hand marginal space between ll. 1 and 2.

⁴ The dot denoting the nasals is wrongly engraved on the top of the previous *ābhishiktānār*.

⁵ This *ābhishiktānār* looks more like *śat*. Dr. Nandimath has read this *ābhishiktānār* as *śat*, which has no justification.

⁶ The *śat* has not been observed here.

⁷ This *ābhishiktānār* is not clear enough. It looks more like *śat* and the mark denoting the length is not fully drawn up.

⁸ This expression has been read as 'sirema-mahārājasya' by Dr. Nandimath.

⁹ A small horizontal curve denoting punctuation is engraved after the *śat*; but it is unnecessary.

¹⁰ It would be better to read 'pāra-gaḥan-ārabōdha'.

¹¹ This *ābhishiktānār* is rather peculiar and may be taken to be the cursive form of *sa*.

¹² Dr. Nandimath's reading is 'śatāśvay'.

¹³ The *śat* has not been observed here.

¹⁴ This word is omitted in the text of Dr. Nandimath's Kannaḍa article.

¹⁵ This *ābhishiktānār* looks like *śat*.

¹⁶ The *śat* has not been observed here.

¹⁷ A small horizontal curve is engraved after this for punctuation, but it is superfluous.

¹⁸ This *ābhishiktānār* looks like *śat*.

¹⁹ Dr. Nandimath reads the expression as *dattāḥ śanaḥ* and corrects it into *dattāśaḥ*.

²⁰ The reading given by Dr. Nandimath is *śatāśvay*.

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ii, a.

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ii, b.

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No. 11—POLSARA PLATES OF ARKESVARADEVA ; YUGABDA 4248

(1 Plate)

DINES CHANDRA SINGAR, DUTACAMUND

In the last week of December 1949, I received for examination some copper-plate inscriptions belonging to the Utkal University, Cuttack, from its learned Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Chintāmaṇi Āchārya. The inscription under discussion was one of them. It was collected by Mr. Sadāśiva Ratha Śarmā, who has been appointed by the University a Research Assistant to go round different parts of Orissa and collect materials for the compilation of an authentic history of the country. On the 7th August 1949, in course of his tour in the Ganjam District, Mr. Ratha Śarmā found the present set of copper plates with an inhabitant of the village of Polsara, named Dwitiya Parida, who had discovered them while tilling a piece of land about the beginning of May 1949. I thank Mr. Āchārya for kindly allowing me to publish the inscription.

The set consists of three plates each measuring 7 inches by 3·7 inches. They are held together by a ring to which a seal is soldered. The seal, although smaller in size, closely resembles the seal attached to the copper-plate charters of the imperial Gaṅga and bears the figure of a seated hull in full relief, facing front and bedecked with ornamental drapery and a bell tied to its neck. The first and the last plates are engraved on the inner side only, while the second is written on both sides. The incision is deep and the writing is clear, although most of the letters show signs of additional scratches probably due to some defect of the engraver's tool. There are altogether 40 lines of writing of which the first plate bears 11 lines and the third 9 lines only, while the second plate has ten lines of writing on the obverse and ten on the reverse. The plates without the ring weigh 80 tolas, while the ring with the seal weighs 24 tolas.

The characters belong to that variety of the East Indian script of the early mediaeval period which is usually called proto-Bengali, although, as I have suggested elsewhere,¹ a more appropriate name for the script is Gaudī. On palaeographical grounds, the inscription is ascribable to the 12th or the 13th century. The characters closely resemble those employed in a copper plate charter of Gaṅga Anāṅgabhadra III (c. 1211-38 A. D.) recently examined by me.² Of initial vowels, we have in the inscription only *a* (lines 33, 40) and *ri* (cf. *Rishikūṭyā* in line 14), the latter little differing in shape from *ṛi* in *Ṣṭāṅgabhadra* (line 18). As usual with East Indian epigraphs of the age in question, *ḍ* is generally indicated by the sign for *v*. But in some cases both *ḍ* and *v* appear to have a slanting stroke across the loop (cf. *ṭamra-samarddhita* in line 9 and *uḍ* in line 35) which resembles the stroke distinguishing *ḍ* from *v* in Devanāgarī. It, however, seems to me to be nothing but a scratch, to the existence of which in the formation of most letters of the inscription reference has already been made. The inscription employs the numerical figures, 2, 4 and 8.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. There is, however, Prakrit influence in the name Śrīyādēvi (lines 11, 40) as well as in the word *śrīgā* standing for Sanskrit *śrī* in line 40. With the exception of the four imprecatory verses at the end, the entire record is in prose. As regards orthography, little calls for special mention besides the reduplication of *dā* before *y* as in *bhāṇādāddhyakṣa* (line 27) and *Maddhyadā* (line 16), the preference for the *anuvāda* to the *anuvāda* in spelling words like *kumud-śādu* (line 4), *śaṅgata* (line 9), etc., the occasional reduplication of certain consonants after *r* and the non-observance of the rule of *anuvāda* as, for instance, in *ṭāṇi-Ṭāṇi* in lines 39-40.

¹ Cf. J. E. A. S. B., Letters, Vol. XIV, pp. 115-16.

² This inscription will also be published in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The charter is dated in the year 4248 of the Yugaśāla, i.e., the Kaliyuga era. The second (i.e., the hundred) figure in the date resembles the Telugu and English numeral 3 and is found in Indian epigraphs and manuscripts to indicate 3 in some cases but 2 in others.¹ Some inscriptions of the Gaṅga king Narasimha II (c. 1278-1305 A. D.), however, show beyond doubt that this was the form of 2 and not of 3 in medieval Orissa.² Thus the year corresponds to A. D. 1147-8. The astronomical details relating to the date and occasion of the grant in lines 12-15 show that the grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on Friday, the day of the full moon of Māgha, in the 24th regnal year of the king who issued the charter. The date of the grant was therefore Friday the 6th February A. D. 1148, although Swaminathan Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* does not recognise any lunar eclipse on that day.

The inscription records the grant of one-half of the village called Valigrāma, situated in the Varttani *śākhya* forming part of the Jhāḍakhaṇḍa *śākhya*, by Arkṣavaradēva, son of Pramāḍidēva and grandson of Guṇārṇavadēva who is described as a member of the Gaṅga family and a devotee of Mahēśvara (Śiva) and is styled *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*. The grant was made in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Viddhikarasaṁman, son of Madhukarasaṁman and grandson of Jivakarasaṁman, who was a student of the Kāyva branch of the Yajurveda. The donee belonged to the Parīśāra *gōtra* and originally hailed from the Madhyadēśa. The occasion of the grant is said to have been the lunar eclipse on the date referred to above, when king Arkṣvara, accompanied by his chief queen Śrīyādēvī, came from the Hāṅgulā *kaṭaka* to the banks of the Rishikulyā apparently for a bath in the waters of the river. It is well known that the Dharmakṛtsas enjoin a purificatory bath after the solar and lunar eclipses as well as the offering of gifts, especially to Brāhmaṇas, on the occasion. It is said that on the occasion of solar and lunar eclipses the bath in the waters of any pool or river is as meritorious as one in the holy waters of the Ganges.³ It is not known whether the use of the rather unusual Kaliyuga era, instead of the Gaṅga or the Śaka era, had anything to do with the special importance attached by the king and the queen to the auspicious occasion of the grant. The *kaṭaka* (camp or town) of Hāṅgulā, where the king and queen must have been residing, was apparently not far from the banks of the Rishikulyā river. The grant was made on the occasion of the lunar eclipse jointly by the royal consorts and, in lines 39-40, it is specifically said to have been approved of by both the queen Śrīyādēvī and the king Arkṣavaradēva. It is interesting in this connection to note that the aim of the grant was not only the usual "increase of the merit and fame of my own self as well as of my parents", but also "the increase of the progeny such as sons, grandsons, etc. (*pauṭa-pauṭa-śāi-santati-vīroddhaye*)". The half of the village that was granted was made free from the obligation of paying revenue and was endowed with a *tīmra*, i.e., *tāma-tāma* or charter, which was issued for the purpose and "was free from all troubles", meaning apparently that the charter carried the usual privileges of enjoying the land without obstacles. The privileges specified in the record included the donee's right of enjoying the half of the village together with land and water, with fish and tortoise, with trees, shrubs and creepers as well as with hidden treasures and unclaimed wealth (*sa-nidhi-sapovidhika*). The land was also made free from the entry of *chatta* (or *chāta*) and *bhata*, usually interpreted by scholars as regular and irregular soldiers, but possibly meaning actually constables

¹ Cf. Bühler, *Indian Palaeography*, Table No. IX, lines viii, x and xi of the chart showing figures of the decimal notation; Ojha, *Palaeography of India* (in Hindi), Plate LXXII (a), LXXVI (a and b).

² See *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXX, Part 1, 1896, Plate X, margin. The figure 3 in medieval Orissan records sometimes resembles Devanāgarī 2; cf. op. cit., Plate XII, margin. For the numerical figures, see also Max Müller, *Orissa in the Making*, Plate between pp. 202 and 203, line 22, where, however, 3 is properly written as in Devanāgarī. The views expressed in *J. O. R.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 218-7 are due to confusion.

³ Cf. quotations in the *Raddakal-pāṭraṇa*, s. v. *grahanaḥ*: *chandra-vārya-grahī adamaḥ śrīdhā-dīna-jap-ādīnaḥ | kṛpṇā mān-mān-gi vāgṛaḥ nānādhānaḥ kṛtāḥ* 5. Also *śarvaḥ bhāmi-amana dīnaḥ suraḥ* *Vyāsa-samā drīḣā* | *śarvaḥ Gaṅga-saṁman-tōyāḥ grahaṇā-sambhāva-samāyāḥ* 8.

and peons.¹ The list of *rāj-āpājīyas*, to whom ArkĪśvara's order regarding the grant was issued, includes *narapati*, *rājaputra*, *umātya*, *mahāvīndhivigrahika*, *mahākṣapajalika*, *mahāpātra*, *mahā-shamanta*, *daurātrika*, *bhāṣādhyaṅkṣa*, *dhāṇyapālaka*, *khaṇḍapāla* and *viśayapāla*. Of these, the official designation *mahāpātra* seems to be peculiar to Orissa. *Pātra* and *Mahāpātra* are still popular surnames in the Orissa region. According to the *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Shams-i-Sirāj, "In the country of Jājūgar (i.e., Orissa), the *mahtas* (i.e., *mantrins*) are called *pātars* (i.e., *pātras*), and the Rāj of Jājūgar (i.e., Gaṅga Bhānudeva III, circa 1352-73 A. D.) had twenty *pātars*, otherwise called *mahtas*, under whose advice he conducted the affairs of his state".²

Considering the fact that the 24th regnal year of ArkĪśvara corresponds to A. D. 1147-8, he must have ruled from A. D. 1124-5 to a date falling sometime after the 6th February A. D. 1148. Thus he was ruling contemporaneously with the imperial Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (A. D. 1078-1147). It is difficult to believe that an independent Gaṅga monarch was ruling side by side with the Gaṅga emperor in the second quarter of the twelfth century. This coupled with the fact that no royal or imperial epithet is used in connection with the names of ArkĪśvara and his father Pramañji may suggest that they were mere feudatories of the Gaṅga emperor, although the issue of the present charter without any reference to the overlord is rather difficult to explain. ArkĪśvara's grandfather Guṇārpava is given the imperial title *Paramabhadrakṛāṇa*. But whether he is to be identified with one of the known monarchs of the imperial Gaṅga house or whether this is to be regarded as an improper use of the epithet can hardly be determined in the present state of our knowledge. We know that kings of the Gaṅga house of Svētaka were ruling side by side with the kings of Kalinganagara for a long time, sometimes as feudatories and sometimes as independent rulers. The latest known member of the Svētaka branch of the Gaṅga family may have been Dēvānḍavarman³ who flourished in the second half of the eleventh century as an early contemporary of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. It may not be impossible that Guṇārpava was another name of this Dēvānḍavarman, who was apparently subdued by Chōḍagaṅga, and that his son and grandson were subordinate to the Gaṅga emperor. The absence of any reference to the overlord in our record may have been due to the expectation of regaining independence raised in the hearts of the feudatories by Chōḍagaṅga's death.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the record, the reference to Jhādakhapda-dēśa is very interesting. It was the name applied to the wide area of rather jungle land extending from South Bihar to Orissa, although its exact southern boundary is difficult to determine.⁴ The grant of Narasimha II referred to above mentions Dakṣiṇa-Jhādakhapda. In the north, the temple of Vaidyanātha at Dighor near the junction of the Santal Parganas, Monghyr and Bhāgalpur Districts is often described as lying in Jhādakhapda. A sixteenth century inscription is said to describe a Rāja of Jājpur in the Ganjam District as the ruler of Jhādakhapda, while the Rājas of Band are known to have claimed the same title. The village called Valigrāma and the *viśaya* or district named Varittani cannot be satisfactorily identified, although the latter may be the same as the Varāha-varittani or Kōla-varittani *viśaya* mentioned in many other Gaṅga records.⁵ The

¹ [See above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 134-135.]

² See Bay, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 403. Verso 90 of the charter of Narasimha II (cf. J. A. S. B., Vol. LXV, Part I, 1896, pp. 351-53) refers to the 16 *pātars* serving the king's father Bhānu I (circa 1264-75 A. D.).

³ He is known from such sources as the Mahāyāna grant of Śaka 998 (A. D. 1046) and the Kamlakaya grant apparently of Śaka 1003 (A. D. 1081). See J. E. H. R. S., Vol. I, pp. 220-21.

⁴ Macumbar, *Orissa in the Making*, pp. 63-65. According to B. Singh Deo (*Nandapur*, p. 18), the chiefs of Jājpur or Koraput call themselves "Lord of Jhādakhapda" even today.

⁵ Cf. above, Vol. IV, p. 183; IX, pp. 94-98; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 275 (J. A. S. B., Vol. I, pp. 43, 108; A. B. S. I. S., 1896, p. 17, No. 220, etc.).

ancient village of Khōṇṇa in Varāḥavarttana has been identified with modern Korni near Kalingapatnam in the Ganjam District. This shows that Varāḥavarttana comprised parts of the Ganjam District where king Arkṣēvara also apparently ruled. Hīṅgulā, probably the capital of the particular branch of the Gaṅga family to which Arkṣēvara belonged, seems to have been situated, as already indicated, on the banks of the Rukṁkulyā, no doubt the river of that name flowing past the town of Ganjam in the Ganjam District of Orissa. The river has retained its old name in the list of rivers issuing from the Mahāendra range (i.e., the Eastern Ghats) mentioned in the geographical sections of the *Parāśara*.¹ The exact location of Hīṅgulā is, however, unknown, although it may be modern Hingul of the Survey of India sheet maps 74A/11 c 1 and 74A/15 a 1. Madhyadēśa, to which the Deves's family originally belonged, was the name applied to the central region of Northern India roughly between the Himalayas and the Vindhya and between the Eastern Punjab and the Eastern United Provinces (Uttar Pradesh).

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 [Siddham ||] Svasti [] śrīmad-Gaṅga-kula-tīlaka-paramamāhātmya-paramahha[] raka-saka-
- 2 la-guṇagaṇ-āṇḍikṛita-śrīmad-Guṇa[rṇa]vadōva āt-tai-putrah sakala-dēśa-vi-
- 3 khyāta-kīrtti-vvira[] aphurad-asama-pratāp-ānala-dagdh-āśēśha-satru-
- 4 śa[] bhah śrīmat-Pramāḍidēvaḥ sātbbhūtaḥ ta(tas-ta)ya cha sūnuḥ kumuda-kutal-ēṇḍa-
- 5 dhavala-yāś-āyāṭṭamḥ² āyōtha-dā-chakravālāḥ sa[] jana-mānaḥ-kuma-
- 6 da-vana-vikāśana-nirmala-pōrṇa-sudhākāraḥ [ka(r)]ga-raṅga-satiga-
- 7 ta[] ri-vare-rudhira-dhār-ā[] āra-chāru-aphurata(t)-kha[] ga-va[] math-
- 8 gita-prachanda-dōr-dāṇḍa-nirjit-āśēśha-riṇa-va(ba)lā[] dvija-vara-kama-kama-
- 9 l-ōdara-sāṅgata-dān-āmya(mba)-sāmya(sāmya)rdhita-pratata-puṇya-tarar-vvīlata-pratā-
- 10 p-ānala-jyālā-mūla-saṁlī[] āśēśha-dvāśhi-patāṅga-vṛalāḥ Śrīyādēvi³
- 11 charita-parīṣāna-śrī-Śrīyādēvi-nayana-mamadhukata-pōḍya-

Second Plate : First Side

- 12 māna-vadana-pamkajaḥ śrīmad-Arkṣēvaradēvaḥ kuśali-chaturvīṇṣati[ta*]-
- 13 mē rājya-saṁvatsarē pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājyē Hīṅgulā-katakād-ā-
- 14 galya Bishikulyā-tirē Māgha-paurṇamāsyāṁ Bhṛṅguvārē sōma-
- 15 grahana-samayē Śrīyādēvi-priya-pāṭṭamahādēvi-sahitā[] tō[]
- 16 Madhyadēśa-vinirgatāya Parāśara-si[] gōtrīya Jivakaradarma-
- 17 ṇaḥ poutṛāya Madhukaradarmāḥ putṛāya Vipdḍhikaradarmāḥ
- 18 [Brā]hmaṇya Yajurveda-Kāṇva-śekh-ādhyāyinaḥ Jhāḍakhaṇḍa-dēś-āntarvva-
- 19 rita-Varṭtana-vishayē Valigrāma-nāmaḥ grāmay-ārdhhaḥ pūrva(rva)-siddha-
- 20 tūp-ā[] ā-āyachchhinna-bhūkhaṇḍam sa-jala-sthā[] sa-matsya-kachha(chchha)patā-

¹ Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, p. 107.

² From the original plates lent by the Vice-Chancellor, Orla University, and from the impressions prepared in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Omit always.

⁵ *Śrī* apparently stands for Sanskrit *Śrī*, i.e., the goddess of prosperity.

⁶ Read *madhe*.

[illegible]

12 नि। नर देन प्रकः ॥ श्री लक्ष्मी देवता च नारायण च ॥ श्री लक्ष्मी देवता च नारायण च ॥
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 20 श्री लक्ष्मी देवता च नारायण च ॥ श्री लक्ष्मी देवता च नारायण च ॥ श्री लक्ष्मी देवता च नारायण च ॥

21 ksha-gulma-latākam sa-nidhi s-ōpani[di*]kam a-chaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa'-pravāsam-u

Second Plate : Second Side

- 22 [iḥ]mṇa-sare-ōpadraṇa-varjita-tāmra-u[ka*]rīkṛitya mātā-pitrō-
 23 s-ātinanah' puṇya-yaśō-v[i]vīddhayē putra-pautr-ādi-samīti-vivri-
 24 ddhayē ab-ā-chandr-ārka-kāhiti-sama-kālak datvā[tiā] yathā-kāla-bhāvinah
 25 samuṣṭagatān-uśēshān-marapatn-varttamānān-cha rājaputr-ān-
 26 tyān-mahāśāndhivigrahika-mahākṣhapatalika-mahāpā-
 27 tra-mahāśāmantā-dauvārika-bhāmjādūhyakaha-da[m*]dāpāsi(ā)ka-kha[ṣh*]-
 28 dāpāla-vishaya-pāla-prahhīta-sāśha-rā-ōpa[ivina]h(nō) yathā-
 29 cham-mānayati prārthayati cha matam-asu bhavatān **Valligrām**-ārddha-bhū-kha[m*]-
 30 dān [Brā]hmanāya Vīddhikarāśarmamāyē mayā-datta[tiā]m [i*] pālān-
 31 phale-sādhauād-apaharapē mahāraurav-ādi-naraka-pāta-bhayaśd-bhū-

Third Plate

- 32 mī-dānam-idañ bhavadbhīr-[bh]āv[i]bhīh pālaniyam-iti [0]
 33 atra dharm-ānusañ(ān)inañ śhīō(ā)kāh [Va(Ra)hahīr-vasuṭhā dattā rāja-
 34 bhīh Sagar-ādibhīh | yasya yasya yadā bhūmī-tasya tasya tadā
 35 phala[tiā]m [i*] Mā bhūmī(d-a)phala-śāhā vāh para-datt-ōti pāthivāh | sva-dēn-
 36 t-phalam-ānantyam para-datt-ānupālanaś(nō) | Sva-dattān para-dattān vā
 37 yō karēch-cha vaśandharān(rām) | sa viśhāyān kṛimīr-bhūtvā pitṛbhīh saha
 38 pachyātē || Gām-ākān svarga-raktiñ cha bhūmēr-apy-arddham-ā(m-ān)ga-
 39 lān[tiā]m | haran-narakan-āpnōti yāvad-āhūn-sukhāvan(vam) || Śrīvād-
 40 vi-Arkkōśvarādēvāya² suṣmatam || **Yug-āvdā(bdāh)** 4248 ||

No. 12—MADRAS MUSEUM PLATE OF BHUVANATRINETRA

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OGTAOMUND

A set of five copper plates was received from the Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras, in the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy in 1935-36. They were strung together on a bare elliptical ring and gave the appearance that the whole formed one set. But on decipherment of the writing, it was found that they comprised three distinct records¹ belonging to different rulers.

¹ Better read *śāpā-bhāṣa* usually found in this context in epigraphic records.

² Read "śāśha".

³ Better read *Śrīvādēv-āhībhāgādēvāh*.

⁴ These inscriptions have been noticed as Nos. 5 to 7 of Appendix A in the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for 1935-36. The first two of these records belong to the Rēnāja Chōḷa chiefs, Śrīkavīra Chōḷa and Pallava Chōḷa Mahārāja. They have been published in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XV, pp. 29-49 and 253 ff. and plates.

The present inscription which is being edited here for the first time¹ is engraved on the **fifth plate** of the set described above. The plate measures 9½" in length and about 3" in breadth. It has slightly raised rims all round. The record is engraved on one side only and consists of 8 lines. The **alphabet** is Telugu-Kannaḍa of the transitional stage and perhaps it is for this reason that a certain measure of indifference is noticeable in the formation of the letters.

In regard to **orthography**, the use of *anuvāra* in place of class nasalas may be noted in a large number of cases. The expression (*saṁskṛita*) in line 3 appears to be a mistake for *saṁskṛita*. The record contains a few minor clerical mistakes which have been corrected in the body of the text.

The **language** of the inscription is archaic Telugu.

The document belongs to the family of subordinate chiefs known as the Vaidumbas. All the records of this family discovered so far are inscriptions on stone. This is the only copper plate record of the family.

The record is brief. It commences with the familiar *prakāśa* of the **Vaidumba family** and introduces the chief **Bhuvana-Trinētra** who had assumed the title *Mahārāja*. It is dated **Śaka 893, Āshāḍha śuk 7, Thursday, Dakṣiṇāyana-saṅkrānti**. The inscription states that this chief, residing at Potṭepi in the Pāka-nāḍu, made a gift of the village Kāṭinherava² situated in the tract of Kaḍapa-Twelve to the god Lōkēśvara Bhātāra of Artirēyula. The gift was entrusted into the hands of Kuchibhadrā,³ a resident of Mūḍjaram, who was to protect and enjoy the charity for the merit of Bhimarāja and Rāhavya. Sīrama Peggeḍa was the executor of the document and Dēsarati Bhimanna the engraver. The charter ends with the expression *tri-ādānata-nīḥa* which would have been the chief's title used as the sign-manual.⁴

The date is irregular. If Śaka 893 is a mistake for Śaka 891 (expired), the details regularly correspond to A. D. 969, June 21, Thursday. But both these dates are, so to say, inadmissible in view of the statement of an inscription from Uppampalle⁵ in the Cuddapah District which speaks of the coronation, in Śaka 894, of Bhuvana-Trinētra Vaidumba Mahārāja who is apparently identical with this chief.⁶ But we can get over this difficulty by assuming that though he was wielding authority from an earlier date, the formal consecration ceremony of the chief took place later, on account of the disturbed political conditions.

We are not in a position to assign due place to Bhuvana-Trinētra in the genealogical account of the Vaidumbas. On account of the paucity of information and the disconnected nature of the sources it is difficult to reconstruct the history of the Vaidumba house, even partially, although a good many inscriptions of the family have been discovered so far. From the different names and titles of the chiefs available to us we are led to believe that there existed more than one branch

¹ My thanks are due to the Government Epigraphist for India for the kind permission to edit the record.

² The original expression is Kāṭinherava, a plural form. Perhaps the termination *va* stands for *śa* of the locative case. If so, we have to assume that the gift consisted of some land in the village.

³ His name proper would be Kuṇḍabhadra who was evidently the managing priest of the temple.

⁴ *Adānata-nīḥa* means 'one whose speech is praiseworthy'. This is an early instance of a ruler using the title for the sign-manual. The famous instance of the later period is *tri-Potṭapala* of the Vijayanagara Kings. But in the latter case it is the titular duty and not the title of any ruler or ruleress.

⁵ Mad. Ep. Coll., No. 325 of 1905.

⁶ The inscription on the front wall of the Śiva temple at Kakkaḍa, Vayalpad taluk, Chittoor District (No. 444 of 1940-41 of Mad. Ep. Coll.) records certain ceremonies by the Vaidumba king Bhuvana-Trinētra Trinētra Mahārāja on the occasion of his coronation. This epigraph is not dated; but may be roughly ascribed to the 10th century A. D. on palaeographic grounds. Except for the characteristic title and probable contemporaneity, clinching evidence is lacking for the identification of Bhuvana-Trinētra of the present document with Bhuvana-Trinētra of the Kakkaḍa record. It is, however, not unlikely that they refer to one and the same person.

of this family of chiefs. The Vaidumbas appear to have reached the height of their power in the 9th century A. D. under Gaṇḍa-Trinētra who was ruling over the territory of Rēnāḍa 7000,¹ the home province of the Telugu-Chōḷa chiefs. Bhuvana-Trinētra might be a direct descendant of Gaṇḍa-Trinētra removed by a few generations. Vaidumba Mahārāja mentioned as the subordinate of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III in an inscription from Pālagiri² in the Cuddapah District, was probably a predecessor of Bhuvana-Trinētra. By the time of Bhuvana-Trinētra, the Rāshtrakūṭa power had reached its final phase and it is significant to note that neither of the inscriptions of this chief contains any reference to the suzerain. Bhimarāja and Bāhavarra, for whose merit the gift was maintained, might be the parents of this chief.³

Reverting to the place names occurring in the epigraph, **Pottapi** is identical with Pottapi in the old Pallampet or the present Rajampet *tāluk* in the Cuddapah District. This town is said to have been founded by Madhusāntaka Pottapi Chōḷa, an early ancestor of the Telugu-Chōḷa family.⁴ **Kaḍapa**, the headquarters of the small tract of Kaḍapa-Twelve which included the gift village, is identical with modern Cuddapah. **Aṭṭirēvula** has been identified with Attirāla in the Rajampet *tāluk*. **Manjaram**, which seems to be identical with Mandatam mentioned in the two accompanying records referred to above, may be identified with Mandapalle in the same *tāluk*.

Lastly, we take up the region called **Pāka-nāḍu** which contained the tract of Kaḍapa-Twelve. This seems to be the earliest reference to the territorial unit and it would be useful to recall here in brief its origin and history. In the Prākṛit inscriptions of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa⁵ (circa 3rd century A. D.) is mentioned a people or clan called the Pākīyas. The domicile of these people appears to have been styled the Pūgi or Pūṅgi Dēśa by the Sanskritists as attested by a late epigraph.⁶ In Sanskrit *pāga* or *pūgi* means arccuit⁷ and its corresponding equivalents, *pāka* and *pākka* are found in Telugu and Tamil. Consequently, Pūgi Dēśa might have been changed to Pāka-nāḍu in course of time, its other variants being Pākī-nāḍu, Pākkaī-nāḍu, etc. This territorial unit preserved its entity till the 16th century A. D., though its extent and content might have varied under different regimes. From the provenance of the inscriptions⁸ containing allusions to this region, it may be gathered that Pāka-nāḍu extended approximately over the major portion of the Nellore District including parts or whole of the Venkatagiri, Rapur, Nellore, Atmakur, Kovur, Kavali and Kanigiri *tāluka*, small areas of the Ongole and Bapatla *tāluka* of the Guntur District and the Cuddapah and Rajampet *tāluka* of the Cuddapah District. Under the Chōḷa regime during 12-13th centuries A. D., the western portion of this tract was designated Mēṛ-Pākkaī-nāḍu forming part of the Jayāgondachōḷamaṇḍalam and Adhirājendrachōḷamaṇḍalam.⁹ A subdivision of the Mēṛ-Pākkaī-nāḍu was called Pottapi-nāḍu,¹⁰ evidently after the village Pottapi noted above. Under the Vijayanagara administration Pāka-nāḍu was incorporated in the Udayagiri-nāḍu.¹¹

TEXT¹²

1 Svasty-anēka-samāra-saṅghattān-ōpalabdhā-vijaya-lakṣmī-samālīṅgita-viśāla-vakṣasthaḥ
Bhu-

¹ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 162.

² No. 323 of 1935-36 of Mad. Ep. Coll.

³ A. R. S. I. E. for 1935-36, part II, para. 9.

⁴ Above, Vol. VII, p. 121.

⁵ Above, Vol. XX, pp. 5, 12, etc.

⁶ Nellore Inscriptions, Vol. III, p. 1028. Compare A. R. S. I. E., 1935-36, p. 57.

⁷ Compare, above, Vol. XX, p. 12. *Pāga* also means 'a multitude' or 'a corporation'.

⁸ Nellore Inscriptions, Kanigiri No. 11, Kavali Nos. 8, 43; Nos. 243 of 1897, 298-99 of 1911, of Mad. Ep. Coll., etc.

⁹ Ibid., Venkatagiri, No. 1; Nos. 298-99 of 1911 of Mad. Ep. Coll.

¹⁰ No. 399 of 1911 of Mad. Ep. Coll.

¹¹ Nellore Inscriptions, Nellore No. 34 A, etc.

¹² From ink-impresiones.

- 2 vana-Trinētra-śrīmad-V[ai]ḍumbha-mahārājulu Sa(Śa) 893 nāṭi A(Ā)ślu(Ā)[dha]
su(su)ḍḍha 7 Guruvārābhūḡ[ib] Bā-
3 ka-nāṭi Pottēpi-v[ita] Dakṣiṇa(pā)ṇa-saṅkrānti-nimittam[ū]nan-Artiṛēvula [‘sannini-]
tra Lōkēśvara-
4 Bh[ā]ṣa[ra]lakūṭa Gaḍapa-Paṇṇepilōṇi Kāṭicēḡavulu yōbhō[ri] [!*] Dīnākin va-
5 kkrām[la] vachōhānavāra Bāraḡa(nā)ṣiṇi Śrīpa[r*]vratandamun-a[ḡḡ]navāra [!*] dīnā jākoni
kāchi
6 kuḡicēḡavāra Maṇḡaramuna Kuchibhāḡalu Bhīmārājunaḡa Bāhavarā-
7 ki dharmnavuḡān-icēhōri [!*] A(Ā)ṇṇi Sirama-poggeḡlu [!*] Dēsarati Bhīmāna vālu [!*]
8 Śrī-Abhinūta-vāku [!*]

No. 13—HIREGUTTI PLATES OF BHOJA ASANKITA

(I. Plate)

P. B. DERAI, OOTAḡAMUND

In the course of my annual tour in the Bombay-Karnātaka area during 1949-50, I secured the loan of this highly interesting set of copper plates from Sri Uddanda Bommayya Gaonkar, a resident of Hire Gutti in the Kunta tāluk of the North Kanara District, Bombay State, who owned it as an heirloom. It became possible to obtain its loan from the reluctant owner through the kindness of Sri S. P. Gaonkar of Ankola, M.L.A., who had informed me of its existence about a decade ago. I am editing the inscription on these plates here for the first time with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The set consists of **three plates** strung together on a **copper ring** passing through a hole, $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, at the centre of the margin on the left side. The ends of the ring which measures $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and whose thickness is about $\frac{1}{8}$ ", are secured at the bottom of a circular seal. The plates are of uniform size; they measure 7" in length, $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth and about $\frac{1}{16}$ " in thickness. Only one side each of the first and the third plates and both sides of the second plate are engraved. There are 16 lines of writing which are distributed equally on the four faces. The seal measuring 1" in diameter, bears in relief, the rough figure of a miniature elephant in motion facing the proper right. The weight of the plates is 27 tolas and that of the ring with the seal 8 tolas. The plates are in a good state of preservation notwithstanding their age.

The charter is written in the **southern alphabet** of the early age. The average height of single letters is about $\frac{1}{2}$ " and of conjuncts $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters are of the normal variety, that were in vogue in the Deccan and western part of South India. For general appearance they may be compared with the script of the Sangoli plates of Harivarman,¹ Halmidi stone inscription,² Bādāmi Vaiṣṇava cave inscription³ and Gojāchi plates of Katti-arasa.⁴ Two trends, viz., slightly more advanced and somewhat less advanced, are noticeable in the formation of letters like *ḷ*, *j*, *ṣ*, *ḷ* and *y*. The letters *ṭ* and *ṇ* are not generally distinguished. The medial short *i* denoted either by a curve or a circle at the top, is distinguished from long *i* indicated by a curve with a loop on the left above the letter.

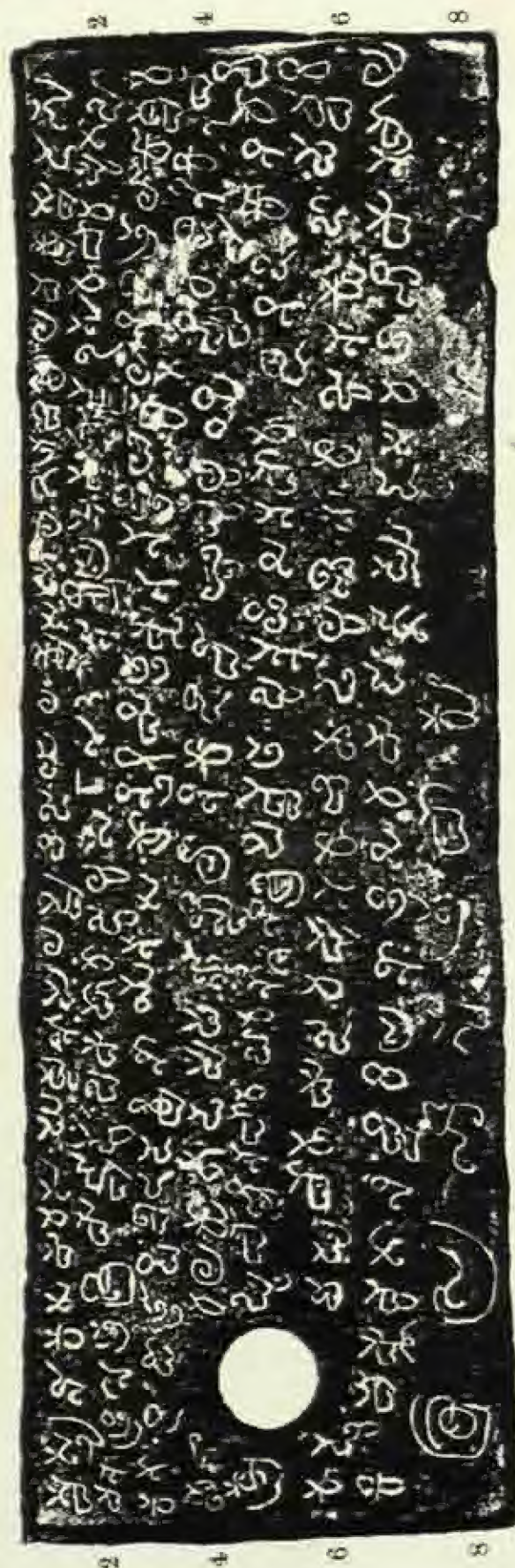
¹ The reading of this expression is doubtful as some of the letters are not legible. The *abakara* *sa* is engraved below the line and this inscription is denoted by a cross inscribed between the *abakara* *sa* and [ṇaṭ].

² Above, Vol. XIV, plate between pp. 166 and 167.

³ *Mys. Arch. Rep.* for 1936, plate XXII, facing p. 72.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, plate facing p. 57.

⁵ Above, p. 62.



In regard to **orthography** the consonant after *r* is invariably doubled, the only exception being *reha* in line 11. This is justified according to the rule of grammar,¹ which is however optional. The reduplicated letter is further subjected to the *saṃhi* rule as may be noted in respect of *etthya* and *ettha* in line 5, wherein the dental unaspirate is substituted for the corresponding aspirate.

The **language** of the epigraph is Sanskrit. The invocation and the imprecation are in verse. The rest of the record is composed in prose. The writing contains a few minor errors which have been corrected in the body of the text and in the footnotes.

The inscription commences with the praise of Lord **Buddha**. He is described as one 'whose feet are licked by the rays of the shining jewels in the coronets of gods and demons' and 'a reservoir of countless virtues'. Significant in this connection is the epithet, 'affectionate without a motive', applied to him. Next is introduced the king **Asankita**,² 'the moon in the firmament of the lineage of the Bhōjas who were endowed with Fortune'. The object of the document is to record gift of the village Samdarika, situate in the Dipaka *vishaya*, for the enjoyment of the Buddhist *vihāra* belonging to them,³ by the king, at the request of the chief Kottipeggili born in the lineage of the Kaikēyas of Nandipalli. The gift village was entrusted to the Ārya Saṅgha, i.e., assembly of Buddhist monks in charge of the monastery. It was bounded by Kurvā in the east, the roaring stream⁴ of Maritikkattu in the south, the water-fall on the mountain in the west; its northern boundary extended up to the boulder with the mango tree. The charter ends with an exhortation to protect the charity bestowed upon the Ārya Saṅgha and an imprecation against its violators.

The epigraph bears no date. So the only means left to us for determining its date is **palaeography** whose evidence may be reckoned as fairly approximate. The alphabet of the inscription betrays archaic traits and appears to be older than that of the four epigraphs⁵ mentioned before for general comparison. It bears closer affinity with the script of the copper-plate record of the Kadamba king Mrgāsavarman, dated in the 4th regnal year,⁶ except for the box-headed character of the latter. Of the four records noted above the Sangoli plates of Harivarman are the earliest with some precision in date. They have been ascribed to the middle of the 6th century A.D.⁷ Hence it would be reasonable if we assign the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 6th century A.D. as the most likely date of our record.

More than one interests centre round this brief document inasmuch as it opens up certain new facts regarding the political and religious history of the south-western region of India in that early age. Firstly, it introduces a new prince of the ruling family of Bhōjas. If we go to the early age of the post-Vedic literature and that of the epics, the Bhōjas figure as a class or clan of rulers⁸

¹ *Aśṭādhyāyī*: *śāḍ. saṃhitāyām* 1164 (VIII-4-46). This sūtra explains the circumstances when the reduplication can take place. The exception is indicated by another sūtra: *śaṅṅ-ohi* (VIII-4-49).

² This name occurs in the combination of two words combined by *asaṃhi*. It is possible to construe the king's name as *Saṃkita* also. But on consideration of sense it would be better to take it as *Asankita* which means 'the fearless one'.

³ The *eva* in *eva-sāhara* can be interpreted as relating either to *Asankita* or to Kottipeggili or to both. I would prefer the last alternative. This would be in keeping with the fact that both the king and his chief had their leanings with the Buddhist faith as indicated by the circumstances. See also point to 'their own faith'.

⁴ *Vīraḥ* means 'a roar, thunder'. It is suggested by the natural context that this expression is used here to denote 'a noisy mountain stream'.

⁵ One of these is the Halmidi inscription. I had a discussion in regard to the dating of this record with Mr. N. Lakshminarasayan Rao, Superintendent for Epigraphy, who holds that it should be placed in the 6th century rather than in the 5th century A.D. *Contra. Mys. Arch. Rep.* for 1936, p. 72.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII; plate between pp. 36 and 37.

⁷ *Above*, Vol. XIV, pp. 183-86.

⁸ K. P. Jayaswal: *Hindu Polity* (second edn.), pp. 36 and 78.

claiming some importance. According to the *Āitarēya Brāhmaṇa*, the chiefs of the Sātvata clan were termed *Bhōjas* and it is stated that the former were regulated by the Bhanuja constitution wherein the authority seems to have been vested in the chosen representatives or leaders of the people.¹ This institution of leaders which was non-hereditary in the first instance appears to have developed as a hereditary class by itself;² for, the Bhōjas are mentioned as a subdivision of the Yādavas in the *Mahābhārata*.³ The Bhōjas, as specified by the *Āitarēya Brāhmaṇa*, were confined to the southern region. It is interesting to note that this general statement in regard to the domicile of the Bhōjas in the south has been confirmed by the specific allusions found in the early epigrapha ranging from the times of Aśoka. In his Rock Edict XIII, the Bhōjas are mentioned along with the Pitinikas and it is surmised that the former hailed from the western part of India.⁴ The Bhōjas again, associated with Rāshṭrikas, are referred to as fighting against the Kallūga king Khāravela in the Hāthigumphā inscription.⁵ According to the *Dakṣamūrtacharita* which seems to reflect certain historical facts, Viḍarbiha was ruled by a king named Puṅgyavarman who belonged to the ancient Bhōja race.⁶

Some of the Bhōja chiefs who had emerged as a ruling class of some importance, seem to have preferred to style themselves Mahābhōjas. The Mahābhōjas figure in a number of Brāhmi inscriptions⁷ of about the first and second century A.D. from the western parts of the Bombay State and the sphere of their activities seems to have been confined to that region. They were connected by matrimonial alliance with the Mahārāshtras on the one hand and the Chutus on the other.⁸ The Mahābhōjas were adherents of the Buddhist faith.⁹

But the existence of the Bhōjas as an independent ruling family or families of note, prior to the advent of the Chālukyas on the political horizon of South India, is being unravelled for the first time by a series of copper-plate records discovered recently. Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao has noticed them in detail in his note on the Siroda plates of Dēvarāja,¹⁰ which are the earliest of the series. Next in chronological sequence after the Siroda plates comes the present epigraph. This is followed by three charters, one issued by Dharmamahārāja Kāpālivarman and two others by Pṛthivimallavarman.

Thus it has been seen that as many as five copper-plate inscriptions of the Bhōja family have come to light so far. They range in age from the 4th century to the 7th century A.D. In the absence of more information on the genealogical relationship of these rulers it is not possible to say that they belonged to one and the same lineage. It is likely that they were members of various branches. Dēvarāja of the Siroda plates and Aśānka of the present epigraph probably represent different lines. Kāpālivarman seems to be connected with yet another line. This prince appears to have been a ruler of dignified status and we may note the distinguished title *Dharmamahārāja* borne by him. This title was assumed by more than one prince of the Pallava, Kadamba and the Western Gaṅga families. It is not unlikely that Pṛthivimallavarman of the said plates belonged to the line of Kāpālivarman as suggested by the common name-ending; but we have to observe the absence of the title *Dharmamahārāja* in respect of the former. The provenance of these

¹ *Āitarēya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 14.

² *Hindu Polity*, pp. 79-80 and 86.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 36 and 80.

⁴ *C. I. I.*, Vol. I; Introduction, p. xxxix.

⁵ *Above*, Vol. XX, p. 71.

⁶ *A. B. O. E. I.*, Vol. XXVI, part 1-3, p. 20.

⁷ *Leaders' List*, Nos. 1021, 1037, 1045, etc.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Nos. 1021 and 1186.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Nos. 1032, 1064, 1111, etc.

¹⁰ *Above*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 237 ff.

charters and other indications obtained from the place-names occurring in them would show that these princes held sway generally over the strip of land on the west coast, roughly comprising the present day territory of Goa and the North Kanara District.

Secondly, our epigraph brings into relief the state of religion prevailing at the time. Save the present inscription, all the Bhōja charters noted above register grants to the Brāhmanas. True, no definite conclusion can be arrived at merely on the basis of this fact, but there are other grounds which lead to the assumption that these chiefs were adherents of the Brahmanical faith. Only Aśāṅkita and other members of his house probably owed their allegiance to the doctrine of Lord Buddha. Not merely from the fact that he made the generous grant of a village to a Buddhist *vihāra*, but also from the adoption of the elephant, the symbol of Buddha, as their emblem, it would be reasonable to assume that the family of Aśāṅkita was Buddhist by persuasion. This is in keeping with the traditions of the Mahābhōjas whose Buddhist leanings are already known. Nothing was known in regard to the state of Buddhism in the Western Deccan after the 3rd century A.D. But this epigraph throws welcome light to the effect that that faith had not lost its ground completely and that it was held in esteem at least by a section of the society about the 6th century A.D. This is seen from the reference to the Buddhist monastery, the congregation of monks who held its charge and the patronage and support they received from the ruling king and the feudatory chief. Leaving behind the Brāhmī cave inscriptions of Western India, the Buddhist records are few and far between and the present one appears to be the only Buddhist copper-plate record of the early period so far known.

Thirdly, the seal of the present plates presents a noteworthy feature. Whereas three of the above documents bear no seals and the figure on that of the Siroda charter is couched in some doubt,¹ the seal of the present epigraph is well-preserved and distinct. As seen before, it contains the representation of an elephant. The Buddha is symbolically depicted as an elephant² and the family of Aśāṅkita appears to have chosen this figure as the characteristic emblem on their crest to mark their Buddhist leanings.³

We may incidentally notice here a few facts bearing on the history of Buddhism in this part of the country. A statue of the Buddha in the meditative pose, attributed to the early age of the Christian Era, was found some years ago at Colvale in the Goa territory.⁴ According to an inscription from Nāgārjunikonda, of about the 3rd century A.D., the region of Banavāsī, approximately representing the North Kanara District, was converted to Buddhism by the Buddhist monks of Ceylon.⁵ This piece of information is confirmed by the evidence of the *Mahārasam*.⁶ Kōḍabalisirī, a princess of the Ikshvāku house which was a great patron of Buddhism, figures in a Nāgārjunikonda epigraph as the foundress of a *vihāra*.⁷ She was consort of the *Mahārāja* of Vanavāsī (i.e., Banavāsī) who may be identified as a prince of the Chuṭu family.⁸ The Buddhist influence over Banavāsī of the Chuṭu family is indicated by the Banavāsī Prakrit inscription according to the

¹ The late Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamachari has stated that the figure on the seal is a swan. Mr. Pienckhaz thought, it was a peacock. Mr. Mirashi suggests it to be a lion. See *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, p. 43, n. 4.

² Compare, e.g., H. Hargreaves: *Buddha Story in Stone*, pp. 7-8; *Arch. Surv. of South Ind.*, Vol. 1, p. 33.

³ An early instance of a Buddhist record on copper-plate comes from the Tippera District in East Bengal. It is dated in the year 188 of the Gupta Era, corresponding to A.D. 507, and registers a grant to a Buddhist *vihāra* by the king Vainya Gupta who, however, was not a follower of the Buddhist faith; *I. H. Q.*, Vol. VI, pp. 45 ff. (I owe this reference to Dr. D. C. Sircar). The Pāla rulers of Bengal were Buddhist by persuasion and they had chosen the Dharma Chakra as their characteristic symbol, which is displayed on their copper-plate documents. If the above surmise be correct, this would be the only instance of a ruling family that had adopted as their emblem the figure of an elephant representing the Buddha.

⁴ *Kandamba Kula*, p. 252.

⁵ Above, Vol. XX, p. 7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁷ K. Gopalachari: *Early History of Andhra Country*, pp. 127-28.

gift of a Nāga, and a *vihāra*.¹ Bōdhidharma, founder of the Zen school of Buddhism in China during the early part of the 6th century A.D., hailed, according to one account, from a royal family ruling over the West Coast of South India.² It is suggested that he might be a prince of the early Kadamba family.³ This suggestion seems to be untenable in view of the fact that the early Kadambas are not known to have directly ruled over the West Coast. Nor is the evidence available to show that the Kadambas ever came under the influence of Buddhism. So could it be that Bōdhidharma was connected with the family of Bhōjas some of whom were influenced by the Buddhist doctrine?

Lastly, we are introduced to a new branch of the Kaikōya family. The Kaikōyas originally hailed from the Kēkaya country situated between the rivers Bias and Sutlej in the Panjab.⁴ They are mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*.⁵ They seem to have subsequently migrated to the south and consolidated their position by contracting matrimonial alliances with the princes of the Hośvāku, Early Kadamba and Pallava families.⁶ It appears that there were several branches of the Kaikōyas who had settled in different parts of South India. This may be gathered from the specific reference to the family in the present epigraph as the Kaikōyas of Nandipalli, to distinguish it from others. Allocation of this branch of the Kaikōya family rests on the identification of Nandipalli which appears to have been its headquarters. It may possibly be identified with Nandivalli which was one of the gift villages mentioned in the Vokkalēri plates⁷ of the Western Chālukya king Kirtivarman II, dated in A. D. 758. It was situated on the southern bank of the river Agadore or Dharmā in the Pānnōgal *vishaya* or the territory adjoining modern Hāngal in the Dharwar District. If this identification be correct, it may be assumed that Aśaṅkita's authority extended over a part of the area of the Dharwar District; for, the Kaikōya chief Kottipeggili was his subordinate.

The name Kottipeggili is interesting; for, it is only an epithet and not a proper name. It is constituted of three words, *kottu*=to strike, *peggu* (*pegga*)=back and *il*=not; and may be derived according to the rules of Kannada grammar.⁸ The whole expression would thus mean, 'one who is not a back-stabber'. Similar epithets, e.g. *Kokkili*= 'one who is devoid of crookedness' were in vogue in the early age.⁹ These expressions are purely Kannada.

The following place-names are mentioned in the epigraph: *Dipaka vishaya*, *Sundarikā*, *Kurvvā*, *Martukattu*. The first is evidently a territorial division and the last three are villages situated in the former. I am unable to identify the latter and in regard to the former I may only suggest two possible alternatives. *Dipaka vishaya*, appears to have derived the name from the *dīpa* or an island. It may be either the Anjidiv island, five miles south-west of Karwar¹⁰ or the island of Divar on the north of the island of Goa. The latter is mentioned under the name *Dipavati* in the *Skanda Purāṇa*.¹¹ If these names are to be derived from *dīpa* meaning 'light', they would have derived the appellation on account of the existence of some lighting arrangement like light-houses on them.

¹ *Lodges' List*, No. 1186; *Early History of Anihva Country*, p. 116.

² *Myore University Journal* (*Prahastha Karāṇika*), 1933, No. 55, p. 39; cf. E. J. Thomas; *History of Buddhist Thought*, p. 254.

³ *Mys. Ua. Journ.* (op. cit.), p. 44.

⁴ *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 98.

⁵ *Pargiter: Ancient Indian Historical Traditions*, pp. 109, 184, etc.

⁶ *Ahove*, Vol. XXI, pp. 176-77.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 23 ff. and above, Vol. V, pp. 290 ff.

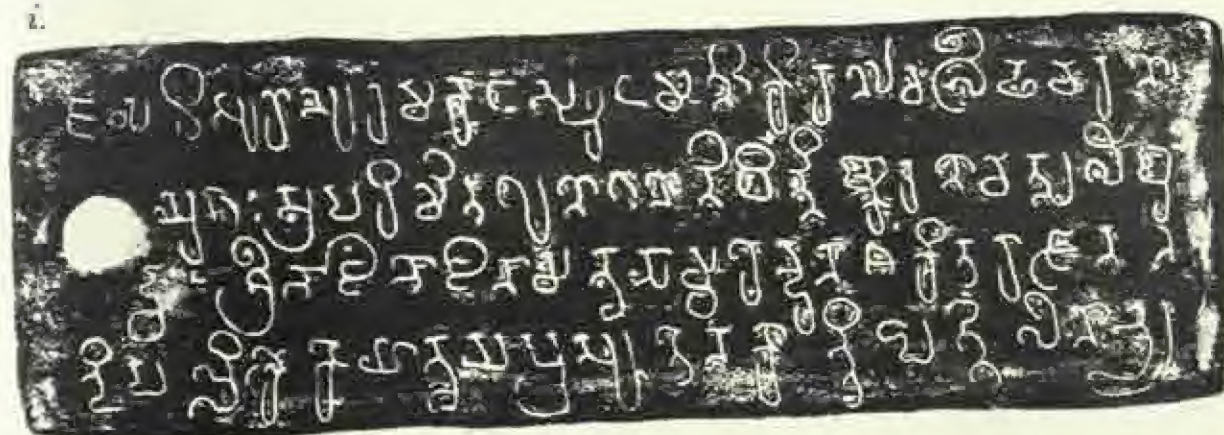
⁸ *Sahdumavilāsaṇa* (Sāhitya Parīkṣat edition), sūtra, 180.

⁹ For instance, Mahā-Yuvakīa, a prince of the Eastern Chālukya family, had a son named Kokkili; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 12.

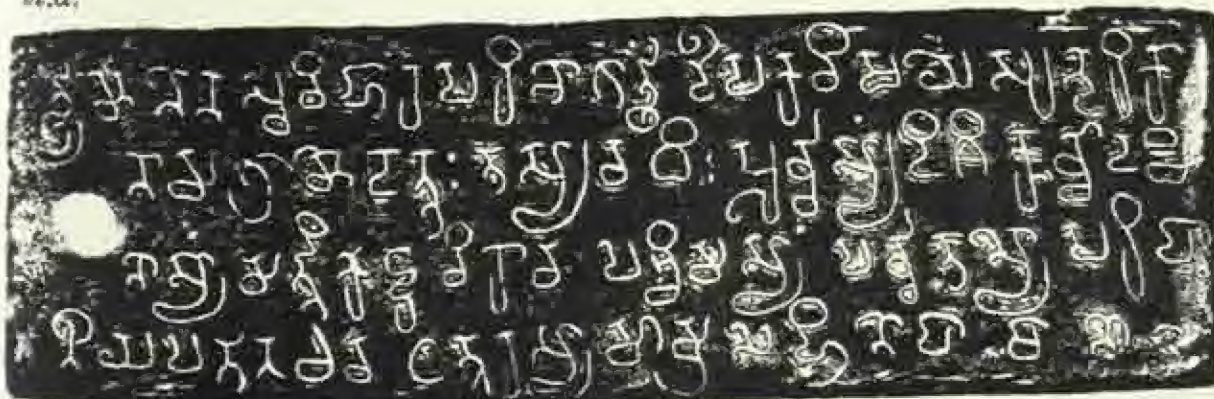
¹⁰ *Bomb. Gazetteer*, Vol. XV, part 6 (1883), pp. 249 ff.

¹¹ *Geographical Dictionary* (op. cit.), p. 57.

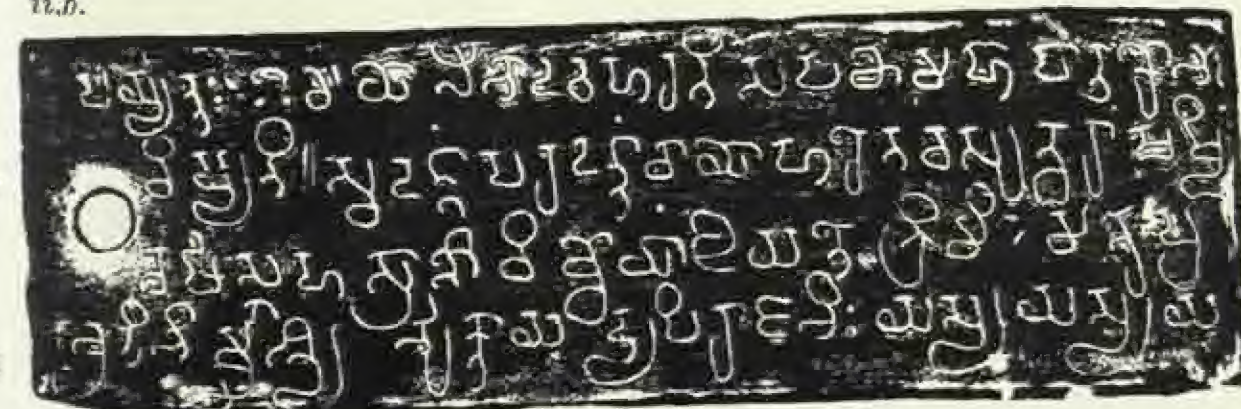
2.



22. a.



ii.b.





SEAL



(From a photograph)

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 Jayati sur-āśura-makuta-sphoṭa-maṇi-kīraṇ-āvalīdha-charaṇa-
 2 yugaḥ []¹ aparimita-guṇa-guṇa-nidhir-anishkāraṇa-vatsalō Bu-
 3 ddhab² []³ Śri-bhājān Bhōjānām-ānvay-⁴āmva⁵(mbar)-āndun = Āsankita-rājōna Na-
 4 ndipalli-Kaikōy-ānvaya-prasūtēna Kottī⁶poggilin-ābhya-

Second Plate : First Side

- 5 rtthyamānēna ava-vihāra-paribhōg-ārttham Dīpaka-vishayē Sundarikā-
 6 nāma-grāmō dattah []⁷ tasy-āvadhiḥ pūrvvasyān diśi Kurvā dakṣhi-
 7 nasyām Marttikayyū-virāva[]⁸ paśchimasyām parvatasy-ōpari pā⁹-
 8 mīya-patana ēva uttarasyām-āmra-sahitō¹⁰ pālāṇa¹¹

Second Plate : Second side

- 9 paryyantaḥ []¹² imaṁ yō lōbhād-ava(pa)harati sa pañcha-mahāpātakō bha-
 10 viśhyati []¹³ Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasundharām []¹⁴ ahaśtīm
 11 varaha-saṅgharāṇi viśa¹⁵[]¹⁶thāyām jāyatē krimi[]¹⁷ Manu-pra-
 12 bhṛtā¹⁸ bhir-immānyai¹⁹-r-²⁰huktā yady-api rājahiḥ []²¹ yasya yasya ya-

Third Plate

- 13 dā bhūmī-tasya tasya tadā phalam []²² Ārya-saṅghāya dattām yō vṛi-
 14 ttiṁ pālāya mānava²³ []²⁴ sa divaṁ prāpya divy-ātmā kalpa-kōṭi-
 15 shu mōdatē²⁵ []²⁶ Lōbhād-grīhṇāti mand-ātmā yaḥ pumān-pāpa-mō-
 16 hitaḥ []²⁷ narakē pachyatē ghōrō sa hi kalpān-anēkaḥ[]²⁸

¹ From the original plates.

² Metre : *Āryā*.

³ The mark of punctuation in the original is peculiar.

⁴ The letter pā looks like sū.

⁵ The subscript *va* is indicated by a circle.

⁶ This letter may be read as *nd* also, but the above reading seems to be better; cf. *hā* in line 6 and *hī* in line

14. Its interpretation also warrants this reading.

⁷ This letter looks like *śā*.

⁸ Read *sahitā*.

⁹ There is a punctuation mark after this letter, which evidently indicates that the word is not completed.

¹⁰ The metre of this and the next three verses is *Āśvāpajh*.

¹¹ The superscript *shā* of this letter looks like *vā* as the left hand hook at the top is not joined to the lower oval body of the letter.

¹² There is a break in the engraving of this letter.

¹³ The formation of this letter is peculiar.

¹⁴ The punctuation mark consists of one horizontal stroke.

¹⁵ The construction of this clause is faulty. The defect will be amended if we read *pālāpātē narakā*.

¹⁶ The *ś* sign of this letter is peculiar, being a curve with a hook towards the left.

¹⁷ This mark of punctuation consists of a wavy horizontal stroke.

NO. 14—SHELARWADI CAVE INSCRIPTION

(I Plate)

C. C. DAS GUPTA, CALCUTTA

There is a well-known series of Buddhist caves at **Shelārwādī**, a place twenty miles north-west of Poona.¹ There are at present altogether seven caves in this group. On the outer face of the Cave No. 1 there is an early Brāhmī inscription which has been known for a long time.² That inscription informs us that one Siagutapikā, wife of the ploughman and householder Usabhapaka with her son, the householder Nandā, residing at Dhāpukākāḍa, made the gift of this cave. When I had gone to see these caves in January 1940, I discovered another inscription on the door-lintel of the proper left cell in the back side of the cave No. 2. Except one or two letters, the whole inscription was concealed under a thick coat of mud plaster. The mud plaster having been removed, the present record, a hitherto unknown inscription, was brought to light.

The inscription measures 4' x 1' 1" and consists of five lines of writing. The last line, consisting of only three letters, is just below the end of the fourth line. The script is of the variety adopted in the undated inscriptions of Kuḍā, Nos. 1—5, 11, 20,³ and may be ascribed to about the 2nd century A.D. With regard to the formation of individual letters it may be pointed out that *a*, *gh*, *ch*, *t*, *dh*, *m*, *l*, and *k* have two different forms⁴ each as found respectively in the following examples : *ata* (line 1) and *bālikā* (line 2) ; *Ghapa*⁵ and *Saghā*⁶ (line 2) ; *cha* (lines 3 and 4) ; *ghayala* (line 1) and *ti(k)āya* (line 2) ; *śidha* (line 1) and *Budha*⁷ (line 2) ; *dhama* (line 3) and *māpita* (line 3) ; *bāli*⁸ (line 2) and *kulehi* (line 4) ; *Sihā*⁹ (line 1) and *vehi* (line 4). Besides, *s* has four different forms,¹⁰ as in *śidha* (line 1), *Saghā*¹¹ (line 2), *śaha* (line 3) and *sarchi* (lines 3—4). The medial vowels used are *ā*, *i*, *u*, *e* and *o*. Among these, only *i* has two different forms¹² as found in *śipīya* (line 1). The language used is Prākṛita.

The object of this inscription is to record the gift of a *chaitya*-hall by two ladies **Budhā** and **Saghā**. The latter was the daughter of Ghapatā, a female disciple of the elder (*thera*) Bhaddanta-Siha (Sihha). There are certain interesting points in this inscription which deserve notice. Of the four names in this inscription two, viz., **Saghā** and **Budhā** seem to be peculiar, as such names are usually found with some other suffix such as *mātra*, *datta*, etc. This inscription also gives us the evidence for the first time that this particular cave was meant to be the *chaitya* hall of the Buddhist monastery which was situated on this hill. Regarding this cave, Ferguson and Burgess remarked : "The front is entirely gone, and a thick wall has been built, to form a new front, a few feet farther in than the original, with two circular arched doors. The hall has four cells on the right, two in the back, besides a large shrine, and three on the left,—a fourth being entirely ruined. In the shrine recess had stood a *dāgoba*, the capital attached to the roof as in the Kuḍā

¹ This series of Buddhist caves was first noticed by the late Dr. John Wilson in 1830, *J.E.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. III, part II, page 34, where he observes : "A little below the summit of that hill fronting the south-west, we found an excavation with four small cells, containing a *pīṭhi*, and at present sacred to Śhiva, which appeared to us, from a bench going round the excavation in front of them, to have been originally Buddhistical. On examining the hill more particularly, we came upon a considerable *Vihāra* below them, running E.N.E. and containing about a dozen of cells. Here we found a Buddhist inscription of five lines, which we copied, and which we still preserve. It is very possible that some *Chaitya* may be in the neighbourhood". It was also noticed by G. H. Johns (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 352 f.), Ferguson and Burgess (*The Cave Temples of India*, pp. 240 f.), Burgess and Indrap (*Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India*, pp. 38 f.), Burgess (*Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and Their Inscriptions*, pp. 25, 92, Pl. XLVIII., No. 19), Lüders (*A list of Brahmi Inscriptions*, No. 1121).

² Lüders, *A List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, No. 1121.

³ Bühler, *Indische Palaeographie*, Tafel III, Col. XV. *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 34, etc.

⁴ [The difference noticed is perhaps not a substantial one.—Ed.]

SHELARWADI CAVE INSCRIPTION



caves,—but this has been hewn away to make room for a small low *chaturanga* or Śaiva altar.¹ From this it is apparent that from the architectural point of view also it was originally a *chaitya* hall which was later transformed into a Śaiva shrine and this inscription establishes beyond doubt that it was the *chaitya* hall of this Buddhist establishment.

TEXT

- 1 Sidha || therāpaṃ bhayata²-Sihāṇa ateāsigiya
- 2 pāvullī[kPāya Ghapa[rā]ya bālīkā Saghāya Budha(dhā)-
- 3 a⁴ cha chetiya-gharo deya-dhama māta-pita uliṣa eha [cha] sa-
- 4 velli bhikkhū(khu)-kulehī sahā cha āchar[ye]hī bhata-vireyehī⁵ sa-
- 5 māpito

TRANSLATION

Success. The meritorious gift of a *chaitya* hall is made by Budhā and Saghā (Sāghā) (who was) the daughter⁶ of the nun Ghaparā, a female disciple of the elder (*thera*) Bhaddanta Siha for the sake of parents together with all communities of the *bhikkhus* and the teachers.

No. 15—MORE LIGHT ON GHUMLI PLATES; GUPTA SAMVAT 513

B. CH. CHRABBA, OOTACAMUND

Early in 1936, twelve copper plates were unearthed near Ghumli in the Nawanganagar State of the United States of Saurāshtra. They constitute six separate charters of certain Samdhava rulers. The charters have been edited by Dr. A. S. Altekar. They are indicated as A, B, C, D, E and F. In this note, we are concerned with the charter A. It is a grant of the time of Agguka II, dated in the [Gupta] year 513.⁷ The last line of this document contains the following recapitulatory verse:

Śrī-Jayasīnō mahyaṃ grāmam=adāde=Dhāṅka-tīrtha-nāmānam [| *]
Gulamayikā-grāma-das-ānā(4-ānā)-sahitam=atibhaktir=Udag-ayanā ||

This is followed by the date *Saka* 600 10 3. The information briefly conveyed by the couplet is the main theme of the charter, set out in detail in lines 27-33. It may be observed that, in the verse, the king Jāika is mentioned under the (Sanskrit or Sanskritised) form of his name, and that Gulamikā is spelt as Gulamasyikā for the sake of the metre.

The point at issue, however, is that the verse has been considered by the learned editor to be an interpolation. Moreover, the interpolation is supposed to be the work of the donee himself. That this can hardly be the case is shown below.

¹ Fergusson and Burgess, *The Cave temples of India*, pp. 246-7.

² It seems that one wrong letter was engraved after *y* which was effaced and the letter *t* was then chiselled in the next space.

³ [The reading of this syllable is definitely *mā*.—Ed.]

⁴ It may at first appear that *Saghāya Budha* *cha* may mean "to the Buddha and the *saṃgha*"; but there is one difficulty for which this interpretation cannot be accepted. There is no dative in *Prākṛita* and the sense of dative is conveyed by possessive in this language. The reading should, therefore, have been *ayhaṣa Budha* *cha* if it had meant "to the Buddha and the *saṃgha*".

⁵ The meaning of the word *bhata-vireyehī* is not clear.

⁶ From the context it appears possible that both Saghā and Budhā were the daughters of Ghaparā; but as the form *bālīkā* which precedes *Saghāya* is singular, I have taken only Saghā to be the daughter of Ghaparā.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 197 ff., and plate.

While introducing the verse, the learned editor remarks that it 'summarises the contents of the grant mentioning once more the names of the grantor, the grantee, the village granted and the time of the grant'. Continuing, the learned editor says: "Since the donee speaks of himself in the first person in this verse, it may be well doubted whether it really formed part of the original record. In copper-plate charters, we do not usually come across the phenomenon of the donee himself stating at the end that he had got the grant from such and such a king on such and such an occasion. It would appear that the last verse was probably composed by the donee himself and added in the space available at the bottom of the plate".¹ The learned editor, as a matter of fact, is convinced of this state of affairs, as has been evinced by himself in the course of drawing a contrast between this Charter A and Charter D of the series. There, he points to the fish emblem that occurs at the end of the record instead of on its seal, and comments: "In a way it is no doubt a better method to prevent additional matter being interpolated in the documents in the space lying vacant at the end of the record, as was done by the grantee of Charter A. The seal emblem on the ring does not prevent such a tampering with the original record".²

Now, there are certain considerations that not only do not favour the conclusion arrived at by the learned editor, but positively discredit it. In the first place, the verse in question does not show any hidden motive behind it which would prompt a tampering with the original. Secondly, having no reason to the contrary, we may credit the donee with sense enough to know that any such interference on his part would only go against him, nay, would even annul the grant, legally speaking. These two considerations preclude the possibility of attributing to the grantee any bungling of the suspected sort. It may, however, further be observed that, as shown above, after the so-called interpolated verse comes the date which the learned editor evidently does not take as a part of the interpolation. Since the date occurs nowhere else in the record and he has accepted it as authentic, it may be inferred that he considers the date portion as a part of the original document itself. It follows therefore that the engraver incised the date at the extreme end on the right, leaving on the left a blank just enough to accommodate an *Āryā* to be inserted later on by the donee, so to say. Here again an element of improbability! Supposing that, after finishing the verse in line 44, the engraver had only the date portion left to be engraved, a more natural course for him would have been either to commence the next line by engraving the very date or to engrave it somewhere in the centre, leaving some space unengraved on either side. Even granting that the insertion of the date is also the doing of the donee, the evidence of the handwriting is strongly against the interpolation theory. It may be seen from the illustration that there is absolutely no difference in the duct of writing between the last line of the record and the rest of it, whereas in the event of any addition by the donee some difference in handwriting was bound to show itself. In the Sone East-Bank copper plate of Indradēya and Udayarāja, we have a clear instance of an interpolation by one of the donees, where the difference in handwriting is as obvious as the object of the interpolator is manifest.³

So far as the practice of summarising the contents of a grant at the end is concerned, there is nothing strange about it, though it is not of a frequent occurrence. In a way, it occurs again in charters D, E and F of the series.⁴ The same is found in certain other records as well.⁵ It would no doubt have been very unusual if, in the present instance, it had been done by the donee himself, as the learned editor believes it has been. According to him, the verse mentions *inter alia* the name of the grantee. This is not true. Further on, however, he makes himself clear by

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

² *Ibid.*, p. 212.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 223, 230 and n. 1, plate facing p. 238.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 217, text line 44; p. 222, text lines 55-56; p. 226, text lines 38-39.

⁵ For example, see *ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 197.

As Mr. Rājaguru failed to notice the most important historical information supplied by the inscription, as yet unknown from any other sources, viz., the spread of imperial Gupta suzerainty over the Kalinga country, I re-edit the record.

The set consists of **three plates** having rounded corners and each measuring 6·2 inches by 2·8 inches. They are strung together on a ring to which a **seal** is attached. The oval brass seal contains on its counter-sunk surface (1·25" × 1·5") the emblem of a *tōraṇa* or gateway and the legend *Mahārāja Dharmma*. The first and the third plates are written on one side only, the second being written on both the sides. The three plates together with the ring and seal weigh 84 *tolas* while the weight of the ring with the seal is 20 *tolas* only.¹

The **characters** belong to the class commonly characterised as the Gupta script and are assignable to the sixth century A.D. They have points of similarity with, but are earlier than, the alphabet of the Ganjam inscription of the time of Śaśāṅka dated in the Gupta year 300 (619 A.D.).² The letter *e* in the present record has retained its round loop in some cases and even in the forms with the triangular loop it has no inside opening as is the case in the Ganjam inscription. The latter inscription employs the sign for *e* to indicate *h* in all cases, but, in the present record, *h* has been indicated in some cases by its distinct sign and in others by the sign for *e* (cf. *brāhma*³ in lines 12 and 13, but *vappa*⁴ in line 5 and *soha*⁵ in line 17). Of the initial vowels, we have instances of only *a* (line 19), *u* (line 16) and *e* (line 10). Final *t* occurs once in line 12. Interpunctuation is indicated by a short horizontal stroke. The horizontal stroke indicating the completion of the record at the end of the charter is, however, considerably longer and is possibly meant to indicate a double stop.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit, although Prakrit influence can be traced in the word *dāyadānīka*⁶ for Sanskrit *dāyadānīka* in line 7. With the exception of four imprecatory verses about the end of the charter the record is throughout written in prose. As regards **orthography**, the inscription under discussion resembles the Ganjam inscription and the East Indian records of about the sixth century. Attention may be drawn to the occasional reduplication of some consonants in conjunction with a following *y* (cf. **mūty-ōpa*⁷ in line 7, **vītt-āddhyayana*⁸ in line 13, etc.). Reduplication of certain consonants in conjunction with a preceding or following *r* is more regular. Wrong *anukī* in cases such as **nyāś-cha* (line 8), **pīkāś-cha* (line 9), **pāyān-van*⁹ and **rāyān-varta*¹⁰ (line 2) and **dattān-vā* (line 21) is noteworthy. The rules of *anukī*, which is optional in prose, have not been observed in such cases as **mābhā Māgha*¹¹ and **yāt-āt*¹² in line 10. The *visarga* followed by a sibilant has been modified in some cases (cf. **āpāhī-Sa*¹³ in line 17, **bhā-saka* in line 22) but not in others (cf. **tanuś sa*¹⁴ in line 5). Final *m* has been wrongly changed to *anuvāra* at the end of the second or fourth foot of a verse (cf. lines 18, 23).

The **date** of the inscription is indicated in words : *vartamāna-Gupta-rājye vartita-kala-dvaye pāñcāśad-uttare* in lines 2-3 and *Māgha-kṛṣṇasy-aitādyām-uttar-āyane* in line 10. The grant was thus made on the occasion of the *uttar-āyana*,¹⁵ falling on the eleventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Māgha in the year 220 apparently of the Gupta era. The date corresponds to the 20th December 569 A.D.¹⁶

¹ An examination of the original plates, received in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India from Pandit Tripathi, showed that Mr. Rājaguru's description of the plates and the seal is misleading.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 143-47 and plate.

³ [This form need not be due to any Prakrit influence—Ed.].

⁴ For the importance of the *ayana* as an occasion for offering gifts, see Garuda Purāṇa (I, chapter 51, verse 29) quoted in the *Successors of the Śālistambas*, p. 229 : *ayana-vibhūti-chāraṇa-grahana-chandra-śreyasā, mahāśayadika śālistambas dānaśīlānāṃ śālistambas*.

⁵ I am indebted to Mr. D. N. Mukherjee for the astronomical calculation.

The inscription records the grant of a village called *Ardhākamaṇḍuka*, together with another locality called *Chandanavāṭaka*, both situated in the *Parakīkhalamārgga* *viśaya*. It was made by *Mahārāja Dharmarāja* who was ruling at *Padmakhōḷi* as a feudatory of *Prithivivigraha-bhaṭṭāraka* when the latter was governing *Kaliṅgarāṣṭra* apparently forming a part of the *Gupta-rājya*. *Dharmarāja* is described as a descendant (possibly son)¹ of *Mahārāja Ubhaya*,² as born of the queen *Bappadēvi* and as devoted to the deity *Sahasraraśmi*, i.e., the Sun-god. The localities mentioned above were made an *agrahāra* or free gift in favour of a number of *Brāhmanas* belonging to various *gōtras* and *charakas*, only the chief amongst them being mentioned as the *upādhyāya* (teacher) *Maṇḍuvāmin* who was an inhabitant of the *Homvaka* *agrahāra*. The *Brāhmanas* are said to have been men of good conduct and learning. The order of *Mahārāja Dharmarāja* was issued to the persons connected with the administration of the region in his time as well as to those who would be associated with it in future. These include the *Sāmanta-mahārāja* (or *Sāmanta* and *Mahārāja*), *Rājaputra*, *Kuṃārāmātya*, *Uparika*, *Paṭṭapiktaka*, *Dīpaśālaka*, (or *Sāmanta* and *Mahārāja*), *Rājaputra*, *Kuṃārāmātya*, *Uparika*, *Paṭṭapiktaka*, *Dīpaśālaka*, *Sthānāntarika*, *Vyavahārin* and *Vaidika*. The land was made free from the obligation of paying any tax or revenue and from all obstacles (*sara-kam-piṭā-carjita*). It was granted together with the *udāra* (i.e., space above the *śala* or ground) and *aparikara* (i.e., rent to be realised from temporary tenants). The charter was written by *Dānaka* the *ādhibarāṇika*, (i.e., an officer attached to the *ādhibarāṇa* or an office of administration). It was sealed (for the purpose of affixing the seal) by a person named *Lakṣhaṇasvāmin*.

The most important historical problems raised by the inscription under discussion are three. In the first place, it says that in the Gupta year 250 (A.D. 569) the *rājya* or empire of the Guptas was *śrītamāna*, i.e., 'still existing.' Secondly, the *viśaya* (territory or province) of *Kaliṅga* is implied to have formed a part of the Gupta empire. Thirdly, *Prithivivigraha-bhaṭṭāraka*'s rule over the *Kaliṅga-rāṣṭra* apparently as a viceroy of the Guptas in the second half of the sixth century has now to be adjusted with the already known facts of that country's history.

As regards the first problem we know that the Gupta empire broke up about the middle of the sixth century, that is to say, some two decades earlier than the date of the Sumandala inscription, when it is said to have been existing. The latest imperial Gupta record is dated in the Gupta year 231 (543 A.D.).³ There is a Jaina tradition recorded by Jinapana that the Gupta emperors ruled for 231 years.⁴ As the Gupta era started in 320 A.D.,⁵ which seems to be the date of the beginning of the Gupta sovereignty, the end of the empire, according to the tradition noted above, appears to have come about 551 A.D. That the heart of the Gupta empire in Bihar and the U.P. passed soon after that date to the Maukharis is indicated by the Harikā inscription,⁶ dated Vikrama Sāvat 611 (A.D. 555), of the time of Išānavarman, the first imperial ruler of the Maukhari family, as well as by the D85-Baranpār inscription⁷ referring to the rule of Śarvavarman and Avantivarman, son and grandson respectively of Išānavarman, over the Shahabad District of Bihar.⁸ The present inscription indicating the continuity of the imperial Gupta rule as late as A.D. 569 thus seems to

¹ Cf. *Successors of the Śāstribhāṇas*, p. 250; *Nalanda*, V, 124, where *Nala* is described as *Vīrasena-kula* despite although he was *Vīrasena*'s son.

² [See below, p. 84, note 5—Ed.]

³ *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 357.

⁴ Cf. *Raychandhuri, Political History of Ancient India*, 1938, p. 531; *J. R. A. S. B., Letters*, Vol. XI, p. 70.

⁵ Cf. *Guptaśāhīnī*, *Śāhīnī*, *Śāhīnī*, *Śāhīnī*, etc.

⁶ *Smith, Early History of India*, 1924, p. 296.

⁷ Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 115 ff. and plate.

⁸ *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 215 ff. and plate.

⁹ *J. R. A. S. B., Letters*, Vol. XI, pp. 72-74.

suggest that, even after the disintegration of the empire, there were some members of the family who claimed the status of their imperial predecessors. Whether their position was nominal like that of James III of England or of the Mughal Emperor Shāh 'Alam II and his successors can hardly be determined in the present state of our knowledge. There is, however, no doubt that till A.D. 569 viceroys like *Prithivivīraha-bhaṭṭāraka* of Kālīṅga continued their allegiance to the Gupta emperor. The word *bhaṭṭāraka* attached to *Prithivivīraha*'s name may suggest that he ruled practically as an independent monarch; but he did so without officially throwing off the yoke of the Guptas. It is possible to conjecture that he had blood relationship with the Guptas and was eager to display it to improve his own case against those of other rival rulers of the country.¹

The second problem raised by the record, viz., the expansion of the Gupta rule over Kālīṅga, is equally interesting. Roughly speaking, Kālīṅga was the name of the coast land between the Mahānadi and the Gōdāvarī, although it included the valley of the Vattaragī river on the north-east. But this was Kālīṅga in a wider sense, the name being applied in a narrow sense only to the Puri-Ganjam area of modern Orissa. Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*, IV, 38—9, associates the Kālīṅga country especially with the Mahēndra (i.e., the Mahēndragiri peak in the Ganjam District) and locates the Dikala country, comprising the present Balasore District together with parts of the Midnapur and Cuttack Districts, to its north-east.

In the fifth and sixth centuries some rulers, having their headquarters at cities like Simhapura (modern Siṅgapuram near Chicacole or Sirkākulam), Vardhamāna (modern Vadama in the Palakonda *tāluka* of the Vizagapatam District), Dēvapura (capital of Dēvarāṣṭra in the Yellamāchilli *tāluka* of the same District) and Pishjapura (modern Pithapuram in the East Godavari District) assumed the title "lord of Kālīṅga".² From the last decade of the fifth century kings of the Eastern Gauda dynasty were ruling from Kālīṅganagara (modern Mukhalīṅgam in the Ganjam District) and Dantapura (near Chicacole) often with the same title. These Guptas were devoted to the deity Śiva-Gōkarnēśvara installed in a temple at the top of the Mahēndragiri. In the records of the Eastern Chālukya kings of the Āndhra country, a portion of the Vizagapatam District was sometimes called Madhyama-Kālīṅga or Elamaśehi-Kālīṅga. It is interesting to note that the Gupta emperor Samudragupta led an expedition, about the middle of the fourth century, against a number of kings of Dakṣiṇāpāṭha, some of whom ruled over different parts of the Kālīṅga country. The Allahabad pillar inscription³ of Samudragupta, while giving a list of these kings, mentions kings Svāmīlatta of Kōṭṭāra (possibly Kōthur near the Mahēndragiri), Mahēndragiri of Pishjapura, Damana of Eraṇḍapalla (probably near Chicacole) and Kuvēra of Dēvarāṣṭra. It is said that Samudragupta captured the kings of Dakṣiṇāpāṭha including the above rulers of the Kālīṅga region, but that he let them off. The implication is that the Gupta emperor reinstated the defeated kings in their respective kingdoms. This may be a mild way of saying that Samudragupta failed to establish his supremacy over the countries of the south. But there are some indications of the spread of Gupta influence over many parts of South India. The Guptas are known to have contracted matrimonial alliances with the Vākāpakas of the Sagar region and the Kalambas of the Karmāra country.⁴ The Gupta era seems to be used in an inscription of Kākaṭhavarman of the Kadamba dynasty.⁵ The Anang copper-plate inscription of Bhīmāsena, a ruler of Dakṣiṇa-Kōśala in the present Chhattisgarh region, is also dated in the Gupta era.⁶

¹ Cf. the claims suggested by the medals issued by certain Indo-Greek kings (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 430-34).

² See *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 77; *New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, pp. 70-83.

³ *Asiatic Inscriptions*, pp. 256-7 and plate.

⁴ *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 89n, 256.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 294n.

⁶ *New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, p. 83.

and coins of king Prasannamātra of Śaṭabhapura in South Kōśala exhibit influence of Gupta coinage.¹ Recently coins of the South Kōśala king, Mahēndrāditya, who seems to have been named after the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I Mahēndrāditya, have been discovered.² This may actually indicate that the Gupta suzerainty was accepted by the kings of this family of South Kōśala.³ Of course the discovery of a large hoard of Kumāragupta's coins at Satara may or may not indicate the expansion of Gupta influence over that part of the Deccan, but the other evidences cited above have to be taken into consideration in this connection. As regards the question of Gupta influence in Kalinga in particular, we may refer to the use of the Gupta era in that country. The Ganjam inscription of the time of Śaśāṅka, as we have already seen, is dated in the Gupta year 300 (A.D. 619). The Soro⁴ (Balasore District) and Patnakella⁵ (Cuttack District) inscriptions mentioning a king named Śaṭbhūyāśas who was the ruler of Tōsalī, both North (roughly the Balasore District) and South (Puri-Cuttack region together with the eastern portion of Ganjam at least in the age of the Bhāuma-Karas), are dated in the Gupta years 290 (A.D. 579) and 283 (A.D. 602) respectively. Tōsalī (modern Dhauli in the Puri District) was the name of the chief city of northern Kalinga in the days of the Mauryas and it seems that the rulers of the Puri region in northern Kalinga felt the necessity of giving this new name to their kingdom sometime after the Eastern Gāṅgas had established themselves at Kalinganagara in the last decade of the fifth century and were describing themselves as lords of Kalinga. In any case, South Tōsalī was practically the same as the northern part of Kalinga. The use of the Gupta era in the records of Śaṭbhūyāśas, ruler of both north and south Tōsalī, is thus additional evidence in favour of the spread of Gupta influence over the Kalinga country. Till now, however, there was no direct evidence to prove that Kalinga formed an integral part of the Gupta empire. The present inscription proves this fact for the first time. The Guptas may have entered Kalinga either through South Kōśala or through South-West Bengal, more probably through the latter. Samudragupta is known to have extirpated Chandravarman who, according to the Susūma inscription, ruled over South-West Bengal from his capital at Poṣṭakarmāṇ (modern Pokharna on the Damodar).⁶ Thus South-West Bengal formed an integral part of the Gupta empire since the middle of the fourth century. The rule of Śaśāṅka, king of the Gāṅgas who were political successors of the Guptas in Bengal, in the Kōśāṅgola country, comprising the eastern part of the Ganjam District, as well as in Utkala, as indicated by the Ganjam and Midnapur⁷ inscriptions seems to be merely an after effect of the Gupta occupation of Kalinga. For the extent of Gupta domination over Kalinga and its duration we have yet to wait for further evidence.

The third problem raised by our inscription relates to chronology, viz., fixing the date of Prithivivigraha's rule over Kalinga in relation to some known facts of Kalinga history. We know that the Eastern Gāṅgas began to rule at least in the Ganjam District with the exclusion of its eastern part from a date falling in the period A.D. 496-85.⁸ Kōśāṅgola on the Puri-Ganjam border was under the Śaśāṅkabhāyas at least from the middle of the sixth century, since Mādhavavarman II Sainyabhatta, who was the fourth ruler of this family, is known to have been reigning in A.D. 619

¹ *Loc. cit.*

² *J. N. S. J.*, Vol. X, pp. 137-42.

³ Cf. *Successors of the Śaśāṅkabhāyas*, pp. 174, 245a, where instances of Gāṅga kings bearing Pallava names indicating their subordination to the Pallava monarchs are given.

⁴ *Aberre*, Vol. XXIII, p. 107.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 235 and *New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, p. 246.

⁶ *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 341-42.

⁷ *Puriat, Śrāvastya*, 1350 B.S., pp. 201-200; *J. R. A. S. B., Letters*, Vol. XI, pp. 1-9 and plates.

⁸ *J. K. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 219-21.

as a feudatory of the Gauda king Śasāṅka. As we have seen, king Śambhuvāsa was ruling over Uttara- and Dakṣiṇa-Tōsalī, i.e., the country extending at least from the borders of the Midnapur District up to those of the Ganjam District, in the period A.D. 579-602. It thus seems that, about A.D. 569, Prithivivigraha was ruling over that part of Kālīṅga which lay to the north-east of the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom. The Śailōdbhavas appear to have originally owed allegiance to him and, through him, to the Guptas. The dynasty represented by Śambhuvāsa probably overthrew the family to which Prithivivigraha belonged. One of the records of Śambhuvāsa speaks of the suzerainty of the Mānas. It appears that Gupta rule in Orissa was substituted by that of the Mānas shortly after Prithivivigraha. The Mānas in their turn were probably ousted by the Gaṇḍas. Thus the Śailōdbhavas appear to have acknowledged the suzerainty at first of the viceroys of the Guptas, then of the Māna family to which Śambhuvāsa belonged or owed allegiance, and ultimately of the Gaṇḍas. An as-yet-unpublished copper-plate inscription discovered from a locality called Kauṇḍa in Orissa is said to speak of a king named Lōkavigraha.² It is possible to suggest that Prithivivigraha and Lōkavigraha belonged to the same family.

Little is known about the kings Ubhaya³ and Dharmarāja from other sources. It seems that Padmakhoḥī was not only the name of the capital of Mahārāja Dharmarāja but also that of his kingdom which lay around the present Khallikōṭ in the Ganjam District.

Of geographical names mentioned in the Sumaṅḍala inscription, we have already discussed the location of Kālīṅga-rāṣṭra. The city of Padmakhoḥī has been suggested to be no other than modern Padmakhol near Narayankhol in the now defunct Khallikōṭ State. The *raṣṭra* or district called Parakkhalamārga must also have been situated in the Khallikōṭ region. The localities Anlākamaṅḍuka, Chandmavāṭaka and Homvak-āgrahāra cannot be satisfactorily identified.

TEXT⁴

First Plate

1 [Siddham]]] Sva[eti] chatuṛ-udadhi-mākhaliyām sapta-dvīpa-pa[r]vata-sar[ī]
t-patta[sa]-

2 bhūḥaṇḍyām-va(yādi va)anulharāyām-va(yām va)rttamāna-Gupta-rājyē varsha-
śata-dvayē

3 pañchāśad-uttarē Kālīṅga-rāṣṭram-anuśāsati śrī-Prithivivigraha-

4 bhāṭṭārakē tat-pād-ānuḍhyātāḥ Padmakhoḥyām mahārāj-Ūbhay-ānvayō⁵

5 Va(Ba)ppadōvyām-utpanna-tannāḥ Sahasrarāmi-pāda-bhaktiḥ mahārāja-Dharm-
marā-

6 jah kusaḥ Para[kkha]lamārgga-viśhayaḥ varttamāna-bhavyāḥ[r]at-sāma[nta]-

Second Plate : First Side

7 mahārāja-rājaputtra-kumārāmāty-ōpanka-tadāyuktaka-dāp[ā]vāśika-⁶ n[ā]hān[ā]-

¹ See Menon, *loc. cit.* After this paper had been sent to the press, I received the Kanha plate of Lōkavigraha for examination. That inscription will also be published in this journal. A faulty manuscript of the Kanha plate has since been published in *J. K. H. & S.*, V. 1, II-III, pp. 202-3.

² [See below, note 5—Ed.]

³ From the original plates and their impressions.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ This may be the standard of names like Ūbhayaśāla (*Matiga Purāṇa*, 193, 31) and Ūbhayaśāla (cf. *Epigraphica*) as epithets or titles like Ūbhayaśālaśāstamāla (above, Vol. XII, p. 252). (Ūbhaya as proper name of a person sounds rather queer. Mr. Rajaguru takes it to be *Abhaya*. More probably this is what is meant. The reading in that case may be given as mahārāj-⁶Abhaya-ānvayō. Or, better still, it may be corrected into mahārāj-Abhaya-ānvayō, otherwise Abhaya will go without the title Mahārāja, whereas Dharmarāja will have it mentioned twice.—Ed.)

⁶ Dāp[ā]vāśika is no doubt intended. [See above, p. 80 note 3—Ed.]

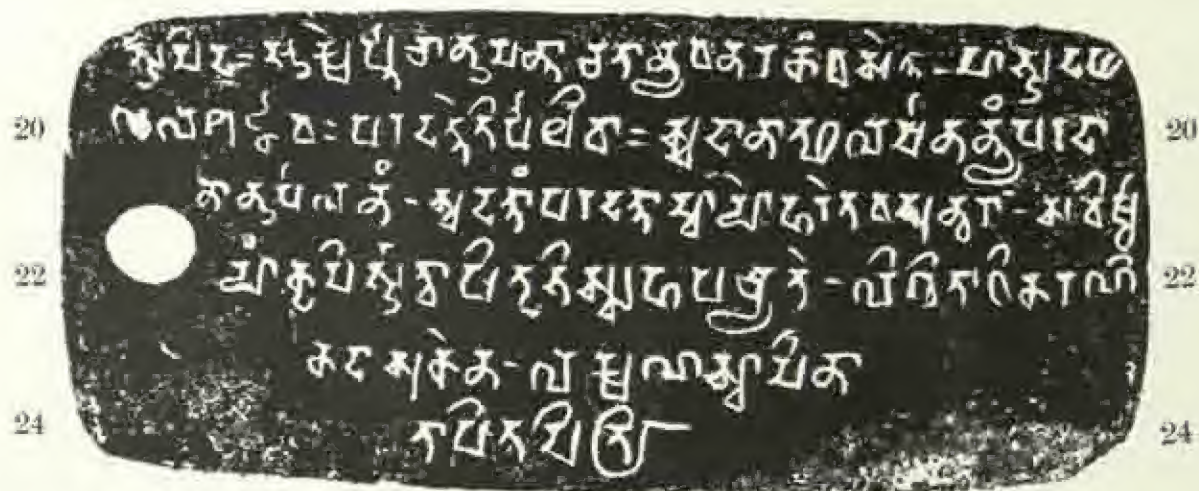
1
2
3
4
5
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ii. a.

8
 10
 12

ii. b.

14 14
16 16
18 18



Seal



(From a photograph)

8 utarikān-anyāś-cha(nyāś-cha) vallabha-jātyān-rāja-pāl-ōpa]vinō vya(va)hūri-
vaishō(śha)-

9 yikāś-cha(kāś-cha) yathārham-mānayatī-ādīśatī cha viditam-amn vō ya[th]-ā-

10 amābhū Māgha-kṛishṇasy-aikādaśyām-uttar-āyanō śtad-vishaya-sam.¹

11 [t[ivē]-Ā[rddhā]kamaṇḍuka-grāmaś-Chandanavāṭaka-sahitō-gṛahārikṛitya Hom-
vak-āgra-

12 hārīya-brāhmaṇ-ōpādhyāya-Maṇḍavāmi-pramukhānāś nānā-gōttra-charaṇā-

Second Plate : Second Side

13 nāś vṛitt-āddhyayanavātāś brāhmaṇānāś(nā)m-ā-chandr-ārka-sama-kāś-athūtyō
śāma-[pa]-

14 [t-ābhilīkhitāś sarva-kara-pṛdā-varjītaś a-ōddēśāś a-ōparikarāś mā[tā]-

15 pūtrōr-ātmanāś-cha puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayaś pratigrahāṇa-pratipāditaś[²]

16 tad-ēś-āśmad-dattir-ōddharmma-gauravāt-pratipālanti-ēti | uktaś-cha dharmma-

17 śāstrē | Va(Ba)hubhīr-vvaśudhā dattā rājahlā-Sagar-ādhībhiḥ [³] yasya yasya ya-

18 dā bhūma-tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam) [⁴] śhaśṭim-va(śṭim va)śha-sahasrāṇi
svarggō mōdati

Third Plate

19 bhūmadah [⁵] ākēhptā ch-ānumantā cha tāny-ēva narakādī(kē) vasēt [⁶] Mā bhūd-
a-pha-

20 'la-śaṅkā vaś para-datt-ēti pārihvaś [⁷] sva-dānāt-phalam-ānantyaś para-dā-

21 n-ānupālanaś(nā) [⁸] sva-dattām para-dattām-vā(nām vō) yō harōṣa vasaśudharādī(rām)]
śa viśṭhā-

22 yāś kṛimīr-bhūtvā pūtrībhīś-saha paśhyatē [⁹] līkhit-ādīhīkarāś.¹⁰

23 ka-D[ā]śukēśa | Lakṣaṇasavāminā¹¹

24 tāpitam-iti [¹²]

No. 17—TWO PANDYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM SALAIGRAMAM

(I Plate)

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, OOTACAMUND

Salaigrāmam is a village in the Paramagudi *tāluk* of the Ramnad District, a region which once formed the core of the kingdom of the Pāndyas. The village contains an old temple of Śiva worshipped under the name of Varaguṇēśvara, an appellation evidently associated with the Pāndyas among whom there were two kings of the name of Varaguna. The goddess bears the name, Kāmākṣī-Amman. Mr. K. Ramaswami Aiyangar, the then Revenue Officer of the Ramnad Samsthanam, drew the attention of the Government Epigraphist for India to the historical associations of the temple and to its antiquity borne out by the old inscriptions in the temple and by

¹ Read *śaśāddh-ārddhāśa*.

² *Belier la*, another *la* was incised; but it seems to have been rejected by the engraver owing to damage in its lower part.

³ *Līkhit* qualifies a word like *lipi* understood here.

⁴ *Lakṣaṇasav* seems to have been intended. *Tāpitam* qualifies *śāmanas* understood.

⁵ The *i* sign of *ti* is joined curiously with the long horizontal stroke at the end indicating full-stop. This characteristic is also found in other records. (C. Sora plate (C), line 16 (above), Vol. XXIII, Plate opp. p. 202; Ashrafpur plate (B), lines 17, 22 (*Mem. A.S.S.*, Vol. I, Plate VII); etc.

references in ancient Tamil literature to the place. Two verses in the *Peruntogai*¹ refer to a chief, *Teykoḷunār Vēṇḍan*, who is stated to have founded *Sālaigrāmam* and endowed thirty-two *kūḷis* of land in it to god *Varaṅṅaṇḍehuvāraṭar*, who was responsible for the routing of the hostile kings and making them climb the northern mountain. The local people of the village derive the name *Sālaigrāmam* from *sālai* or road-stead for the pilgrims proceeding to *Sēṭa* and *Rāmēsvaram*. It may be noted, however, that the inscriptions secured from the place, which are edited here, give its name as *Sālaigrāmam*.

The inscriptions under publication (A and B)² are engraved on the left and right door jambs of the entrance into the *maṇḍapa* of the temple. Both are engraved in *Vattejutta* characters and their language is Tamil. The Grantha alphabet is employed wherever letters or words of the Sanskrit language had to be written, e.g., *brahmadēya* (A. lines 7-8; B. lines 9-10), *Parameśvāmī* (A. lines 10-11; B. lines 24-5), *Sālaigrāmam* (A. lines 8-9; B. lines 10-11), etc. In the word *Kōṇḍiṇmai-kōṇḍāṇ* (A : lines 20-1), we have a title which bears close similarity to *Kōṇḍiṇmaikōṇḍāṇ* found in inscriptions of much later date than the present record and which have been generally understood to mean 'one who had no rival king' (*Kōṇḍiṇmai-kōṇḍāṇ*) and 'the unequalled among kings' (*kōṇḍiṇmai-kōṇḍāṇ*).³ But neither of these derivations can suit the form of our inscription. Apparently, its meaning has to be derived as *kōṇḍiṇmai-kōṇḍāṇ*, i.e., 'one who had no ill health'. This would correspond, as Venkayya thought, to the term *kūḷai* of Sanskrit inscriptions.⁴ Both the records are engraved with care and the writing may be attributed, on palaeographical grounds, to the 10th century A. D. A few orthographical peculiarities found in the inscriptions may be noticed. Instances of the use of *a* for *ā* are found in *irupāḍu* (B. line 14) and *vaḷa-gāḍu* (A. line 5). The following uncommon usages of certain words due, evidently to colloquial expression, may be noted: *yēri* for *ēri* (A. lines 19, 23, 33; B. 53); *vaḷaṇḍiṭṭu* (A. lines 22-3) for *vaḷaṇḍiṭṭu*; *īrai-gōḷiṭṭu* (A. lines 30-1) for *īrai-gōḷiṭṭu*.

Record A is dated in the 2+1st year of the reign of the Pāṇḍya king Śaḍaiya-Māraṭar and registers the order issued by *Kōṇḍiṇmaikōṇḍāṇ* to the *salhā* of *Sālaigrāmam*, a *dēvadāna*-*brahmadēya* village in *Mayimākara-vaḷaṇḍiṭṭu* alias *Tuvvūr-kūṭṭam*, to use the waters of the *Kuḷuṇāṇḍi-ēri* for irrigating the lands of the god *Varaṅṅaṇḍehuvāraṭṭu-Parameśvāmigaḷ*. It is also stated that the permission so granted was in accordance with the *śrīmukham* (Skt. *Śrīmukha*) of *Perumāṇḍigaḷ* *Śivallabhadēyar* (*Śivallabhadēva*) granting the village as *dēvadāna* to the god with facilities for irrigation. *Kōṇḍiṇmaikōṇḍāṇ* was evidently the title of king Śaḍaiya-Māraṭar. As far as I know this is the earliest mention of the title in Pāṇḍya records.

Record A is engraved immediately below another short Tamil inscription⁵ in *Vattejutta* and Grantha characters which states that the *nilai* (door jamb) was set up by *Vasudēva-Nārāyaṇaḷ* of *Kōṭṭaiyūr*. Since the characters of this record are so similar to inscription A it may be supposed

¹ Edited by M. Bāghava Ayyangar (1935-36), Nos. 1231-2.

² Nos. 32a and 34 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1946-47.

³ S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 110.

⁴ S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 291, note 2.

⁵ No. 35 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1946-47. The text of the record runs:—

1 Śvaṇṭi Śrī[*] Sāḷai.

2 grāmattu Kōṭ.

3 talyūr Vāṇu.

4 dēva Nārāya.

5 nūṇ 311a.

6 nilai [*]

that both were written at the same time, if not by the same hand, soon after the setting up of the door jamb.

Record B is dated in the year 15+5 of the reign of Vira-Pāṇḍya, 'who took the head of the Chōla'.¹ The date quoted here is the highest known regnal year of this king. I have not been able to make out the full sense of the record owing to the complicated wording of the text, the syntax of which is not clear. Its main purport seems to be to register the grant of 35 *pālakams* of land made evidently to god Varaguna-śvara of Sālaigraṁam by the *śabhai* of Sālaigraṁam, a *dēvadāya brahmadēya* in Tuvūr-kūgram alias Mayimākara-vaṇaṇālu. It also seems to say that Perumāṇaiḍi (i.e., the king) abolished a tax of 9000 *kāṇ* which he at first said he would levy on Tirukkulmāḡalūr, but later decided not to do so. A sum of 100 *ilakkāṇ* is separately mentioned in the record as an endowment made for the purpose of supplying ornaments (*ūru=ūharagam*) and cake-offerings (*tienu-ṇṇṇu*) to god Varaguna-śvara. It is not clear who the donor of the 100 *kāṇ* was: whether the assignment of 35 *pālakams* of land made by the *śabhai* was made in consideration of the 100 *kāṇ* only, or in return for the 9000 *kāṇ* of tax abolished on Tirukkulmāḡalūr by the king is also not clear. In the latter case it must be understood that this village was within the jurisdiction of the *śabhai* of Sālaigraṁam. The order of the Perumāṇaiḍi is stated to have been issued from Tiruppalaiyūr where he was staying (*irupai*). The inscription thereafter specifies the boundaries of the land granted and records the provision made for its irrigation by the *Kuṭṭuṇṇai-ēri* for the two crops of the year.

The importance of the records under study lies in their close palaeographical resemblance which permits the inference that the kings mentioned therein, viz., Śaḡaiya-Māraṇ and ŚṚaṇ-*raḡai-koṇḡa* Vira-Pāṇḍya could not have been much removed from each other in point of time. Śaḡaiya-Māraṇ of record A can be identified with Śaḡaiyamāraṇ Rājashūha, the donor of the Bigger Śiṇṇamāṇūr plates issued in the 2+14th year of his reign.² The identification is sustainable on the ground that the records of this king are invariably issued in the years opposite the second year,³ as also on palaeographical considerations. Śaḡaiya-Māraṇ is to be assigned to the 10th century A. D., a period to which the donor of the Bigger Śiṇṇamāṇūr plates also belonged. The contemporaneity of this Rājashūha alias Śaḡaiyamāraṇ with the Chōla king Parāntaka I (A. D. 907-953) is well known. The actual dates of the beginning and the close of his reign are not definitely ascertainable owing to the lack of necessary data, astronomical or other, in his inscriptions. But an attempt can be made to indicate them approximately. In the first instance, the duration of his rule might be fixed by taking into consideration the highest regnal year quoted in his records, which is 2+22.⁴ Thus he had at least a reign of 24 years. That his rule for this entire period was quite uninterrupted is evidenced by his inscriptions which are dated in almost every year of his reign, from the 2nd to the 2+22nd, and which are found in distant parts of his kingdom, in places as wide apart as Cape Comorin⁵ and Kuḡumiyāmalai (Pudukkottai).⁶ The most outstanding events of his reign were his conflict with Chōla Parāntaka I (A. D. 907-953), with whom he fought finally at Veḡlūr, and his subsequent flight to Ceylon abandoning his kingdom to which he never returned. Since the battle of Veḡlūr in which the Pāṇḍya king was aided by the Ceylonese troops, finds mention

¹ S. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 450-52.

² *As. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy*, 1932-3, part II, para. 28; above, Vol. XXIII, p. 232.

³ No. 228 of 1932-3 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. A few records issued in the name of Śaḡaiya-Māraṇ with single regnal years like 46 (No. 449 of 1907 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.) cannot with certainty be ascribed to this ruler. It is likely, as Mr. Sarma has suggested, that this record might have been issued by his grandfather also called Śaḡaiya-māraṇ with the surnames of Śrīvallabha, Śrīmāra and Avaniśēkhara (*J. O. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 225). Hence, as a working hypothesis, we may take the year 2+22 of Śaḡaiya-Māraṇ's records as his highest regnal year.

⁴ No. 107 of 1906 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

⁵ No. 242 of 1904 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

in two stone records of Parāntaka I dated in his 12th regnal year,¹ i.e. A. D. 919, the engagement must have been fought prior to this date, say about A. D. 918.² From the way in which the incidents of the battle are described in the Chōla records, it would appear that it was a fierce and undecided fight. Victory is claimed for the Chōla king in the Udayēndiram record of Prithivipati II, issued a few years later in the reign of Parāntaka I in A. D. 921-2, which evidently narrates the events of the same battle though it omits to mention the places.³ On the other hand, the Bigger Śūṅga-maṅḍi plates issued by the Pāṇḍya king in his 2+14th regnal year, embody an elaborate eulogy of his victories over his enemies including that over the king of Tāhjai, i.e. the Chōla.⁴ It seems likely that the Pāṇḍya king was just giving his version of the same conflict with Parāntaka I, which culminated in the Vejjūr battle. If such be the case, the 2+14th year of the Pāṇḍya king's reign might be equated with a date around A. D. 918. The Ceylonese chronicle, *Mahāvamsa*, relates that in the reign of Dappula IV (A. D. 923-934), 'the Pāṇḍu king, through fear of the Chōla (king), left his country, took ship and came to Mahātitttha' and then having made an unsuccessful attempt to rouse the Ceylonese to fight his cause, 'the Pāṇḍu king left his diadem and other valuables behind and betook himself to the Kēraḷas'.⁵ No mention of the Pāṇḍu king's fate is made in the subsequent portion of the chronicle, though a reference therein to an attempt made by the Chōla king to get possession of the Pāṇḍya king's diadem is found among the events of the reign of king Udaya IV (A. D. 945-953).⁶ We may, therefore, conclude that the Pāṇḍya king never returned to rule over his country again. His flight to Ceylon must have taken place soon after his 2+22nd regnal year, the highest date found in his records. The presence of the Chōla king Parāntaka I in A. D. 921-3 at Kuṇḍamiyāmalai⁷ once forming part of the Pāṇḍya king's territory, must have hastened the flight of the Pāṇḍya. The event may be placed approximately about A. D. 926-7, i.e., his 2+22nd regnal year since, as we saw, his 2+14th year lay somewhere about A. D. 918-9. In the light of all this, we may fix the period of the rule of Śaṅḡaiyamāraṇ Rājasiṅha as lying between c. 903 and 926-7 A. D.*

In the subjoined inscription (A) of his, mention is made of Perumāṇḍigal Śrīvalluvāḍēvar (Śrīvallabha), who is stated to have made the original grant of the village of Śāṅḡagrāmam to god Varaguṇa-Īvara. Among the Pāṇḍya kings who preceded Śaṅḡaiyamāraṇ Rājasiṅha there was only one king of the name of Śrīvallabha, i.e., Śrīmāra, the grandfather of Śaṅḡaiyamāraṇ Rājasiṅha. It is evidently this king Śrīmāra who is referred to here and if so, the god Varaguṇa-Īvara must have been named after a Varaguṇa, a predecessor of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha, who was in all probability Varaguṇa I (c. A. D. 800). Successive kings of the Pāṇḍya dynasty seem to have bestowed their patronage on the temple and worshipped the deity from the time of Varaguṇa I (c. A. D. 800) to that of *Śōḷaṅ-galai-koṇḍa* Vīra-Pāṇḍya of the subjoined ins. B, the period of whose rule we may now proceed to discuss.

Earlier in this article it has been stated that *Śōḷaṅ-galai-koṇḍa* Vīra-Pāṇḍya of inscription B could not have been far removed from Śaṅḡaiya-Māraṇ in point of time since the palaeography of their records is so much alike. The latter's rule, as we saw, may be placed approximately between c. A. D. 903 and 927. Vīra-Pāṇḍya should, therefore, be relegated to the same period, though not exactly to the same dates, since it is not likely that both the kings ruled simultaneously.

¹ Nos. 231 of 1926 and 663 of 1904 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.; S. I. I., Vol. III, No. 69, pp. 231-33.

² Prof. Nilakanta Sastri puts the date about A. D. 915 (*Colas*, Vol. I, p. 146.)

³ S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 383, text II.24 ff.; vr. 10-11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 455, 461; text II.123 ff.

⁵ *Mahāvamsa* (Columbo), ch. 33, vr. 5 ff.; *Colas*, Vol. I, p. 147.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ch. 33, vr. 40 ff.; *Colas*, Vol. I, p. 148.

⁷ No. 251 of 1904 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. *Inscriptions in Pudukkottai State* (Translated into English), pt. I (1941), Nos. 79 to 80A.

* c. A. D. 900 to 920 or a little later is the date given to this king in *Pandyan Kingdom*, pp. 41 and 82.

It is well known that he was not one of the predecessors of Śaḍaiya-Māraṇ and consequently he must have been one of the latter's successors; probably he ruled in the second quarter of the 10th century A. D.

In an article contributed to this journal¹ the late Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar fixed the period of Vira-Pāṇḍya's reign as extending from A. D. 947 to 966 on the basis of a few astronomical details found in one inscription of the king at Ambāsamudram. Of the three alternative dates which this record yielded for the commencement of the king's reign, viz., A. D. 938, 947 and 948, he selected the second, i.e. A. D. 947 as the best suited. The main consideration which weighed in its favour was that by accepting it, it would be possible to satisfactorily fix the initial date of the reign of this Pāṇḍya king's Chōḷa contemporary and foe, Āḍitya II Karikāla, at whose hands he died before the latter's second regnal year. Hence, the second year of Āḍitya II, by being equated with the last known regnal year of Vira-Pāṇḍya, i.e. 15+5 corresponding to A. D. 966, would yield A. D. 965 as the starting date of Āḍitya II's reign. On this fixation, the five year rule for Āḍitya II could be placed between A. D. 965 and 969, since from the latter year, Āḍitya II's successor Uttama-Chōḷa, counted his regnal years. There are, however, some points to be considered before accepting the above chronological position for the reign periods of Āḍitya II and *Śōḷaṇ-ṛalai-konḍa* Vira-Pāṇḍya. These arise from the Pāṇḍya as well as the Chōḷa sides. It is not likely that the last years of the rule of Vira-Pāṇḍya lay beyond the middle of the 10th century A. D. which the above chronological adjustment envisages; for, there is evidence to show that part of the early life of Vira-Pāṇḍya coincided with the latter part of Śaḍaiyamāraṇ Rājāsūha's reign. One of the records of the latter dated in the 2+18th regnal year (i.e., c. A. D. 923) mentions a servant of Vira-Pāṇḍya² who could be no other than *Śōḷaṇ-ṛalai-konḍa* Vira-Pāṇḍya. On the Chōḷa side we encounter one difficulty. Besides Āḍitya II, another prince, Pārthivēndra-Āḍittavarman who had a reign of thirteen years, claims to have taken the head of Vira-Pāṇḍya. A strong case for the identity of these two princes has been made out by Prof. Nilakanta Sastri.³ Granting the identity which some scholars hold in doubt,⁴ the 13 years' rule of Āḍitya II (*alias* Pārthivēndravarmān) when placed immediately before Uttama Chōḷa's accession in A. D. 969-70, would yield A. D. 956-7 as the date from which Āḍitya II counted his reign probably on account of his being associated in the administration with his father Sundara-Chōḷa.⁵ Taking A. D. 956-7 as the initial year of Āḍitya II his second year would correspond to A. D. 957-8 and this date when equated with the last year of *Śōḷaṇ-ṛalai-konḍa* Vira-Pāṇḍya, i.e. 15+5, would yield A. D. 957-8 as the Pāṇḍya king's initial year. This date was also taken into account by Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar while discussing the astronomical details of the Ambāsamudram record, but discarded owing to one consideration. He feared that its acceptance as the initial year of Vira-Pāṇḍya would lead to 'the inconsistent results that Āḍitya II killed him in A. D. 957 and that his predecessor Sundara-Chōḷa defeated him in A. D. 963'.⁶ This, indeed, is a great diffi-

¹ Above, Vol. XXV, p. 37.

² No. 122 of 1906 of Mad. Ep. Coll. Here we may also point out that the chieftain Śōḷāntaka Pallavaraiyaṇ *alias* Māraṇ Āḍichōṇ of Pōḷiyūr figures in records of the 4+3rd (No. 429 of 1914 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.) and 13+1st year (T. A. S. Vol. III, p. 72) of the reign of Vira-Pāṇḍya and this chief was evidently the grandson of his namesake Tēnnavan Pallavaraiyaṇ *alias* Māraṇ Āḍichōṇ of Pōḷiyūr, mentioned as a subordinate of Māraṇjaḍaiyaṇ *alias* Varaguna (II) (cc. A. D. 862) in or about A. D. 867 (No. 96 of 1908 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.). Should we put Vira-Pāṇḍya's last date beyond the middle of the 10th century A.D., it would result in the above two chieftains, grandfather and grandson, being removed from each other by about a century, rather a rare instance to happen though not impossible.

³ *Colas*, Vol. I, pp. 178 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXV, p. 36, n. 9.

⁵ *Colas*, Vol. I, p. 180.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXV, p. 37.

ty in the way of assigning the dates, viz. A. D. 937-8 to 957-8 to Vira-Pāṇḍya and A. D. 956-7 to 969-70 to Āḍiya II as a possible alternative to those fixed by Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar, although these dates would help in narrowing down the interval between Vira-Pāṇḍya and his predecessor Śaḍaiyamāraṇ Rājasimha (c. 903 to 926-7) to about a decade¹ and would also help to solve the Āḍiya II-Pārthivēndra identification. It should be also admitted that with the revised dates the identity of the Chōḷa king whose head Vira-Pāṇḍya took would remain unsettled since he cannot be identified with Parāntaka I as proposed by Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar. We may, nevertheless, suggest that the Chōḷa victim of Vira-Pāṇḍya might have been a less conspicuous prince, perhaps one of the sons of Parāntaka I, Uttamaśīli. Of Uttamaśīli we hear nothing subsequent to A. D. 933 when he makes an endowment to a temple at Kaṇḍiyūr, Tanjore District, in the 25th year of the reign of his father, Parāntaka I.²

The position occupied by *Śaḍai-yalai-konda* Vira-Pāṇḍya in the Pāṇḍya genealogy still remains undetermined. That he might have been the son of Śaḍaiyamāraṇ Rājasimha himself has been suggested by Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar.³ This may not be unlikely in view of the fact mentioned in the Larger Śiṅgamamūr plates that Rājasimha had 'prosperous sons worshipping at his feet'.⁴ Granting that Vira-Pāṇḍya was one of them, it still remains inexplicable why he does not call himself as Śaḍaiyaṇ, being son and successor of Māraṇ Rājasimha. Could it be that these names Śaḍaiyaṇ and Māraṇ were alternately used only by the anointed supreme sovereigns of the Pāṇḍya throne, and that Vira-Pāṇḍya was not perhaps anointed and hence could not lay claim to such a title? We know that the Pāṇḍya diadem and other regalia of supreme rulership necessary for such anointment were left in Ceylon by Rājasimha and were not recovered by the Pāṇḍyas even up to the time of Udaya IV (A. D. 945-93).⁵ The importance of these regalia for the exercise of supreme authority over the Pāṇḍya kingdom seems to have been recognised by the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I 'who wished to achieve consecration as king in the Pāṇḍya kingdom and sent (messengers) concerning the diadem and other things which the Pāṇḍu (king) had left behind (in Lanka) as the Mahāmanuśa anointedly relates'.⁶

A word about the term *śai* occurring in inscription B (line 59). In ordinary parlance the word is understood to mean 'order or document'. In literary usage⁷ we find it equated to *śvaṇam* in the same sense. *Avanam* is evidently derived from Skt. *śrōṇam* 'cansing to be heard'. Similarly, *śai* would signify an order or document. The Tamil Lexicon gives *śpaṇa* as the Sanskrit root of *śvaṇam*, meaning market. It seems that it would be better to derive the word from *śrōṇam*. Expressions found in inscriptions such as *śilai-y-śvaṇam-śeydu*⁸ or *śilai-*

¹ It may be noted that Chōḷa Parāntaka I's records in the Pāṇḍya country fall partly in this interval, e.g., (1) No. 446 of 1917 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. dated 24th year A. D. 932; (2) No. 69 of 1905 of the same collection (S. I. I., Vol. III, No. 106) dated year 33-A. D. 946 and (3) No. 448 of 1917 of the same collection dated year (36)=949 A. D. See *Colas*, Vol. I, p. 422 and n.

² S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 575. This prince was in the Pāṇḍya country in the 24th regnal year of his father, i.e. A. D. 931 (No. 446 of 1917 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.).

³ Above, Vol. XXV, p. 38.

⁴ S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 461, text I, 189.

⁵ *Colas*, Vol. I, p. 148.

⁶ *Ibid.* Mahāmanuśa (*Cultural*), ch. 63, vv. 40 ff. Here it may be pointed out that it was Rājendra Chōḷa I who gained possession of the regalia from the Ceylonese king with whom they had remained all the time since they were first deposited with him by the Pāṇḍya king Rājasimha. It was after this event that Rājendra Chōḷa I crowned his son as the ruler of the Pāṇḍya country.

⁷ *Periyapattanam*, (Kovai Tamil Saṅgam ed.), vv. 190, 193, 297.

⁸ S. I. I., Vol. III, No. 10, text II, 2, 10 and 11. The translation of the words given here as 'executed the sale deed' would perhaps be better rendered as 'having declared its price'; cf. *śilai-pramāṇam-prapa* occurring in similar context in inscriptions.

*śrāṇam śeyṭu*¹ and *vilai-y-āṇṇak-kalam* or *kali*,² (i.e. place of declaration of sale price), would support our derivation of *āṇṇam*.

A few words may now be said about the geographical names mentioned in the two inscriptions. **Sālaigrāmam**, same as modern Śālaigrāmam in the Paramagudi *tāluk* of Ramnad District, the findspot of the inscriptions is stated in the records as being situated in *Mayimākara-vaṇaṇḍu* *alias* *Tuvvūr-kūṛram*. **Mayimākara** might either be a title of the Pāṇḍya king Śaṣṭyamāraṇ of the record (A) or of one of his predecessors. **Tuvvūr-kūṛram** in which Sālaigrāmam is stated to have been situated may be the region around Tugavūr in the Paramagudi *tāluk*. In a number of late copperplate records of the Śētupati chiefs of Ramnad³ the territorial division Tugavūr-kūṛram finds mention and this name may have been a later form of Tuvvūr-kūṛram of the Pāṇḍya inscriptions edited here. **Ṇedurūr** may be identified with Nērūr in the Paramagudi *tāluk*. **Tiruppālaiyūr** where Vira-Pāṇḍya was staying (B. lines 13-14) seems to be identical with Tiruppālaikuṭi in the Tiruvadanai *tāluk* of the Ramnad District. I have not been able to locate Tirikkulūnāḷūr of record B (lines 16-7).

A. TEXT

- 1 Svasti śri[...]* Kōchchaḍai-
- 2 ya-Māṇarkku yāṇḍu
- 3 2 idan=adīr=āṇ=āṇ-
- 4 ḍu Mayimākara-va-
- 5 ṇaṇḍ=āyipa Tuv-
- 6 vūr-kūṛrattat-
- 7 tēvadāns brahmadē-
- 8 yam Sālaigrā-
- 9 mattu Śri-Varaguna-
- 10 iochuvarattu Para-
- 11 masvāmigaḷuk-
- 12 ku dēvadānam=i-
- 13 ṇai ārukkiyūn
- 14 nīr pāyavum Pe-
- 15 rumānāḍigaḷ Si-
- 16 valluvadēva-
- 17 r śirimugam ku-
- 18 ḍuttapaḍi Śri-
- 19 Kuṭuvāṇai [yē]ri-
- 20 yāl Kōṇḍ-iṇ-
- 21 mai-kōṇḍāṇ Mayi-
- 22 mākara-vaṇ[ṇ]nāḍ-
- 23 ṭu dēvadāns-brahmadē-
- 24 yam Sālaigrāmam
- 25 tu sabhaiyārkkku taṇ-
- 26 gaḷ=ūr Śi-Varaguna- ioh-
- 27 chuvarattu-dēvar [ū]r
- 28 varamoḷi-yēriyūn

¹ S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 195 and noted 9.

² S. I. I., Vol. VII, No. 96, text l. 12, "kaṣaṣam-āṇṇak-kaliy-āṇṇ-kōṇḍu" ; cf. in-nāṇam vīṇṇak-kōṇḍu/kaṣaṣam-āṇṇak-kaliy-āṇṇ-kōṇḍu" ; cf. in-nāṇam vīṇṇak-kōṇḍu/kaṣaṣam-āṇṇak-kaliy-āṇṇ-kōṇḍu" of No. 458 of 1905 (text ll. 10-11) of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

³ C. P. Nos. 31, 33, 35, 36 and 37 of the *Ann. Rep. on Indian Epigraphy for 1944-47*.

- 29 Vāsudēva-āriyuni i-
 30 utēvar nilam irai-
 31 y=olliṅṇu taṅga|
 32 nilamu[da]ṅṇu(n) tān-
 33 ga| śarukkik-kuṭut-
 34 te nilattukku Kujuvā-
 35 ṇai-yāriyāl nīr pāyu(yavu)-
 36 m Nedu[rō]ruṇ ta[du]k-
 37 kappeṭṭā(dā*)gi Vaiguna-
 38 āyanakkay=e[uttu] (||*)

A. TRANSLATION

Hail Prosperity !

In the first year opposite the second year of (*the reign of*) king Śadaiya-Mārar, (*the following is the order of*) Kōṇṇymaikondāṅ (*addressed*) to the *sabha* of Sāṁgrāmam, a *dēvadānu-brahma* *ḍyū* in Tuvvūr-kūṅṅam *alias* Mayinākara-vaṇāṇḍu, (*wh-reas*) in accordance with the *śīrimugam* (*śīrimukha*) of Perumāṇaḍiga| Śivalṇvadēvar (*ordaining*) the grant of (*the village*) Sāṁgrāmam as *dēvadānu* to god Śrī-Varaguna-Ichchuvārattu-Paramasvāmiga|, free of taxes and with facilities for irrigation, you (*the sabhaiyār*) have, in the village of Sāṁgrāmam which is your village as also that of Śrī-Varaguna-Ichchuvārattudēvar, granted to the deity lands (*irrigated by the*) Varamoli-āri (*tank*) and Vāsudēva-āri (*tank*) making them free of all taxes, we do hereby permit the irrigation of the said lands by the waters of the Kujuvāṇai-ōri (*tank*) and (*the residents of*) Neduṇṇu shall not obstruct this, (*to which effect this is the*) signature of Vaigunaśya-Nakkaṇ.

B. TEXT

- 1 Svasti āri (||*) Śō|a-
 2 ṇ-ralai-koṇḍa Kō-
 3 Vira-Pāṇḍiya-
 4 rkku yāṇḍu 15.
 5 iday=āir 5 i-
 6 vāṇḍu Mayim(ā)-
 7 karavaṇāṇḍ=āyi-
 8 na Tuvvūr(k*)kūṅ-
 9 rattu dēvadāna-bra-
 10 hmadēyam Sāṁai-
 11 grāmatte sabhai-
 12 yōm (Pe)ṇmāṇa-
 13 ḍiga| Tiruppā-
 14 laiyūr iruṇ(n)du
 15 oṇbadināyira-
 16 ā-kāṇa Tirikku-
 17 laṅgaḷṭe ti-
 18 rapp=iḍuvan=en (=iḍuvēṇ=en)
 19 tirapp=iḍāmalo-
 20 m ik-kāṇ=olli-
 21 kkavum kāriya-

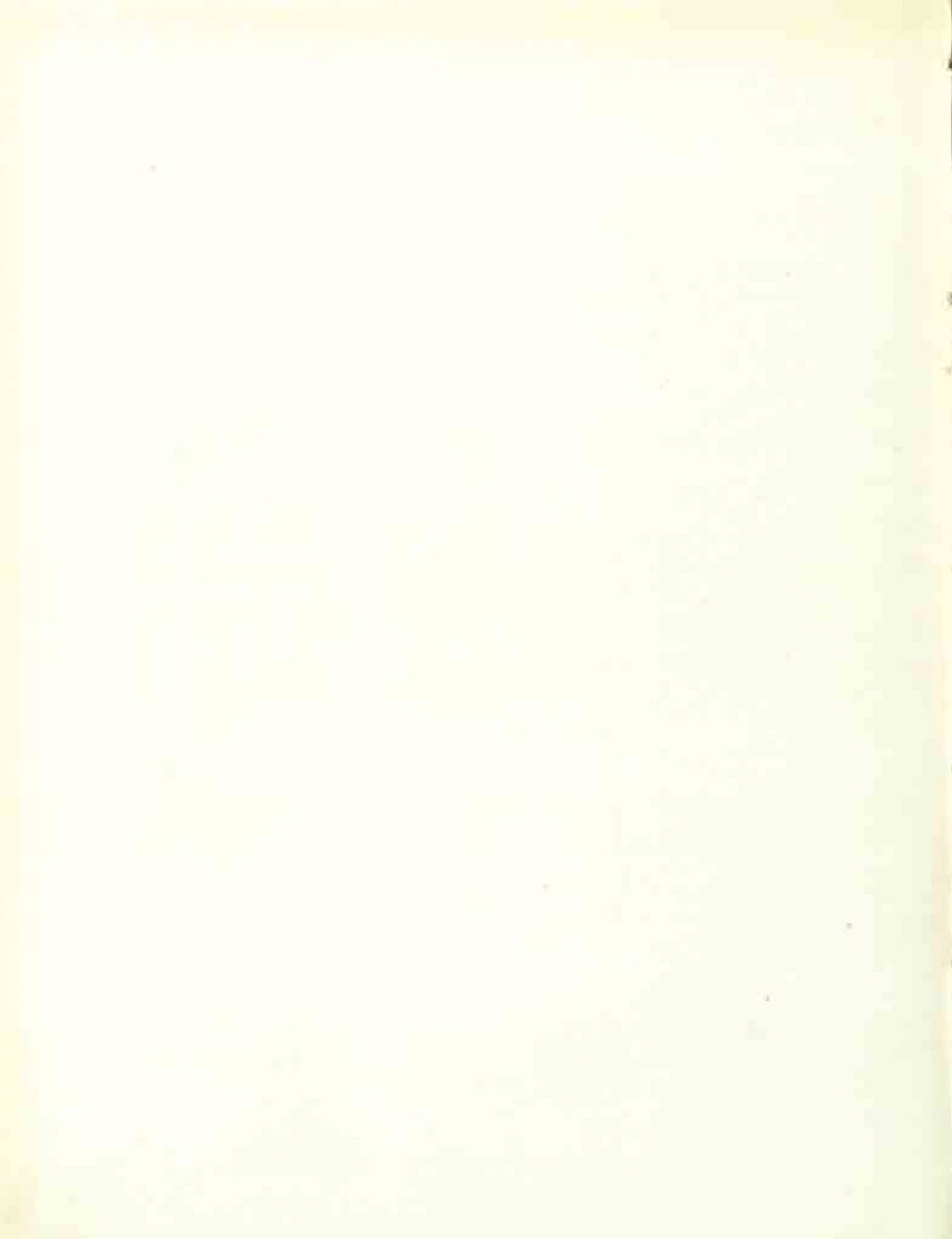
TWO PANDYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM SALAIGRAMAM

A



B





- 22 visattukku¹ | Yā-
 23 m śiri-Varaguna-
 24 Ichohuvarattu Pa-
 25 ramasvāmiga| ti-
 26 ruv-ābharanamum
 27 tiruv-appamum[=i]-
 28 dikkonḍa² | lak-
 29 kāsukku nūrrukku-
 30 m=īrai kalichchuk-
 31 kuḍutta nilam[=i]
 32 p-paramasvāmi-
 33 ga| Varamoji ś-
 34 ri nilattil mu
 35 ṇ śirivalikko
 36 īrai kalichchuk-
 37 kuḍutta nilattu-
 38 kku mē[r*]kkum di-
 39 raṇ-vāycku vaḍa-
 40 kkum idipukku
 41 kiḷakkum puravu-
 42 ||ikkum teṇkum
 43 [mū]liyūṇ=utpa(ḍa)³
 44 naḍuvu-paṭṭa nilattil⁴
 45 uḷḷadu koṇḍu śiri-
 46 valikko munn=īrai ka-
 47 ||ichchuk-kuḍutta nila-
 48 ttukku kiḷakk=utpa-
 49 ḍa muppattaṇṇu pāṭa-
 50 kaṣṭ chapp(u)dir-āditta va-
 51 |=īrayiliyāy śiri-
 52 kKul(u)vāṇai-yēriyāl=i-
 53 raṇḍu pāvum nīr pāy-
 54 vvaippad=āgavum=i[m*]
 55 muppattaṇṇu pāṭaka-
 56 m(u)m nilam-āyilu-
 57 m |mu||iy-āyilu-
 58 m nilam=apaitt=agatti-
 59 lum-[mu]||iv=ōlai⁵

¹ This word evidently refers to the managing body of the temple.

² The letters =appamum[=i]dikk- can also be read as =appamum[mā]rīk-, but I am not able to understand it. Evidently =appamum[=i]dikk- has to be corrected as =appamum[=i]dorkkuk-

³ This line (43) has been inserted later between lines 42 and 44.

⁴ The letters nilattil may also be read as nilattal.

⁵ The sense conveyed by the lines 55-59 is not clear.

No. 18—NIMBAL INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA BHILLAMA

G. S. GAL, ŌOTACAMUND

Nimbāl or **Nimbāla** (**Bujrukā**) is a village in the **Indi tāluk** of the **Bijapur District** of the **Bombay Province**.¹ It is situated at a distance of about 9 miles south-west of **Indi**, the headquarters of the **tāluk**. **Nimbāl** is a railway station on the metre gauge section of the **M. & S. M. Railway** between **Gadag** and **Sholapur**. The ancient name of this village is given as **Nimbahura** (from **Nimbapura**) in the present inscription and as **Nimbahalla** in another record at the same place. And the present name **Nimbāl** has to be derived from **Nimbahalla**. The stone inscription published here is engraved on a slab built into the wall (inner side) which is to the proper left of entrance into the central shrine of the **Śaṅkaraliṅga** temple in the village. This temple is evidently the same as the **Kōṭi-Śaṅkaradēva** temple mentioned in the inscription.

The inscription was first copied by the late **Rao Bahadur** (then **Mr.**) **K. N. Dikshit** and has been noticed in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1924-25, pp. 119-20.² It was again copied by the office of the **South Indian Epigraphy** during the year 1937-38 in the course of the epigraphical survey of the **Indi tāluk** and has been listed as **B. K. No. 49** of 1937-38 of **Appendix E** to the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for that year.³ It is from the ink-impressions of this collection that the inscription is edited here, for the first time, at the suggestion of the **Superintendent for Epigraphy** and with the kind permission of the **Government Epigraphist for India**.

At the top of the slab, on proper right and left sides, are the figures of the sun and the crescent moon and below these in the centre, is a standing cow with its calf. And behind the calf, to the proper left, is a dagger with the point turned upwards. Below these figures, at about a distance of 3', the inscription commences. There are twenty-five lines of writing and the inscription covers an area 21' high and 19' broad. Each line consists of about 21 akṣaras and the average size of an akṣara is 1". The inscription has been fairly well preserved.

The characters belong to the **Kannada alphabet** and are regular for the period to which the record belongs, viz., end of the 12th century A. D. The cursive form of *v* is found in *śiṣuvadu* line 2, *-dēva-* line 6, *vyatipāta* line 7, *sarva-* line 12, *-pūrvekaṁ* line 13 and *Kannavāri-* line 23; and the cursive form of *m* occurs in *-māpikara* line 16, *matara* lines 17-18, 19 and *-namāḥ* line 23. Initial *a* is found in lines 3, 4, 7, 11, 17, 19 and 20. *Visarga* is met with in *-namāḥ* line 23 and *krināḥ* line 25. The consonant after a *repha* is usually lengthened⁴; e.g., *chakravartī* lines 5-6, *śārya-* line 7, *-dēvayge* line 11, *sarva-* line 12, etc. *Anusvara* has been used for class nasal in several places; see e.g., *pañcha-* line 2, *ananta* line 4, *aṅga-* line 11, etc. The figures for the numerals 1, 2 and 50 occur in lines 18-23. Marks of punctuation represented by two vertical strokes are found in lines 5, 13, 16, 23 and 25.

Except the imprecatory verse at the end, the inscription is in **Kannada language** and is written in prose. The following linguistic features may be observed: The change of *p > h* which is met with in the history of the **Kannada language** as early as the 10th century A. D.⁵ is found in the word *Nimbahura* < *Nimbapura*, lines 1, 10, 15 and 17. The qualitative phonemic variation⁶ is met with

¹ The adjoining village is called **Nimbāl** (**Kūnd**).

² See also the same periodical for 1929-30, p. 172.

³ Eight more stone records have been copied at the same place and are listed as **B. K. Nos. 50-57** in the same Appendix.

⁴ See above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 146-47.

⁵ See **O. S. Gal**, *Historical Grammar of Old Kannada*, p. 14.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

in the speech-forms. *Sanākara* < *Sanākara* lines 2, 4, 15, 17; *Śrīsaṃlā* < *Śrīsaṃlā* line 3; *-saṃkathāṣ-* < *saṃkathā* line 9, *sāsana* < *sāsana* line 13, *varṣa* < *varṣa* line 6; other speech-forms such as *brahmamiti* < *brahmahatya* line 2, *-amāvāse* < *amāvāsyā* line 7, *-muksha-* < *mukhya* line 10, *-setti-* < *śrēṣṭhī* line 15, are also noteworthy. Alveolar *r* is met with in *mūreneya* line 6, *mūvattāru* line 14, etc. There is an epenthetic vowel in *Phalavaṅga* < *Plavaṅga* line 6. The conjunctive suffix *-um* is found in *nātkuṃ* line 3 and *-settipuṃ* line 15. The normal word-order in Kannada is *subject-object-verb*.¹ But in the sentence *-pukṣyaṣuṃ śrī Kōṭi-Saṃkharadēvaru kuḍuvāru*, lines 4-5, there is deviation of this normal form, inasmuch as the word-order is *object-subject-verb*.

The inscription belongs to **Bhillamadēva** and, from the titles *Yādava-Nārāyaṇa* and *Pratāpa-chakravartī* given to him, he is evidently no other than the king Bhillama of the **Yādava** dynasty of Dēvagiri, who is regarded as the real founder and first sovereign king of this family. The inscription does not give any genealogical or historical details about this king.

The **chief interest** of the record, however, lies in the mention of the date which is given in the king's regnal year coupled with the cyclic year, viz., **3rd year, Plavaṅga-samvatsara**. When Fleet wrote his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* as early as 1896 he had come across only three certain records of this king.² One of them is dated in Śaka 1113, *Virōdhikṛit samvatsara*, and the other two in regnal years, both citing the Samvya *samvatsara* as the third year of the king's reign. From this, the first year of the king was fixed as *Plavaṅga samvatsara*, Śaka 1110 (current)=A.D. 1187-88.³ But the inscription under publication cites *Plavaṅga samvatsara* itself as the third year of the king's reign, thus fixing his first year as *Vīdvāvasu*, Śaka 1107 (expired)=A.D. 1185-86.

Till now, as many as fourteen inscriptions, all on stone, of this king Bhillama have been discovered and, as far as I know, only one inscription has been published.⁴ Nine of these fourteen records are dated in the king's regnal year, coupled with the cyclic year and they may be shown in the tabulated form as follows:

Place of inscription.	Regnal year and cyclic year as given in the inscription.	First year of the king's reign as calculated.	Reference.
1 Nimbāl— Bijapur District (inscription under publication).	3rd year, <i>Plavaṅga</i> (Ś. 1109=A. D. 1187-88).	<i>Vīdvāvasu</i> (Ś. 1107=A. D. 1185-86).	<i>As. Rep., S. I. E.</i> , 1937, 38, B. K. No. 49.
2 Multigl— same district . . .	8th year, <i>Paridhavi</i> (Ś. 1114=A. D. 1192-93).	Idem . . .	<i>Ibid.</i> , 1929-30, B. K. No. 108.
3 Bijapur— same district . . .	4th year, <i>Samvya</i> (Ś. 1111=A. D. 1189-90).	<i>Paridhava</i> (Ś. 1108=A. D. 1186-87).	<i>Ibid.</i> , 1933-34, B. K. No. 159.
4 Ankalg— Jadh State, Bombay Province.	5th year, <i>Sādhāraṇa</i> (Ś. 1113=A. D. 1190-91).	Idem . . .	Copied by the office of S. I. E., during 1940-41.
5 Hallur— Bijapur District . . .	2nd year, <i>Kilaka</i> (Ś. 1110=A. D. 1188-89).	<i>Plavaṅga</i> (Ś. 1109=A. D. 1187-88).	<i>As. Rep., S. I. E.</i> , 1929-30, B. K. No. 18.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

² *Romb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 518 and n. 5.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 518.

⁴ Above, Vol. III, pp. 217-30.

Place of inscription.	Regnal year and cyclic year as given in the inscription.	First year of the king's reign as calculated.	Reference.
6 Prapur— Bijapur District . . .	3rd year, Saunhya (S. 1111=A. D. 1189-90).	Plavaṅga (S. 1100=A. D. 1187-88).	<i>An. Rep., S. I. E., 1929-30, B. K. No. 55.</i>
7 Mutigi— same District . . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	<i>Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. II, p. 518.</i>
8 Anpige— Dharwar District . . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	<i>Ibid., also An. Rep., S. I. E., 1928-29, B. K. No. 192.</i>
9 Madbhāvi— Bijapur District . . .	4th year, Śādhārṇa (S. 1112=A. D. 1190-91).	Ditto . . .	<i>An. Rep., S. I. E., 1933-36, B. K. No. 114.</i>

It may be noted that most of these records come from the Bijapur District. The first two give Viśvāvasu *saṁvatsara* (A.D. 1185-86) as the first year of the king. The next two fix Parābhava *saṁvatsara* (A.D. 1186-87) as the first year, while, according to the remaining five records, Plavaṅga *saṁvatsara* (A.D. 1187-88) would be the first year of the king's reign. And there is an inscription at Mārḍi in the Sholapur District, belonging to the time of Bhīllama's grandson Singhaga and dated in the Śaka year 1134, Āṅgiraśa *saṁvatsara* (A. D. 1212-13).¹ This epigraph, while referring to the previous gifts to a temple, cites Plavaṅga *saṁvatsara* as the fourth year of Bhīllama's reign, fixing Krōdhi *saṁvatsara* (A. D. 1184-85) as his first year. Thus Bhīllama's year of accession varies from A. D. 1184-85 to A. D. 1187-88. It is indeed difficult to account for these conflicting dates. Possibly, it may be due to the fact that Bhīllama had to encounter opposition from all sides before establishing his sovereignty in the northern portion of the Western Chālukyan kingdom. And he might have finally and publicly proclaimed his accession to the throne in the year 1187-88.

The other details of the date given in the record are Bhādrapada amāvāsyā, solar eclipse, vyatipāta and saṁkramaṇa. Though the week-day is not given, the Christian equivalent would probably be A. D. 1187, September 4, Friday, when there was a solar eclipse. But the Kanyā-saṁkramaṇa had occurred on the previous Friday.²

The object of the inscription is to register gifts of toll-income made by Māyidāva and others, and also of money and lands situated in different villages (specified) made by Gaṅgara Kaṁṇisaṇṇi and Bāteya [R]ōvisetti headed by the community of Mūṣattāru-biḍa (thirty-six villages) for the benefit of the temple of Kōti-Śaṅkaradēva at Nimbahura, while the king was ruling from Taḍavalage.

The following place-names are mentioned in the record : Vāraṇṣi, Śriśaḷa, Nimbahura, Attarage, Taḍavalage, Gopavalage, Haṁṇige, Aṁḍṇige, Guṇḍavāṁḍa, Bairalige, Ajjunavāla, Hiri-y-Iṁḍi, Chikka-Bōvinūr, Battakuṇike and Kaṁṇavūri. These places can be identified and most of them have retained their names even to this day, of course with slight modifications in some cases. The first two places are too well known. Nimbahura, which is called here *dakṣiṇa* Vāraṇṣi, and *adāṇṇa*-Śriśaḷa, is evidently modern Nimbā, as stated above, where the inscription was found. Attarage is the present Atharga (also called Hattarakī), 9 miles south-east of Nimbā. Taḍvalgā, just 4 miles east-south of Nimbā and its adjacent village Gaṇvalgā are

¹ O. H. Kharu, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, pp. 43-54.

² See *An. Rep., S. I. E., 1937-39, Appendix V, p. 299, No. 49.*

ATTENTION

The obituary notices and the relevant plates appearing in this issue may be removed and inserted in the beginning of Vol. XXVIII at the time of getting the volume bound.



DR. HIRANANDA SASTRI, M.A., M.O.L., D.LITT.,
LATE GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA, 1925 - 1933.
BORN: DECEMBER 1878. DIED: 4TH AUGUST 1946.

IN MEMORIAM

DR. HIRANANDA SASTRI

JĀnaratna Dr. Hirananda Sastri, the late Government Epigraphist for India, passed away at Gurdaspur in the Panjab, on 4th August 1946. He was an archaeologist of considerable experience, having worked in that field in the Panjab, the United Provinces, Kashmir, the Central Provinces, Bihar and South India, and having conducted many excavations. Epigraphy was his main interest during the latter part of his service under the Government of India. He served as Curator of the Museums, too, at Nagpur and Lucknow as also in Kashmir. He was a sound Sanskrit scholar and kept up his interest in this subject till the end. Having worked as Curator of Museums in different parts of India, he had an opportunity to acquaint himself thoroughly with Indian art.

He was born in 1878 in the Panjab. He had a brilliant educational career in the D. A. V. College, Lahore, from where he graduated, winning a gold medal for standing first in the B.A. examination in Sanskrit with English. He continued his studies in the Oriental College, Lahore, from which institution he took the M.A. degree of the Panjab University in 1900, winning gold medals and a purse for standing first in Sanskrit and Oriental Classics with English. He started life as Professor of Sanskrit and Philosophy in his own College (the D. A. V. College) and was the Reader in Sanskrit at the Panjab University, teaching Sanskrit and Comparative Philology to the M.A. classes. He then passed the Honours Examination in Sanskrit and got the degree of Master of Oriental Learning. Later in 1928, when he was the Government Epigraphist for India, his University again honoured him by conferring on him the degree of Doctor of Literature for a thesis on "Bhāsa and the authorship of the thirteen Trivandrum plays" published as Memoir No. 28 of the Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India. In 1933 the Baroda Government honoured him with the title of Jānaratna.

He joined the Archaeological Survey of India in 1903 as Assistant Archaeological Surveyor, Northern Circle. In 1906 he was made Archaeological Assistant, Librarian and Curator of the Government Museum at Nagpur. Subsequently, in 1913, he became the Curator of the Provincial Museum at Lucknow. In 1917 he was sent on deputation to the Jammu and Kashmir State as Superintendent of Archaeology. There, besides holding the post of the Curator of the State Museum at Srinagar, he was in charge of the State Library. In 1920 he was posted as Assistant Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, Patna, and became the Officiating Superintendent of that Circle in 1922. In the same year he was transferred to Ootacamund as Superintendent for Epigraphy but went to Kotagiri within about a month as Officiating Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, Southern Circle. In 1923 he came back to the Epigraphical Branch as Superintendent, and in 1925, on the retirement of Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, became the Government Epigraphist for India. Dr. Hirananda Sastri held that post for nearly nine years with distinction and in that capacity edited parts of Volumes XVIII and XXI and the whole of Volumes XIX and XX of the *Epigraphia Indica*. After his retirement in December 1933 from service under the Government of India, he was appointed in the Baroda State as Director of Archaeology in November 1934. He held that post till 1942 when he retired from that service also.

His contributions to Indology cover a very wide range. As an officer of the Archaeological Department, he issued many annual reports of the various Circles and Museums he happened to be in charge of. He also contributed many informative articles to the Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India. The pages of the *Epigraphia Indica* were enriched with 8 contributions from him, the list of which is given below :—

1 Maehhlisgar copper-plate of Harisabandradeva of Kanauj; Vikrama Samvat 1253 (Vol. X).

2 Copper-plate inscription of Govindachandradeva; Samvat 1183 (Vol. XIII).

- 3 Haraha inscription of the reign of Isanavarman; Vikrama Samvat 611 (Vol. XIV).
- 4 Nalanda copper-plate of Devapaladeva (Vol. XVII).
- 5 Brahmi inscription on a Wooden Pillar from Kitari (Vol. XVIII).
- 6 Harah copper-plate of Bhojadeva; Vikrama Samvat 893 (Vol. XIX).
- 7 Nalanda stone inscription of the reign of Yasovarmanadeva (Vol. XX).
- 8 Clay seals of Nalanda (Vol. XXI).

He also contributed five items to the Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, viz. :

1. Some recently added sculptures in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.
2. Origin and Cult of Tara.
3. Baghela Dynasty of Rewa.
4. Bhāsa and the authorship of the thirteen Trivandrum plays.
5. Nalanda and its epigraphical material.

Deeply and widely learned in Sanskrit, painstaking and conscientious in research, urbane in manners, in his death Indology has lost an erudite scholar in various fields.

RAO BAHADUR C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU

Born on the 1st of July 1888, of a Srivaishnava family, in the village of Gāṅgavaram in the Nellore Taluk of the Nellore District, Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu matriculated in his early teens from the V. R. High School, Nellore, and joined the Christian College at Madras for his collegiate courses. Having finished his F. A. in that College, he took his University degree from the Pachayappa's College, Madras, and started his career as a teacher in the M. S. Lower Secondary School, Nellore. He later joined the Nellore Collectorate. After a brief term of service there, an opportunity presented itself for him to join the Epigraphical Department. He took his early training in the field of epigraphy and worked in close collaboration with the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. He was promoted to the post of Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy in 1925, became the Superintendent in 1931 and took charge of the office at Madras in December of the same year. He became the Government Epigraphist for India in 1942, on the transfer of the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy to Ootacamund and its subsequent amalgamation with the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. He died on the 31st of August, 1947.

Mr. Krishnamacharlu was a sound scholar in Sanskrit and Telugu and an expert epigraphist in South Indian languages. The *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy* that appeared under his name from 1933 onwards bear ample proof of his remarkable capacity to organise the staff in collecting and presenting the inexhaustible epigraphical material of South India for the benefit of the research scholars. The numerous copper-plate charters, including the Pallava grants which form landmarks in the Pallava history, and of which the discovery goes solely to his credit, show the flair he had for collecting such valuable documents. Among his works may be mentioned *The Kannada Inscriptions of Kopal* and other Memoirs for the Hyderabad Archaeological Series, *The Subject Index to the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, *A List of Inscriptions copied by the Office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras*, and some learned articles in the *Epigraphia Indica*. He had a great aptitude for archaeological exploration and had an unerring instinct for locating pre-historic sites. During his last days, after his retirement, he had prepared a list of pre-historic sites in South India. In his death Indian epigraphy has sustained a serious loss indeed.



RAO BAHADUR C. E. KRISHNAMACHANDRU, B.A.
 LATE GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA, 1942-1943.
 BORN: 1ST. JULY 1888
 AT GANGAVARAM,
 NELLORE DISTRICT.
 DIED: 31ST. AUGUST 1947
 AT MADRAS.

respectively Tadavalage and Goṇavalage of the record. Hanjige is represented by modern Hanjgi, 3 miles north-east of Nimbā]. Gundavarāda is to be identified with Gundvān, 9 miles north-west of Nimbā] and situated on the Bijapur-Jhalgi road. Arndiṭige is the same as Amjurgī, 7 miles north-west of Inḍi and about 5 miles north of Nimbā]. Bairaliḡe is modern Bhairangi, about 10 miles north of Nimbā]. Ajjunavāja¹ and Battakunike have to be identified with modern Arjanā] and Bhatgunki, 5 miles to the north-west and 1 mile west of Bhairangi respectively. Hiri-y-Inḍi is still known by the same name and is said to have existed close by the modern Inḍi.² Chikka-Bēvinūr has also retained its name to this day and is 7 miles north-east of Nimbā] and 5 miles north-west of Inḍi. And lastly Kannavūri is modern Kannūr, 12 miles west-south of Nimbā]. It may be noted that except Kannūr which is in the Bijapur *taluk* of the same district and Vāraṇāsi and Śrīśaila, the above-mentioned places are included in the modern Inḍi *taluk*.

TEXT³

- 1 ॐ Śrīmatu dakṣhiṇa-Vāraṇāsi Nimbahurāda Kōṭi-tīrtthava nimdu śri-
- 2 Kōṭi-Saṁkharadēvara⁴ sparśana mādīdaḡe paṁcha-brah⁵hmēti kiḡavudu
- 3 abhinava Śrīśaila⁶ yi-nālkuru bāgil-oḡage puṁ⁷nyakha(ka)ra hiri-
- 4 du vommaḡi mādīdaḡe ananta puṁ⁸nyavam śri-Kōṭi-Saṁkharadēva⁴
- 5 ru kuḡvaru || Svasti śrīmatu Yāda(va)⁹[-Nārāyaṇaḡ Prātāpa-cha-
- 6 knavaru Bhilla[ma]¹⁰[-dēva-varā(reba)da mūḡenoya [Pha]lavaiṅga¹¹-sahivatsarāda
- 7 Bhādrapada-anavāse sūryya-grahaḡa vyatipātā
- 8 saṁkranā(ma)ḡa nimittavāḡi Tadavalageya kuppa-
- 9 dall sukha-saṁkhatā¹²-vinōḡadim vāḡyami-gayutta-¹³
- 10 m-iriddalli Māyidēva mukshavāḡi¹⁴ Nimbahurāda śri-
- 11 Kōṭi-Saṁkharadēvargge⁴ aṅga-bhōga raṅga-bhōgake koṭṭa a-
- 12 ravatt-eṭṭiṅge suṅka [ha]śāda baṅnige¹⁵ sūreva-namaḡavāḡi dhā-
- 13 rā-pūrvvakuru māḡi koṭṭa sū(tā)ḡana maḡgaḡa mahā Śri-Śri (Śri) |
- 14 Māvatāḡa [bōḡu mukshavāḡi¹⁴ Gaṅgara Kannu-settiye(yum) Bā-
- 15 teya [R]avi-settiyuru Nimbahurāda śri-Kōṭi-Saṁkharadēva⁴
- 16 egge muttu-māḡika va bēḡidero (daḡe) . . . vōṭṭiḡa gōḡagava biṭṭarū ||
- 17 Nimbahurāda śri-Kōṭi-Saṁkharadēvargge⁴ Attarageyali ma-

¹ See p. 88, n. 1 below.² Cf. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXIII, Bijapur District, p. 654, n. 5.³ From the ink-impression.⁴ Read *Saṁkharadēva*.⁵ This *brahmēti* is unnecessary.⁶ Read *Śrīśaila*.⁷ The engraver has inadvertently omitted to write this *abhinava*.⁸ Read *Plavaiṅga*.⁹ Read *anavāsa*.¹⁰ Read *śrī-gaṅga-gayutta*.¹¹ Read *maḡga*.¹² The subscript of the letter *va* here is the same as that of the letter *v* used in the inscriptions of this period.

- 18 ttaru 50 aḍavalageyali mattaru 50 Goḥavalageyali mattaru 50
 19 Haṁḥigeyali mattaru 50 Aṁḍigeyali mattaru 50 Guṁḍavali-
 20 dadali mattaru 50 Bairaligeyali mattaru 50 Ajjunavājali¹ mattaru 50
 21 Hiri-y-luṁḍiyali gadde mattaru 1 Chikka Bēvinūrali gadde ma-
 22 ttaru 1 Goḥavalageyali gadde mattaru 2 Battakuṇikeyali
 23 gadde mattaru 2 Kamnavūriyali gadde mattaru 1 Si(Ṣi)vāya-namaḥ ||
 24 Śva-datta(Ṣ)ni para-dattānām² yō da(ha)rēti(ta) vasumdhara[m*] sa(sha)stir-vva(śtīm va)-
 25 rēu(śha)-śahasrīṇi mi(vi)abti(śhā)yāḥ jāyatē krimiḥ ||

No. 19—AJAYAGADH STONE INSCRIPTION OF NANA ; V. S. 1345

(I Plate)

H. L. SRIVASTAVA, NEW DELHI

This inscription, according to James Prinsep, was presented to the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by General Stewart. It was inserted in the Catalogue of the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, as 'a stone slab from Ajayagadh in Bundelkhand with a Sanskrit inscription' or 'a stone bull from Kalinjar, with a Sanskrit inscription'. **Ajayagadh** is a hill-fort, 16 miles in a straight line south-west of Kalinjar, Long. 80° 20' E; Lat. 24° 54' N. It was edited with a specimen facsimile and translated for the first time by J. Prinsep in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VI, (1837) pp. 882-4, and his assistant, Pt. Kamalakanta, insisted on inserting that he was not responsible for the various defects of grammar, prosody and rhetorics occurring in the text as he read as he saw it and copied it so. A careful study of the facsimile shows that the text presented is really defective. The inscription thus requires to be re-edited.

The inscription³ is incised on a slab of stone. It contains 21 lines and covers a space 4½' × 2½'. The average height of letters is 1", except in the last line where it is a little reduced, i.e. .9". The record is well preserved except in line 20 where the particulars of the date and the *śiḥa* are lost and in line 21 where more than half is either broken or obliterated. This portion thus cannot be deciphered.

The characters are Nāgarī as in the Ajayagadh rock inscription of Bhōjavarman.⁴ The letters are deeply cut and well formed. As regards the formation of individual letters, the following peculiarities may be noted. It is somewhat difficult to distinguish between the signs for *ka* and *va*. Besides the usual form of *k*, there appears another in *kā* (line 19, *kāḥagadhē*, but not in *kāḥagā*, or *śukāḥā*). The *anusvāra* is represented by a small circle but some cracks here and there above the letters are often mistaken for it. The final *m* is frequently substituted by the *anusvāra*. The sign for *avagraha* has been used only twice in lines 12 and 17. An omission in line 17 is supplied immediately below the line, the height of the letters there being .2" and the omission being indicated by a *kāḥapāda*.

¹ The correct reading would be *Arjunavājali*.

² Read *para-dattānām* ed.

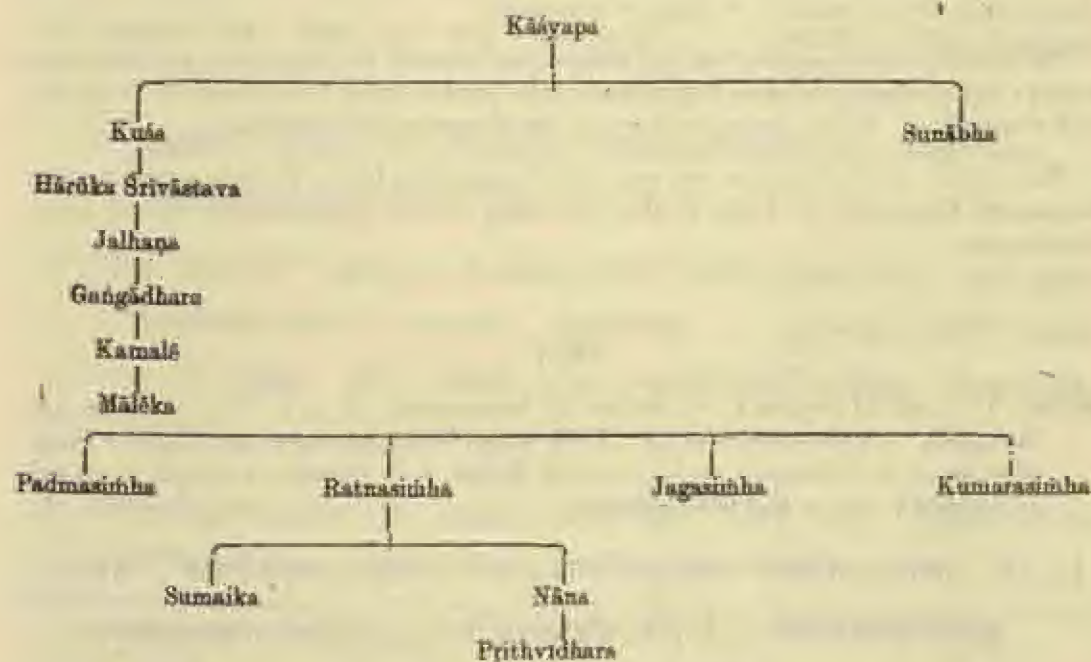
³ It is No. 620 of Dr. D. B. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*.

⁴ Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, Pl. XV, ed. by Kielhorn, above, Vol. I, pp. 333-4.

The language is Sanskrit. Except the salutation to Vāsudēva in the first line and mention of the date in line 19, and the name of the scribe and his family in lines 20 and 21, where the composer invokes blessings for himself, the whole record is in verse.

As regards orthography, *v* is generally substituted for *b*, cf. *vāhrat*, line 1, *vāhu*, line 14; and *ś* for *s* and vice versa, cf. *Vāśu-*, line 1, *vaśati*, line 5, *viśāla*, line 4. The consonant following *r* is reduplicated in the majority of cases.

The object of the inscription is to record the establishment of a temple at Jayadurga with the image of Kṛṣṇa (verses 33-34). After salutation to Murāri in the first three stanzas, the incarnations of Viṣṇu in the forms of Fish, Tortoise, Boar, Nṛsiṃha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma and Rāma are invoked for blessings. Thereafter comes the donor's genealogy which stands as follows :—



Nāna introduces himself as the minister of Bhōjavarman who is known to be the penultimate king of the Chandrātrēya (Chandel) dynasty of Bundelkhand. This Bhōjavarman was the son and successor of Viravarman and Kalyāṇadēvi. He was followed by Hammīravarman.

What is interesting here is that the ancestors of Nāna are said to be the hereditary ministers of the Chandrātrēya kings, i.e., the Chandellās. The genealogy of Nāna as given in the inscription is of little historical interest, except that the Kāśyatha Śrīvāstava family to which Nāna belonged is said to have originated at Kauśāmyapura and that Hārūka, a member of this dynasty, is said to have earned the surname Śrīvāstava for the first time. "A Vāstavya-vahā is mentioned in line 27 of Malharā inscription of the Chōḍī year 919=1167 A. D.; a Vāstavya-kula in line 5 of the Sahet-Mahet inscription of the Vikrama year 1276; and also on the two inscriptions from Mahōba (A. S. I. R., XXI, pl. 21 and 23) one of which is dated in the Vikrama year 1240 records that in the illustrious great Vāstavya family there was one Suhila, the son of "Hallapa". The Ajayagadh rock inscription of Bhōjavarman also gives an account of some members of the Vāstavya

clan of the Kāyasthas¹ who held responsible positions under the other Chandella kings.* And a Śrīvāstava Thākura is mentioned in the Meśhad (Vikrama 1245) inscription of Jayachandradeva of Kanauj (*J. R. A. S.*, 1927, p. 676).

The inscription is dated in the year 1345 which is expressed both in figures and words *kāṣṇada*=moon=1, *śikṣaṇa*=Śiva's eyes=3, *śruti*=Vāda=4, and *bhūta*=elements=5, the usual rule of reading the numeral from right to left not being applied here. The month specified is Vaiśākha, but the actual date and week-day, if given at all, are lost at the beginning of line 20. The year is to be taken as the Vikrama year in which the other inscriptions of the Chandellas are dated. The word *Sakaut* also points to that.

As for the geographical names mentioned in the present inscription, Kausāmyapura seems to be identical with Kanāmbi or Kosam in the Allahabad District. Jayadurga (line 17) and Jayapura (line 20) are certainly the names of Ajayagadh.

The *prastuti* was composed by the poet Amara who compares the composition to a *chitravṛtta* fabric (v. 36). Certainly the poem is of no mean order and, therefore, the poet cannot be charged with exaggeration. It was incised by Pāṇsua, the Kāyastha (Śrī*)vāstavya.

The facsimile of the inscription was very kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the then Government Epigraphist for India, in 1934, but owing to other preoccupations it could not be edited earlier.

TEXT

[Metres : Vv. 1 and 23 *Śaṅkharā* ; vv. 2-4 and 35 *Paśantatīlaka* ; vv. 5, 8, 13-16, 18, 25-28 and 33 *Upajāti* ; v. 6 *Sārdulavikrīḍita* ; vv. 7, 10, 29 and 30 *Upādhravajrā* ; vv. 9 and 12 *Drutacāmbita* ; v. 11 *Indravajrā* ; vv. 17, 33 and 36 *Mālinī* ; v. 19 *Pīyoginī* ; vv. 20-22, 24, 34 and 37 *Anuakṣubh* ; and v. 39 *Famāsahavila*]

1 [ॐ नमो भगवते वासु(मु)देवाय ॥² प्रायः प्रौढेन्द्रायाः प्रचुरतर-
मुखास्तेषमकलेशकायो वि(वि)भ्रदिभ्रान्तदृष्टि] द्रुतचक्तिरतोत्कीर्णपूगानुरागः ।
उद्यद्भो (च्छ्रो) वत्सदीपदुतिरभस्सोन्लामितानमहेतिदेवः श्रीविश्वमूर्तिदितितनयरिपु-
विभ्रम्रो(मं वो) [वि(वि)]-

¹ Besides the Śrīvāstava, information regarding the other Kāyasthas is as follows : A Māthura Kāyastha in the Gwalior inscription of the successor of Mahipaladeva of V. S. 1161 (*I. A.*, XV, 202), a Kāyastha Thākura in the Chhatargar plate of Govindachandra of Kanauj, V. S. 1177 (*E. I.*, XVIII, 225), Vāstavya and Sakāśa Kāyasthas in the Gadhwā pillar inscription, V. S. 1199 (*A. S. I. R.*, III, 65), a Neigama Kāyastha in the Nalol plates of Kirtipāla of Marwā, V. S. 1218 (*E. I.*, IX, 68, *I. A.*, XI, 146), a Kāyastha pilgrim of the Gauda lineage in the Nemiast inscription, V. S. 1281 (*P. R. A. S.*, W. C., 1920-21, p. 55), a Kāśmīrī Kāyastha community in the Belran inscription of the time of Hammā, V. S. 1345 (*E. I.*, XIX, 46), a Māthura Kāyastha in the Gwalior Museum inscription of Gagapati, V. S. 1350 (*A. S. I. R.*, 1902-04, part II, p. 286), in the Bijolia inscription of V. S. 1378 (*P. R. A. S.*, W. C., 1905-06, p. 56) and in the Badliagadh inscription of V. S. 1386 (*E. I.*, XII, 46), and Māthura and Neigama Kāyasthas in the Bughā inscription of V. S. 1386 (*P. R. A. S.*, W. C., 1905-06, p. 58), and a Kāyastha Śūrasena in the Patna plates of Mahā-Śrīraguptarajadeva (II) (*J. P. A. S. G. I.*, p. 16). I owe this information to the *List of Inscriptions of Northern India* by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.

² This has been omitted by Prinsep.

- 2 अर्त्तु ॥३॥ पिण्याकपिण्डमिव चण्डरुचिर्मुरारिगोवर्द्धनाव[न]मलंकृतव^१नकराग्रे ।
प्रेमोत्कवल्लव^२जनौजनिताद्भुत[श्रीः] श्रैवासि वो दिशतु गौणदृश्यमानः ॥२॥
आत्मे^३टनर्मललितं विदधन्ह(द)रिवो^४ गोपीकठोर^५कुचगु(कु)ठित^६शायक-
- 3 श्रीः । कामातुरोत्^७कुरङ्गवधू[विता]सा^८यु[न्ध]न्कुतूहलतया धियमादधातु^९ ॥३॥
मज्ज^{१०}समुज्ज्वलतनुर्भवभारभेदी यो वेदवृन्द^{११}मुदधाविदमुज्जहार । सं(शं)त्तासुरा-
शुहरणः^{१२} किल मोतरूपी देवः श्रियः पतिरसं(धं) भवता विहन्तु ॥४॥
संवर्त्तविन्यस्ततटे
- 4 जलानां रेमे निधी यः खलु योगयुक्तधा । जगदगतिः संस्थितचिद्विचित्रीः
स वो विभूति कमठः करोतु ॥५॥ कौडीकृत्य विसा(शा)तनिष्ठुरतरां दंष्ट्रा^{१३}
वहृषुद्धो मूर्तिभिव(ति वि)^{१४}स्तुतधर्मकर्मनित्यतिर्वाशो^{१५}(सो) धियां माधवः ।
औप्रात्पिण्डतपकपेशलरुचिम्बि^{१६}(चि वि)श्वभरा-
- 5 मुदधे सं(शं) यो^{१७} वदंयता स विश्ववश(स)तिर्नि^{१८}त्याभिनाशोदिताः^{१९}(तः) ॥६॥ सुमेरु-
भृन्नामनिविष्टरश्मेः^{२०} सहस्रभानोः श्रियमाददानः । सुदानवांतोत्तलितः^{२१} कराग्रैः
स वो नृसिंहो दुरितं भिनत्तु ॥७॥ शुक्राक्षिविक्षेपमिषाद्रिपूणां विरूपयभीति-
मिवामिताभः । व(व)-^{२२}
- 6 तिप्रमादोद्धव^{२३}वर्द्धमानः स वामनो मे(वो)भ्युदयं ददातु ॥८॥ द्विजकरे क्षितिम-
क्षत^{२४}शासनो दधदनुद्धवकृद्रिपुयोषिताम्^{२५} । जययशोभवनो(नं) जयति प्रधीः स परशुः

^१ Prinsep reads यतो इतवान्

^२ P. श्रीस्वेद

^३ P. करोर

^४ P. कामातुरान्तर

^५ P. मातनोतु

^६ P. दुग्ध

^७ P. निष्ठुरतरान्दन्तान्

^८ P. व्यसिर्

^९ P. मे

^{१०} P. त.

^{११} P. वप्रोत्तुनितः

^{१२} P. प्रमादादधं

^१ P. बल्लर

^२ P. व्यो

^३ P. गुण्डित

^४ P. विपक्षात

^५ P. मज्जत्स्थ

^६ P. सुहरण

^७ P. मूर्तिविव

^८ P. पङ्कपिशलरुचिम्बि

^९ P. यमति

^{१०} P. शुभंनुशृङ्गाम्बनिविष्टरश्मिः

^{११} There is a *tilakapada* sign after व

^{१२} P. नाकृत

^{१३} P. इतकृद्रिपुयोषितान्

खलु¹ राम इति श्रुतः ॥६॥ समुन्नति² यस्व पराक्रमाणां महाजने³ पुण्यजनोपहारी ।
प्रमोदजालन्तनुते तनुधी-

7 कृता⁴ विपद्भयः स धिनोतु रामः ॥१०॥ आसीन्महर्षिः स किलादिवेदी
छन्दो⁵ विदां काश्यप इत्युदारः । यं जातवेदो विधिभिः सुराणां संतुप्तये⁶
हन्त⁷ विधिः ससर्जं[ज्जं?] ॥११॥ कुशमुत्तम इति प्रथितो सुताविह
व(ब)भूवनुरस्य महात्मनः । अपि तमोहरणे तदनुत्तमं शशिरविद्वयमत्र
दिवौगतम्⁸ ॥१२॥ कु-

8 शस्य कौशाम्यपुरे निवासो व(ब)भूव पुण्योन्नतचारुमूर्ते⁹ । अवाप्य साचिव्य-
मनु(मु)ष्य मौख्य¹⁰ तत्र स्थितिं कोपि पुमान्व(न्व)भार ॥१३॥ स कोपि
कामस्थतया प्रतीतो मनीषिभिर्मनितशेमुखी(षी)कः¹¹ । सद्गोत्रमादोनवमाश-
यज्ञ¹²स्तत्काश्यपीभूतमल्लचकार ॥१४॥ गवां प्रपचेयु¹³ तनौ शुभायां मुमन्त्रमार्गा-

9 वरणेषु¹⁴ नित्यं(त्यम्) । श्रियो निवाशा(सा)दभजस्त(त्स) वंशो¹⁵ वास्तव्यतामप्रतिरूप-
कोटिम्¹⁶ ॥१५॥ ब्रह्मे मन्त्रश्चास्तया जनीनां महीक्षितां दण्डनयांकुरैश्च ।
सुविद्यया धीरकुलस्य धीमान्हारुकनागामवदत्र जन्तुः ॥१६॥ लिपिकर¹⁷-
कुलकोटेः कोटरस्यागमानां सुकृतविटपिमूलस्याश्रयस्य¹⁸ क्षुती-

10 नां(नाम्) । अभवदमिततेजा जलहणस्तस्य सूनुः सुरगुर्गरिव भूमौ भूपतीनां
क्रियायम्¹⁹ ॥१७॥ ततो गुणानां स निषिर्विचित्रो गंगा(गङ्गा)धरोजायत

¹ P. किल

² P. वने

³ P. जनो

⁴ P. यज्ञ

⁵ P. रविशशिद्वयमुद्धततामस. The scribe did not include मस, but it was added later on immediately below it in very small letters.

⁶ P. मूर्तिः

⁷ P. सेमूशीकः

⁸ P. प्रपागोष्ठ

⁹ P. जयप्रवंशो

¹⁰ P. ब्रह्मः

¹¹ P. नास्त्यायति

¹² P. जालं तनुते बहुतीकृतो

¹³ P. संतुप्तये

¹⁴ P. घगघशक्तिः समनुष्यमौख्यं

¹⁵ P. तं

¹⁶ P. वरणेषु

¹⁷ P. कोटि

¹⁸ P. स्य

¹⁹ P. क्रियाहं:

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मानव(व)न्धुः¹ । यस्मिन्मणीभूतविसु(शु)द्धदेहे तमोगतिर्नाश्रय² माससाद ॥१८॥
कमलापतिपादपंकजे हृदये³ वि(वि)भ्रदनिन्दमानसः । कमले⁴ इति नाम
कोमलं

11 सुकृतक्षालितकायसुन्दरः ॥१९॥ ततोऽन्यजनीकाशो मालेकोमलविग्रहः । माला-
भूतमिदं यत्र गुणवृद्धं विदिवृते ॥२०॥ पद्मसिंहो रत्नसिंहो जगमिहः
सुतोत्तमाः । जाताः कुमारसिंहश्च⁵ चत्वारस्त्र⁶ (श्च)तुरास्ततः ॥२१॥ तेषु⁷
संख्यावतां श्रेष्ठो⁸ (ष्ठो) रत्नसिंहो महामनाः । अजायत ॥⁹

12 जितात्म(त्मा)नस्त्रीन्सुता¹⁰ नमितोजसः ॥२२॥ तत्पूर्वोऽपूर्व¹¹भूतिः प्रतिकृतविमदो¹² भूत्सुमेकः
प्रवीणः प्रीतिप्रजा(जा)रुचीनां यणपतिरपरो वेश्म¹³ विस्फीतकायः । धाम
ज्ञानोद्धवानामविहृत¹⁴ महिमा नाननामोन्नतांगो ।¹⁵ रेजे राजीवचक्षुः क्षितिपति-
समितिप्राप्तमानानुभा-

13 वः ॥२३॥ दिग्जनीकर्णकुहरविध्वान्तयशसान्तु ते¹⁶ । चन्द्राग्रेयनरेन्द्राणां सचिवत्व-
मुपागताः¹⁷ ॥२४॥ तयोः स विज्ञानविधिर्मनीषी मनोरमो नान इति
प्रतीतः । श्रीभोजवर्माणमुपेत्य नाथ¹⁸ स्वम[न्त्र]मित्रोदयमाततान ॥२५॥ प्रियं-
वदत्वात्प्रमदामदानां¹⁹ श(स)भ्यात्मक-

14 त्वाज्जगतीश्वराणां । पुमानयं प्राणतया गुणी यो नानाभिधानं सफलीचकार ॥
(२)६॥ यस्मिन्गुणाधारतया प्रदिष्टे विरुध्यमाणे तयकुम्भमुच्चैः । नवाभिषेका-
मिव राजलक्ष्मीं प्रभुश्चित्तरं कामयते फलाय ॥२७॥ तदा व(व)हृप्रैखल-
कंबु(वु)जालं पयोनिधिं यस्य यशोविसारि²⁰ । अमंडयन्मण्ड-

¹ P. मानवैहः

² P. न्द्वयं

³ P. समर

⁴ P. तेषां

⁵ The danda is unnecessary.

⁶ P. उत्पूर्वोऽपूर्व

⁷ P. विश्व

⁸ P. Danda is unnecessary.

⁹ P. मुपागतः

¹⁰ P. जनानां

¹¹ P. यस्मिन्पुपेभूरतिशक्वृत्ते मन्ये तिनाकधिय

¹² P. कमल

¹³ P. इव

¹⁴ P. श्रेष्ठो

¹⁵ P. श्रीपूता

¹⁶ P. विनयो

¹⁷ P. प्रतिहत

¹⁸ P. यशसास्तुतः

¹⁹ P. नाथं

²⁰ P. वसारि

- 15 नसारशोभाक्षिकेन रूपेण मनोनुहारि ॥२८॥ विहारिणी यस्य दिगंगनाभिः सम
समृद्धा भूतवृत्तवृत्तिः । मरुद्वधुभिः किल कर्णपूरीकृता मुनिभ्यो मुदमादधाति
॥२९॥ नवेन्दुसंकाशतनुप्रकाशः प्रकाशय(यन्)^१ सत्कुमुदो(दौ)घमुच्चैः । मनोरम-
त्वान्महनीयदेहः पृथ्वीध-
- 16 रस्त^२तनयो रराज ॥३०॥ अवेत्य पोत भवनीररासौ(शौ) समुत्तितीर्षो(र्षु)-
दंयितं श्रियोमुं(मुम्) । स मुक्तये पुष्पत^३रानुभावादाराधनी वृत्तिमलंकरोति
॥३१॥ समीक्ष्य संसारमुखं पटोयान[१]पातरम्यं विषयानुसारि[१*] मुमुक्षुरात्मोदयमिद-
कोत्प्रां वि(वि)भक्ति सत्तुंडसरो-
- 17 रुहेण ॥३२॥ अथ सुललितवु(वु)द्धिर्नान एष प्रभावी जयवति जयदुर्गो
कीर्त्तिहेतोः कलावान्^४ । मुरचितहरिदेहं पैत्(त्र)मेतद्गुणज्ञः प्रविततनयजालो-
ज्जारयत्कृत्यवेदी ॥३३॥ माननीयो मति(माननीयमति)र्नानः प्रतिमीकृतकेशव(वम्) ।
प्राशा(सा)दं स्थापयामास पितृवि-
- 18 [श्राम]हेनवे ॥३४॥ यावन्नगा वणु(सु)मती महतां कुलानि रत्नाकराः शशिदिवाकर-
दीप्तिवृन्दम् । तावत्स पुण्यवसतिर्मनुजो विधातु विम्बा^५(वैश्मा)-
धितिपठति सुरोत्करमाननीयः ॥३५॥ अमरकविरनर्घ्या^६ ज्ञान्वंसंकारसारां
पटुपदलप-
- 19 [नीयामेष] शिष्टस्वविष्ठः । अवयदुसगुणाङ्क^७ संभृताभिजसजः । कृतिकुतुकम-
भीष्मपूर्वाक्षटी^८ विप्रवर्णाम् ॥३६॥ क्षणवेशेक्षणगत्युतिभूतसमन्विते । संवत्सरे
शुभेलेखि वंशान्ते मासि सदिने ॥३७॥ अङ्केपि ॥ सम्ब(सव)त् १३४५
समयो वंशा-
- 20 [सः] ॥३८॥ परस्परं प्रीतिषुजो प्रियम्ब(पंव)दो सुमं-
नामा[स्त]र^९तावदलभौ । नपेन युक्तौ भुवर्न यशस्विनो स चम्पकायान्तनया-
वजीजनत(त्) ॥३९(३९)॥ कायस्थवास्तव्यान्वे^{१०}(न्वये) प्रतालिकान्वितजयपुर-
दुर्गाधिपठकुरा^{११}प्रयो^{१२}सुतसंग्रह^{१३}

* P. सदा स यज्ञः

* P. नायात

* P. विष्मो

* P. अत्रयदुसगुणाङ्कः

* P. सुतौ मुक्तमोत्तर

* P. सुयो

* P. रत

* P. फलानां

* P. पतिरनन्यो

* P. पदी

* P. धति

* P. दु

2) केनमिता[शुषि] लिखितः सकारश्रीगोपाल¹
 शुभं भवतु कारकस्व ।

TRANSLATION

Salutations to the illustrious Vāsudēva.

(Verse 1) May Dēva (Viṣṇu), the preserver, the enemy of the sons of Diti (*Asuras*), afford you joy, who generally does not feel physical weariness, being in the constant happy embrace of the bold Lakṣmī and who signifies amazingly consummate love (*for the consort*) with his restless rolling eyes intoxicated with delight; and whose śrivatsa (*breast-jewel*) shines like the Cupid's arrows shot by the expanded bow of its blazing rays.

(Verse 2) May Mūṭāri (i.e. the enemy of Mura), of silent beauty, bless you, who, while being looked upon by his herd of cows, held upon the tip of his hand the mount Gōvardhana like a lump of mustard cake, and whose wondrous lustre was enhanced by the love-stricken wives of the cowherds.

(Verse 3) May Hari who is, as if in pleasant sport, thwarting in jest the diversions of the licentious deer with their consorts by an (*array*) of arrows whose beauty has been blunted by the stiff breasts of the milk-maids, enhance your knowledge.

(Verse 4) May Dēva, the fish-transformed husband of Śrī (Lakṣmī), the restorer of the ant of the Vēdas buried in the ocean, the refulgent, the destroyer of the burdens of the world, and the slayer of Śaṅkhaśura, destroy your sins.

(Verse 5) May the tortoise, who revelled in abstract in the watery ocean with its shores destroyed by the Samvarta (one of the seven clouds at the dissolution of the universe), the refuge of the world constant in refulgent beauty, prosper you.

(Verse 6) May Mādhava, (*in the form of a horse*) who, by the mighty thrust of his long oriel tusks delivered the earth in the shape of a molten lump of clay and who extended the fixed order of religion and duty; the abode of intelligence and the habitat of the universe, and who is ever-ready to destroy the mental agonies, increase your blessing.

(Verse 7) May Nṛsiṃha, resplendent like the rays of thousand suns resting on the tip of the peaks of the Sumeru, and appearing with drawn nails for the destruction of the demon (*Hiranyakāśipu*), destroy your sins.

(Verse 8) May Vāmana (dwarf), of matchless glory, bless you; who by the pretext of smothering the eye of Śakra denounced the very statesmanship of his enemies; who expanded himself proportionate to the arrogance and haughtiness of Bali.

(Verse 9) Victorious be that renowned Parāśarāma, of great intelligence, the abode of victory and fame, who placed the earth in the hands of the Brāhmaṇas after acquiring its governance, and who made the wives of the enemies sad.

(Verse 10) May Rāma, too, the slayer of demons, whose deeds of valour gladden the hearts of the magnanimous and serve as the protection of the body, save you from all miseries.

(Verse 11) There lived the venerable sage Kātyāya, the foremost amongst the expounders of the Vēdas, whom happily the creator created to satisfy the dāitias according to the injunctions.

¹ This is not clear from the inscription, but it has been adopted from Prinsep.

(Verse 12) Of that noble spirit were born two reputed sons, Kuśa and Sunābha, as though the two matchless (*luminaries*), the sun and the moon, had descended from heaven to dispel the darkness.

(Verse 13) The residence of Kuśa, who had a handsome appearance due to his virtuous deeds, was at Kauśāmyapura. There dwelt a certain person who became his chief minister.

(Verse 14) That uncertain person, who became well known for the performance of the Kāyastha duties known by the surname of Kāyastha and respected by the learned for his (*versatile*) genius, satisfier of the expectations of the needy, became the ornament of that noble Kāyapa lineage.

(Verse 15) Being endowed with the grace of flowery speech, charming personality, and love for ever practising the rational course of honest policy, he along with his whole family enjoyed the (*appellation*) Ścivāstavya.

(Verse 16) That wise being was named Hārūka because he stole the hearts of women by his beauty, those of kings by his statesmanship and of the learned by his wit and deep erudition.

(Verse 17) Superior to all of the writer caste, the receptacle of the *śūmas*, the root of the tree of virtue, the vessel of light, he had a son named Jābhya of infinite valour, (*peerless*) like the preceptor of the gods born on the earth for the benefit of kings.

(Verse 18) Of him was born the honourable Gadgādhara, the receptacle of all virtues: conversant with the law of common usage, in whose jewel-like immaculate person the *tamas* (*guṇa*) never found any quarters.

(Verse 19) (*His*) noble-minded (*son*) bore the gentle name of Kamalā who concentrated his heart on the lotus feet of Kamalā's husband, of personal beauty commensurate with his virtues.

(Verse 20) Of him was born Mālaka, resembling Aja, of immaculate person and encircled by a halo of good qualities.

(Verse 21) From him were born these four, the wisest and the best of the sons, namely Padmasiṃha, Ratnasīṃha, Jagasiṃha, and Kumarsīṃha.

(Verse 22) The broad-minded Ratnasīṃha, the best of the learned, begot three sons who were self-restrained and of infinite prowess.

(Verse 23) The first and foremost among all of them was Sumaita the lotus-eyed, of matchless figure, conqueror of passion, skilful, another Gaṇapati, fat and abode of love, intelligence and beauty: he, who had never lowered his head before the haughty and the vainglorious and who had earned respect and honour in the courts of the kings.

(Verse 24) They got the ministership with the kings of the Chandrātrēya line whose fame had reached the ear-cavities of the damsel-like quarters (*i.e.* the ends of the world).

(Verse 25) One of the (*remaining*) two, the teacher of religious laws, learned and fascinating, was known as Nāna, who having resorted to the illustrious king Bhōjavarmān wrought about the dawn of the sun of his statesmanship.

(Verse 26) This versatile man justified his name Nāna (*i.e.* various) by winning the favour of women by his sweet speech and of the kings by his polite behaviour, nay every one loved him as his own life.

(Verse 27) He (Nāna), being appointed the receptacle of merit and having carried aloft the standard (*kumbha*) of politics to a high pitch, the king expected the newly anointed royal Lakṣmi to yield rich harvest for a long time to come.

(Verse 28) Whose spreading fame then adorned, like a beautiful ornament of dazzling splendour, the ocean in the shape of the countless conch-shells playing about (*on its billows*).

(Verse 29) His consort who was well adorned like the damsels of the quarters, and who was well versed in the practical lore of the scriptures, and whose ear-ornaments were dressed by the damsel-like Maruts, became a source of pleasure to the sages.

(Verse 30) His son Pythvākhara shed lustre like the new moon by causing delight to the masses of lily-like righteous persons; he possessed attractive manners and a commendable personality.

(Verse 31) Being desirous of crossing the worldly ocean by the ship of the husband of Lakshmi, he takes to the devotional course for salvation with the most pious intentions.

(Verse 32) Thus seeing the futile agreeableness of worldly pleasure derived from the objective world, and desiring salvation, he maintains his face like the lily after having wrought his fame for the elevation of his soul.

(Verse 33) This highly spirited and versatile Nāna, an adept in all the fine arts, caused this well-made image of Hari to be placed at the victorious and celebrated fort of Jayapura in honour of his ancestors, for love of fame; he was a judge of merits, an expounder of all polity, grateful, and of splendid understanding.

(Verse 34) This Nāna of respectable intellect established a temple with the image of Kṛṣṇa for the salvation of his ancestors.

(Verse 35) So long as the mountains, the earth, the gods, the oceans, the moon, the sun and the heavenly luminaries (*shall endure*), so long shall that man, the seat of virtue and the beloved of the gods, live in the habitation of the Creator.

(Verse 36) The poet Amara, being desirous of satisfying the curiosity of the learned, wove this variegated priceless literary carpet, replete with excellent metaphors expressed in appropriate phrases. He was gentle and stately and had earned the title of 'wise man' by dint of his eminent qualities.

(Verse 37) This inscription was written on the lucky day of the month of Vaiśākha in the Sathvateam indicated by the moon, Śiva's eyes, the Vāḍas and the *bhūtas*,

In figures also Samvat 1345, time Vaiśākha.....

(Verse 38) He had two sons named Nātha otherwise known as Sumaika and Vallabha by Champakā (*his wife*), who loved one another, who spoke sweetly and were well known in the world, and a pattern of morality.

This was written by Paṇḍita (*here*) in the family of Kāyastha-*(Śrī*)*vāstavya, the son of the illustrious Thakura Ayo, the commandant of the balconied Jayapura fort..... May good luck attend the author.¹

No. 20—HINDOL PLATE OF KULASTAMBHA

(I Plate)

D. C. SINGAR, OCTACAMUND, and P. ACHARYA, CUTTACK

The copper plate inscription, which is being published here for the first time,² was lying in the office of the Subdivisional Officer of Hindol, the headquarters of a state (now merged)³ of that

¹ See *J. B. A. S.*, 1906, p. 539 et. seq. ² The Sanskrit *prastāva* and its new Indian derivatives by J. Ph. Vogel.

³ The inscription was noticed by B. Mitra in his *Medical Dynasties of Orissa*, p. 28.

⁴ Hindol is now a Subdivision of the newly formed Bhanakal District.

name in Orissa. Little is known about its original findspot and the story of its discovery. The record was exhibited, along with the Utkal University's valuable collection of antiquities, on the occasion of the Cuttack Session of the Indian History Congress in December, 1949. Later it was secured for the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, where it is at present lying.

The inscription is written on a **single plate** measuring 9·2 inches by 5·1 inches. A circular lump of brass soldered at the centre of its left side contains the seal of the king who issued the charter in question. There is a projecting knob at the back of the lump, resembling the hair collected in a knot behind a woman's head. On the counter-sunk surface of the seal, there are the emblems of the sun and crescent moon at the top, the legend *Śrī-Kulastambhādityasya* in the middle, and the emblem of a standing bear facing proper right at the bottom. The lower part of the subscript *y* in the *akṣara* *ya* of the legend looks like two parallel straight lines demarcating the legend and the figure of the bear below. The plate is engraved on both the sides. There are altogether 31 lines of writing, the obverse and the reverse containing 15 and 16 lines respectively. The plate is not in a satisfactory state of preservation and shows signs of corrosion and of the peeling off of a layer of metal here and there. This has rendered the reading of a few passages difficult and doubtful. The plate is partly broken at the right side top and bottom corners. It weighs 54 tolas.

The **characters** belong to the East Indian variety of the Northern alphabet and the inscription may be assigned on palaeographic grounds to about the eighth or ninth century A. D. In point of palaeography, the charter under discussion closely resembles other inscriptions of the family to which its issuer belonged.¹ The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written partly in prose and partly in verse. In this respect as well as in point of orthography, our record has very close resemblance with the other records of the family. The verses are mostly common, although they have slight variations in some cases.

The charter is dated not according to any era, but in the issuer's fourth regnal year, Bhādra-sudi 12. This date itself does not help us in determining the age to which the charter has to be referred. But as we shall presently see, one of the records of the grandfather of the issuer of our grant appears to be dated in the year 103 apparently of the era used by the Bhauma-Kara rulers of Orissa. As this era is now usually identified with the Harsha era of A. D. 606, it may be assumed that the date of the said charter corresponds to A. D. 709. If therefore the grandfather flourished about the first quarter of the eighth century A. D., the reign of the grandson, who issued the grant under discussion, may be roughly assigned to the middle or the third quarter of that century. It has, however, to be admitted that the identification of the era used by the Bhauma-Karas with the Harsha era is not accepted by some scholars who are inclined to assign the Bhauma-Karas to a later date.

The inscription begins with the symbol for *siddham* and the word *svasti*. Verse 1 is in adoration to the god Gīrīśa, i.e., Śiva, and is found in several other inscriptions of the family in question. Verse 2 introduces king Raṇastambha of the Śulki family which is said to have been favoured by the goddess Śatābhīrārī. The next verse says how the Śulki king Raṇastambha constructed a number of temples apparently for the god Śatābhīrā. Verses 4-5 describe king Jayastambha who was the son and successor of Raṇastambha. The following two verses (verses 6-7) describe the reigning king Kulastambha who was the son and successor of Jayastambha and issued the charter from the city of Kōḍālōka. While kings Raṇastambha and Jayastambha of the Śulki family of Kōḍālōka are known from their own records, king Kulastambha, son of Jayastambha, is known for the first time from the present inscription. He is called a *Madārāja* and has the feudatory title *śamadhīyat-āśīhu-mahākabha*. He is further said to have been a devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara.

¹ Cf. Bhandarkar, *List*, Nos. 1094-1701.

The inscription records the grant of a locality or probably several localities situated in Śōḡga-grāma (?) forming a part of the Gapānsāringa *visaya* belonging to the Kamarūḍā *maṇḍala*. The name or names of the locality or localities granted cannot be satisfactorily made out. The royal order regarding the grant was addressed to the *Rājaseka*, *Rājaputra*, *Mahādāmasa*, *Kumārāditya*, *Antarādiga* and others including the *Vishayapati* and *adhibāriṇa* together with their *karakas* (either meaning scribes or the *adhibāras*, i.e., administrative officers). The grant was made in favour of the *agnihōtrī* Bhaṭṭa Viśvardāsaśāman who was a Brāhmana of the Kāṇḍika *gṛha* having the Viśvāmitra, Dēvarāta and Andala *procuras* and was a student of the Mādhyandina branch of the Yajurveda. Lines 17-18 appear to mention several places, viz., Pañchabārya, Panyaviddhi, Sarvadā . . . , Sāraṇura and Kharapdaya, as boundaries of the gift land. It is interesting that the grant is said to have been made with the king's family-deity, the goddess Stambhēśvari-bhaktīārīkī, as the *pramāṇa*. The word *pramāṇa* is here apparently used in the sense of *sākāṣī* (witness) which actually occurs in the same context in some records of the family. The donee of the grant was allowed to enjoy rent from temporary tenants (*cf. s. oparidara*). The gift land is also described as *saddhā* which means "together with the space above the *ruhi* or ground." The sentences speaking of the grant are followed by two interesting passages in prose, one of them being benedictory and the other imprecatory. Next come four of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. Lines 30-31 mention the writer of the document; Bhōga Kalyāṇa, and the engraver Durlabhasaka whose father's name was Āchārya. The record ends with the date already noticed above.

As indicated above, a number of copper-plate inscriptions of the Śūlki family, also called variously Śūlki, Śaulki, Śōlki, etc., have been published. The earliest of the Śūlki records appears to be the Dhenkanal plate¹ of the *samadhigata-paṇcha-mahāśabala samanta-Mahādāmasa-adhipati* Raṇastambha. This record seems to be dated in the year 103, although the first of the two numerical symbols was read by H. P. Sastri as 30 and by D. R. Bhandarkar as 200. Considering the feudatory titles applied to the name of Raṇastambha as well as the fact that the era used is no doubt the same as that used by the Bhauma-Kara kings of Orissa, it seems that Raṇastambha was a semi-independent feudatory of the Bhauma-Kara monarch Subhākara III, two of whose inscriptions are dated in the same year.²

The Talehar plate³ seems also to belong to the same Śūlki king, although in this record he is called both Raṇastambha and Kulastambha and the seal attached to the charter bears the legend *Śrī-Kulastambha-deva*. The king Raṇastambha *alias* Kulastambha is in this inscription endowed with both feudatory and imperial titles, as he is not only called *samadhigata-paṇcha-mahāśabala* and *Rāyaka* but also *Mahārājādhirāja* and *paramabhaṭṭāraka*. The mere issue of the Dhenkanal plate of the year 103 without specific mention of his Bhauma-Kara overlord points to Raṇabhaṇja's importance, while the partial assumption of imperial titles in the Talehar plate seems to indicate his success in a struggle with the Bhauma-Karas. The Talehar plate also mentions Raṇastambha-Kulastambha's father Kalastambha-Vikramāditya who is represented as the son of Kāñchanastambha. Both Kāñchanastambha and his son Kalastambha *alias* Vikramāditya appear to have been loyal vassals of the Bhauma-Karas. The Jātāgrāma grant⁴ of Raṇastambha also represents him as the son of Kalastambha and the grandson of Kāñchanastambha, although H. P. Sastri wrongly read *Kulastambha* for *Kalastambha*. This record does not apply any imperial title to the name of Raṇastambha and seems to be earlier than the Talehar plate.

¹ Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 1697; *J.BORS.*, Vol. II, pp. 397 f. (C. B. Mitter, *op. cit.*, p. 23).

² See B. Mitra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 12-22. (C. JOR., Vol. XVIII, pp. 42-51).

³ Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 1694; *ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 157 ff.; N. N. Sanyal, *Arch. Surv. of Mayurbhanj*, Vol. I, pp. 157 ff., etc. In line 2, read *Śūlki-vaṇḍa* which has been wrongly read as *Śūlki-vaṇḍa*.

⁴ Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 1690; *J.BORS.*, Vol. IV, pp. 169 ff.

The Bhīmanagarigarth plate¹ is usually assigned to king Raṣastambha-Kulaastambha. It represents the king as the lord of the whole Gōndrama with Śaṅkhajōi forming the borderland of his kingdom. This description is also found in the two Puri plates² published by M. M. Chakravarti. Unfortunately the text of the Puri records is extremely corrupt. The Bhīmanagarigarth plate represents *Mahārāja* Raṣastambha as the *āmaja* (line 10) of Vikramāditya. The word *anta* (line 12) again used before the following mention of Kulaastambha may suggest that the record in question belongs not to Raṣastambha-Kulaastambha but actually to a Kulaastambha who was the son of Raṣastambha.

Another son of Raṣastambha *alias* Kulaastambha was Jayastambha of the three plates³ discovered at Dhenkanal. In one of these records Jayastambha is called *Mahārājapūṣṭha-mahāśabda* which together appear to be a combination of feudatory and imperial titles. In the same record, Jayastambha is also called "lord of the whole Gōndrama" and is represented as the son of Raṣastambha (*i.e.*, Raṣastambha-Kulaastambha) and as the grandson of Kulaastambha (apparently a mistake for Kalahastambha *alias* Vikramāditya). In the second of the Dhenkanal plates, Jayastambha is called a *Mahārāja* and is represented as the son of Nidastambha which seems to be another name of Raṣastambha-Kulaastambha. The third plate of Jayastambha calls the king both *samādhigata-pūṣṭha-mahāśabda* and *paramabhaṭṭaraka*. It represents king Jayastambha as the son of Alānastambha, the grandson of Kaṣastambha (undoubtedly a mistake for Kalahastambha) *alias* Vikramāditya, and the great-grandson of Kāśhanastambha. Thus Jayastambha's father seems to have enjoyed no less than four names, *viz.*, Raṣastambha, Kulaastambha, Nidastambha and Alānastambha. According to the charter under discussion, Jayastambha was succeeded by his son Kulaastambha who ruled at least up to his fourth regnal year. Nothing is known about the Śūlkis after this ruler. Probably they were extirpated or completely subjugated by the Bhauma-Karas not long after the rule of the issuer of our plate. That the semi-independent rule of the Śūlkis from Raṣastambha-Kulaastambha to his grandson Kulaastambha, who issued the present charter, did not last for more than about half a century is indicated by the fact that the same person seems to be the writer of the Dhenkanal plate of Raṣastambha dated year 103, and of the charter of Kulaastambha under discussion. The *Bhāṣya* Kalyāṇadēva who wrote the said grant of Raṣastambha is very probably the same as the *Bhāṣya* Kalyāṇa mentioned in line 31 of our record as its writer.

The Śūlkis of Orissa are probably mentioned in the Hārāhā inscription of Maukhari Isānavarman of Bihar and the U. P., dated in Vikrama Śaivya 611 (A. D. 554).⁴ If this suggestion is to be accepted, it has to be assumed that the Śūlkis were ruling in Orissa or its neighbourhood at a much earlier date than that suggested by the inscriptions of the family discussed above. M. M. Chakravarti believed that *Śūlkī* is but a variant of the family name *Chāḍḍiya* and that the Śūlkis of Orissa represented a branch of the Eastern Chāḍḍiya dynasty of the Āmla country.⁵ But this theory seems to be rightly challenged by others who are inclined to associate the Śūlkis of Orissa with a people called Śukli that are still inhabiting parts of the Midnapur District in South-

¹ Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 1698; *J.B.O.S.*, Vol. II, pp. 401-3. The word *śaṅkha* (modern *shy* in the dialect of S. W. Bengal and *peṅk* of the Gopālanthamallā, p. 13, etc.) means a canal or small stream. Misen identifies Śaṅkhajōi with the Śaṅkha river in the Mandargach region of Orissa.

² *J.B.O.S.*, Vol. LXIV, 1905, Part I, pp. 123-27. Only one of these two records is recognized in Bhandarkar's list, No. 1855, the other being inadvertently omitted. The suggestion that the first of these two records mentions one Kachchhadeva is wrong as the reading intended is known from other records to be 'kai' or 'ka' (*ka dha*). Cf. line 10 of the record under discussion. *Gōndrama* is now roughly taken to mean the name of Oriya *Gadigāra* (above, Vol. XXVI, p. 77), although the real meaning of the word is uncertain.

³ Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, Nos. 1699-1701; *J.B.O.S.*, Vol. II, pp. 406-17.

⁴ I. C. Ray, *Dynamic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 428.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 124.

have been the form of the goddess worshipped by the Śūlkis, the deity Śāmbhādevī is still adored by the people of the different castes of Orissa in some parts of the country under the Prakritic name Khambhēvari and in the shape of a post or pillar.¹ Now therefore the word *śāmbhādevī* seems to indicate merely "the goddess of the pillar" without any special association with the Śiva-linga. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Kalahandi plates² of Mahārāja Tushpikara, who possibly flourished about the fifth or sixth century A. D., mention that ruler as a worshipper of goddess Śāmbhādevī. Whether the Śūlkis claimed descent from Tushpikara and whether the goddess worshipped by Tushpikara was the very same as that later adored by the Śūlkis cannot be determined with any amount of certainty. It is also uncertain whether the pillar known as Śāmbhādevī and at present standing at the centre of the Sonapur town had anything to do with King Tushpikara and the rulers of the Śūlkī family.³ The rulers of the Angul State, confiscated in 1847, had names ending with the word *śāmbha*. There are also certain Śāmbha families in Orissa even today. Nothing definite, however, is known as to whether these late Śāmbhas had any relations with the ancient Śūlkis whose names ended with the word *śāmbha*.

No satisfactory identification of any of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription has been possible. Kūdātōka, capital of the Śūlkis, may, however, be the same as modern Kōūlu in the Dhenkanal subdivision of the Dhenkanal District (former Dhenkanal State) of Orissa, about 6 or 7 miles from Talcher, on the left bank of the Brāhmapā river.

TEXT*

[Metres: Verse 1 *Āryā*; vv. 3, 5 *Paśantatūlākā*; vv. 2, 4 *Upajālī*; v. 6 *Upajālī (Vaiśāṇṭhagāyā)* and *Indramāhā*; v. 7 *Saṅgharā*; vv. 8-10 *Anuśṭubh*; v. 11 *Pūshpītāgrā*]

Observes

- 1 [Siddham ||¹ Svasti ||²] Jayati sur-āsura-(śi)(śi)dlha-dvi(vi)dyādharā-mauli-gbhīṣṭa-oharaṇ-
-āva(a)hja)b ||³] dāśi-maṇi-mayū(yū)kha-bhā(s)hita-pū-
- 2 āga-jāṭṭā(tā)-bhāsurō Girīśub ||⁴] Śāmbhādevī(tī)-b(vdha)(bdha)-vuta-prasādō Śūlkī-
-knō-bhu(bhū)-kṣitipā(h*) kahat-ār(i)h ||⁵] Śrī-Raṇantambhaḥ-
- 3 ti pra(tī)ṭah sphurāt-pratāp-ōdaya-tāpit-ār(i)h ||⁶] Bhāsyad-vichī(tri)-ruchir-ōjva(jjva)-
-b-chātā(ro)-śābhair-uchchait Śadāśiva-
- 4 pura-pragaṇa-sika-mārgair-⁷dāvāhu(la)yaīr-niṣa yaśō-dhavalair-anākair-yēn-ātmanas-
-tridivam-udgamit-ōha kīrttiḥ ||⁸] Taay-ātma)ō
- 5 vīrūta-puṇya-kīrttiḥ śrīmāh(māh) Jayaśāmbha itī kṣitī(tī)ṭah ||⁹] va(ba)bhūva bhu-
-(bhū)pāla-ār(i)-maṇi-indra-jyōtmā-pras(bhā)-bhāsurā-pāda-(pī*)-
- 6 thah ||¹⁰] Yāh suryavādā nija-guṇ-āśin(ś-āśin)-samu(mā)ha-pātair-di(k*)-kāminī(nī)-
-mukha-manōhara-kartmapu(pū)raiḥ ||¹¹] sākōchit-āhita-
- 7 vadha(dhū)-(va)lan-āravimāḥ dāś-ānda(odha)kāra-bhūdurāḥ śasabbā śas-iva ||¹²] Tatō-bhāvach-eh-āvani-pāḥ ||¹³] na-kahamāh parā-

¹ B. C. Maumdar, *Orissa in the Mahābhārata*, pp. 107 ff.

² *J.E.H.S.*, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 167-170.

³ Maumdar, *loc. cit.*

⁴ From the original plate kindly lent by the Vice-Chancellor of the Utkal University, Cuttack, and from impressions prepared at the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Calcutta.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Read *Śrīmāh Rāṇā* for the sake of the metre. The verse is adapted from the records of Rāṇantambha (cf. *J.H.S.*, Vol. II, p. 101) where we have *Śrī-Vīrūtmāhā* etc. In another record (cf. *ibid.*, p. 100) we have *Śrīmāh Rāṇantambha* etc. These passages are metrically correct.

⁷ Read 'ādāyā' for 'dāś'.

- 8 kram-ākṛānta-sania[stu]-dīk-īta[ḥ] []¹ sutā va(ba)l-ōtsānta-vairi-vāriḥō dig-vāray-
indra-pratiṇō va(ba)hūva ya[]² 0³
- 9 unāk-ābhraṇkaṇat[ha]-dōcālaya⁴-sadhā-dhavalā-va(ba)hā-ā[]⁵ka-janta-sakala-digaṇtar-ālō-
- 10 kāt⁶ K[]⁷dāl[ā]kāt⁸ m. ēva dvija-guru-charaṇ-ācādhya-śakti-chētāḥ Śrīmān-durvāra-vairi-
pravara-kari-gṛha-
- 11 [ā-kumbha-kut]āka-vā(hā)hū[]⁹ tasyā śakti¹⁰ samētaḥ Prithivīva gūṇitah pāṭhivatā
tu yaśa kyichēhē[]¹¹chēhēhē[]¹²py-a-trakṛa(kṛa)-arya[h¹³]
- 12 prakāṣa-guṇatayā dharmma[]¹⁴su(sū)hār-na tulyah []¹⁵(7¹⁶) Parama-māhāvarō mātā-putri-
pāl-ānandhyātah samadhyat-āvasāha¹⁷-mahāśavidō(hā)
- 13 mahārājah Śrī-Kulastambhādērah kucāl Kanarddō[]¹⁸manjālō Gopāmaṇḍaga[]¹⁹vishayā
śōgga[]²⁰grā[mā] []²¹...nd[]²²sa[]²³
- 14 g[]²⁴dhaka[]²⁵vē bhavachyat-kālīnō rāja[]²⁶ma[]²⁷kr-njaputa-mahāśamanta-kumārāmāty-ānta-
rāh[]²⁸g[]²⁹g[]³⁰anyā³¹
- 15 ā-cha³²yathākāl-ādhyāsinō viśaya-pati[]³³u adhikāriṇa³⁴-cha sa-karaja(pān) yathārha[m³⁵]
kuśahya[]³⁶ti vō(hō)dhā³⁷

Reverse

- 16 yati ch-ā[]³⁸dīati³⁹ []⁴⁰vidi[]⁴¹tam-satu bhavatām [grā[]⁴²ma⁴³]. . . . kshātra-sahitaya⁴⁴ s-ōpari[kam]
s-ōddīh[]⁴⁵sa⁴⁶
- 17 rvy-āvā[]⁴⁷hā[]⁴⁸dhā-vīvarjitah chinanta[]⁴⁹na⁵⁰-simā-charuṣṭaya-vā[]⁵¹ch[]⁵²itah parika⁵³[]⁵⁴ritā⁵⁵-parya-
[]⁵⁶itah Pa[]⁵⁷cha[]⁵⁸śasya-Punya[]⁵⁹vi[]⁶⁰dhā-Sarvadā.....
- 18 Sām[]⁶¹ura-Kharandava-simāntah yajñ-ōpakaraṇa-prachura-kṛā-samit-samētaḥ japa-avī-
dhya[]⁶²ya-ānucha[]⁶³ā[]⁶⁴vā[]⁶⁵janā⁶⁶-nīya-
- 19 ma-tapō-bhūvit-ānamō []⁶⁷ā[]⁶⁸g[]⁶⁹g[]⁷⁰g[]⁷¹g[]⁷²g[]⁷³g[]⁷⁴g[]⁷⁵g[]⁷⁶g[]⁷⁷g[]⁷⁸g[]⁷⁹g[]⁸⁰g[]⁸¹g[]⁸²g[]⁸³g[]⁸⁴g[]⁸⁵g[]⁸⁶g[]⁸⁷g[]⁸⁸g[]⁸⁹g[]⁹⁰g[]⁹¹g[]⁹²g[]⁹³g[]⁹⁴g[]⁹⁵g[]⁹⁶g[]⁹⁷g[]⁹⁸g[]⁹⁹g[]¹⁰⁰g[]¹⁰¹g[]¹⁰²g[]¹⁰³g[]¹⁰⁴g[]¹⁰⁵g[]¹⁰⁶g[]¹⁰⁷g[]¹⁰⁸g[]¹⁰⁹g[]¹¹⁰g[]¹¹¹g[]¹¹²g[]¹¹³g[]¹¹⁴g[]¹¹⁵g[]¹¹⁶g[]¹¹⁷g[]¹¹⁸g[]¹¹⁹g[]¹²⁰g[]¹²¹g[]¹²²g[]¹²³g[]¹²⁴g[]¹²⁵g[]¹²⁶g[]¹²⁷g[]¹²⁸g[]¹²⁹g[]¹³⁰g[]¹³¹g[]¹³²g[]¹³³g[]¹³⁴g[]¹³⁵g[]¹³⁶g[]¹³⁷g[]¹³⁸g[]¹³⁹g[]¹⁴⁰g[]¹⁴¹g[]¹⁴²g[]¹⁴³g[]¹⁴⁴g[]¹⁴⁵g[]¹⁴⁶g[]¹⁴⁷g[]¹⁴⁸g[]¹⁴⁹g[]¹⁵⁰g[]¹⁵¹g[]¹⁵²g[]¹⁵³g[]¹⁵⁴g[]¹⁵⁵g[]¹⁵⁶g[]¹⁵⁷g[]¹⁵⁸g[]¹⁵⁹g[]¹⁶⁰g[]¹⁶¹g[]¹⁶²g[]¹⁶³g[]¹⁶⁴g[]¹⁶⁵g[]¹⁶⁶g[]¹⁶⁷g[]¹⁶⁸g[]¹⁶⁹g[]¹⁷⁰g[]¹⁷¹g[]¹⁷²g[]¹⁷³g[]¹⁷⁴g[]¹⁷⁵g[]¹⁷⁶g[]¹⁷⁷g[]¹⁷⁸g[]¹⁷⁹g[]¹⁸⁰g[]¹⁸¹g[]¹⁸²g[]¹⁸³g[]¹⁸⁴g[]¹⁸⁵g[]¹⁸⁶g[]¹⁸⁷g[]¹⁸⁸g[]¹⁸⁹g[]¹⁹⁰g[]¹⁹¹g[]¹⁹²g[]¹⁹³g[]¹⁹⁴g[]¹⁹⁵g[]¹⁹⁶g[]¹⁹⁷g[]¹⁹⁸g[]¹⁹⁹g[]²⁰⁰g[]²⁰¹g[]²⁰²g[]²⁰³g[]²⁰⁴g[]²⁰⁵g[]²⁰⁶g[]²⁰⁷g[]²⁰⁸g[]²⁰⁹g[]²¹⁰g[]²¹¹g[]²¹²g[]²¹³g[]²¹⁴g[]²¹⁵g[]²¹⁶g[]²¹⁷g[]²¹⁸g[]²¹⁹g[]²²⁰g[]²²¹g[]²²²g[]²²³g[]²²⁴g[]²²⁵g[]²²⁶g[]²²⁷g[]²²⁸g[]²²⁹g[]²³⁰g[]²³¹g[]²³²g[]²³³g[]²³⁴g[]²³⁵g[]²³⁶g[]²³⁷g[]²³⁸g[]²³⁹g[]²⁴⁰g[]²⁴¹g[]²⁴²g[]²⁴³g[]²⁴⁴g[]²⁴⁵g[]²⁴⁶g[]²⁴⁷g[]²⁴⁸g[]²⁴⁹g[]²⁵⁰g[]²⁵¹g[]²⁵²g[]²⁵³g[]²⁵⁴g[]²⁵⁵g[]²⁵⁶g[]²⁵⁷g[]²⁵⁸g[]²⁵⁹g[]²⁶⁰g[]²⁶¹g[]²⁶²g[]²⁶³g[]²⁶⁴g[]²⁶⁵g[]²⁶⁶g[]²⁶⁷g[]²⁶⁸g[]²⁶⁹g[]²⁷⁰g[]²⁷¹g[]²⁷²g[]²⁷³g[]²⁷⁴g[]²⁷⁵g[]²⁷⁶g[]²⁷⁷g[]²⁷⁸g[]²⁷⁹g[]²⁸⁰g[]²⁸¹g[]²⁸²g[]²⁸³g[]²⁸⁴g[]²⁸⁵g[]²⁸⁶g[]²⁸⁷g[]²⁸⁸g[]²⁸⁹g[]²⁹⁰g[]²⁹¹g[]²⁹²g[]²⁹³g[]²⁹⁴g[]²⁹⁵g[]²⁹⁶g[]²⁹⁷g[]²⁹⁸g[]²⁹⁹g[]³⁰⁰g[]³⁰¹g[]³⁰²g[]³⁰³g[]³⁰⁴g[]³⁰⁵g[]³⁰⁶g[]³⁰⁷g[]³⁰⁸g[]³⁰⁹g[]³¹⁰g[]³¹¹g[]³¹²g[]³¹³g[]³¹⁴g[]³¹⁵g[]³¹⁶g[]³¹⁷g[]³¹⁸g[]³¹⁹g[]³²⁰g[]³²¹g[]³²²g[]³²³g[]³²⁴g[]³²⁵g[]³²⁶g[]³²⁷g[]³²⁸g[]³²⁹g[]³³⁰g[]³³¹g[]³³²g[]³³³g[]³³⁴g[]³³⁵g[]³³⁶g[]³³⁷g[]³³⁸g[]³³⁹g[]³⁴⁰g[]³⁴¹g[]³⁴²g[]³⁴³g[]³⁴⁴g[]³⁴⁵g[]³⁴⁶g[]³⁴⁷g[]³⁴⁸g[]³⁴⁹g[]³⁵⁰g[]³⁵¹g[]³⁵²g[]³⁵³g[]³⁵⁴g[]³⁵⁵g[]³⁵⁶g[]³⁵⁷g[]³⁵⁸g[]³⁵⁹g[]³⁶⁰g[]³⁶¹g[]³⁶²g[]³⁶³g[]³⁶⁴g[]³⁶⁵g[]³⁶⁶g[]³⁶⁷g[]³⁶⁸g[]³⁶⁹g[]³⁷⁰g[]³⁷¹g[]³⁷²g[]³⁷³g[]³⁷⁴g[]³⁷⁵g[]³⁷⁶g[]³⁷⁷g[]³⁷⁸g[]³⁷⁹g[]³⁸⁰g[]³⁸¹g[]³⁸²g[]³⁸³g[]³⁸⁴g[]³⁸⁵g[]³⁸⁶g[]³⁸⁷g[]³⁸⁸g[]³⁸⁹g[]³⁹⁰g[]³⁹¹g[]³⁹²g[]³⁹³g[]³⁹⁴g[]³⁹⁵g[]³⁹⁶g[]³⁹⁷g[]³⁹⁸g[]³⁹⁹g[]⁴⁰⁰g[]⁴⁰¹g[]⁴⁰²g[]⁴⁰³g[]⁴⁰⁴g[]⁴⁰⁵g[]⁴⁰⁶g[]⁴⁰⁷g[]⁴⁰⁸g[]⁴⁰⁹g[]⁴¹⁰g[]⁴¹¹g[]⁴¹²g[]⁴¹³g[]⁴¹⁴g[]⁴¹⁵g[]⁴¹⁶g[]⁴¹⁷g[]⁴¹⁸g[]⁴¹⁹g[]⁴²⁰g[]⁴²¹g[]⁴²²g[]⁴²³g[]⁴²⁴g[]⁴²⁵g[]⁴²⁶g[]⁴²⁷g[]⁴²⁸g[]⁴²⁹g[]⁴³⁰g[]⁴³¹g[]⁴³²g[]⁴³³g[]⁴³⁴g[]⁴³⁵g[]⁴³⁶g[]⁴³⁷g[]⁴³⁸g[]⁴³⁹g[]⁴⁴⁰g[]⁴⁴¹g[]⁴⁴²g[]⁴⁴³g[]⁴⁴⁴g[]⁴⁴⁵g[]⁴⁴⁶g[]⁴⁴⁷g[]⁴⁴⁸g[]⁴⁴⁹g[]⁴⁵⁰g[]⁴⁵¹g[]⁴⁵²g[]⁴⁵³g[]⁴⁵⁴g[]⁴⁵⁵g[]⁴⁵⁶g[]⁴⁵⁷g[]⁴⁵⁸g[]⁴⁵⁹g[]⁴⁶⁰g[]⁴⁶¹g[]⁴⁶²g[]⁴⁶³g[]⁴⁶⁴g[]⁴⁶⁵g[]⁴⁶⁶g[]⁴⁶⁷g[]⁴⁶⁸g[]⁴⁶⁹g[]⁴⁷⁰g[]⁴⁷¹g[]⁴⁷²g[]⁴⁷³g[]⁴⁷⁴g[]⁴⁷⁵g[]⁴⁷⁶g[]⁴⁷⁷g[]⁴⁷⁸g[]⁴⁷⁹g[]⁴⁸⁰g[]⁴⁸¹g[]⁴⁸²g[]⁴⁸³g[]⁴⁸⁴g[]⁴⁸⁵g[]⁴⁸⁶g[]⁴⁸⁷g[]⁴⁸⁸g[]⁴⁸⁹g[]⁴⁹⁰g[]⁴⁹¹g[]⁴⁹²g[]⁴⁹³g[]⁴⁹⁴g[]⁴⁹⁵g[]⁴⁹⁶g[]⁴⁹⁷g[]⁴⁹⁸g[]⁴⁹⁹g[]⁵⁰⁰g[]⁵⁰¹g[]⁵⁰²g[]⁵⁰³g[]⁵⁰⁴g[]⁵⁰⁵g[]⁵⁰⁶g[]⁵⁰⁷g[]⁵⁰⁸g[]⁵⁰⁹g[]⁵¹⁰g[]⁵¹¹g[]⁵¹²g[]⁵¹³g[]⁵¹⁴g[]⁵¹⁵g[]⁵¹⁶g[]⁵¹⁷g[]⁵¹⁸g[]⁵¹⁹g[]⁵²⁰g[]⁵²¹g[]⁵²²g[]⁵²³g[]⁵²⁴g[]⁵²⁵g[]⁵²⁶g[]⁵²⁷g[]⁵²⁸g[]⁵²⁹g[]⁵³⁰g[]⁵³¹g[]⁵³²g[]⁵³³g[]⁵³⁴g[]⁵³⁵g[]⁵³⁶g[]⁵³⁷g[]⁵³⁸g[]⁵³⁹g[]⁵⁴⁰g[]⁵⁴¹g[]⁵⁴²g[]⁵⁴³g[]⁵⁴⁴g[]⁵⁴⁵g[]⁵⁴⁶g[]⁵⁴⁷g[]⁵⁴⁸g[]⁵⁴⁹g[]⁵⁵⁰g[]⁵⁵¹g[]⁵⁵²g[]⁵⁵³g[]⁵⁵⁴g[]⁵⁵⁵g[]⁵⁵⁶g[]⁵⁵⁷g[]⁵⁵⁸g[]⁵⁵⁹g[]⁵⁶⁰g[]⁵⁶¹g[]⁵⁶²g[]⁵⁶³g[]⁵⁶⁴g[]⁵⁶⁵g[]⁵⁶⁶g[]⁵⁶⁷g[]⁵⁶⁸g[]⁵⁶⁹g[]⁵⁷⁰g[]⁵⁷¹g[]⁵⁷²g[]⁵⁷³g[]⁵⁷⁴g[]⁵⁷⁵g[]⁵⁷⁶g[]⁵⁷⁷g[]⁵⁷⁸g[]⁵⁷⁹g[]⁵⁸⁰g[]⁵⁸¹g[]⁵⁸²g[]⁵⁸³g[]⁵⁸⁴g[]⁵⁸⁵g[]⁵⁸⁶g[]⁵⁸⁷g[]⁵⁸⁸g[]⁵⁸⁹g[]⁵⁹⁰g[]⁵⁹¹g[]⁵⁹²g[]⁵⁹³g[]⁵⁹⁴g[]⁵⁹⁵g[]⁵⁹⁶g[]⁵⁹⁷g[]⁵⁹⁸g[]⁵⁹⁹g[]⁶⁰⁰g[]⁶⁰¹g[]⁶⁰²g[]⁶⁰³g[]⁶⁰⁴g[]⁶⁰⁵g[]⁶⁰⁶g[]⁶⁰⁷g[]⁶⁰⁸g[]⁶⁰⁹g[]⁶¹⁰g[]⁶¹¹g[]⁶¹²g[]⁶¹³g[]⁶¹⁴g[]⁶¹⁵g[]⁶¹⁶g[]⁶¹⁷g[]⁶¹⁸g[]⁶¹⁹g[]⁶²⁰g[]⁶²¹g[]⁶²²g[]⁶²³g[]⁶²⁴g[]⁶²⁵g[]⁶²⁶g[]⁶²⁷g[]⁶²⁸g[]⁶²⁹g[]⁶³⁰g[]⁶³¹g[]⁶³²g[]⁶³³g[]⁶³⁴g[]⁶³⁵g[]⁶³⁶g[]⁶³⁷g[]⁶³⁸g[]⁶³⁹g[]⁶⁴⁰g[]⁶⁴¹g[]⁶⁴²g[]⁶⁴³g[]⁶⁴⁴g[]⁶⁴⁵g[]⁶⁴⁶g[]⁶⁴⁷g[]⁶⁴⁸g[]⁶⁴⁹g[]⁶⁵⁰g[]⁶⁵¹g[]⁶⁵²g[]⁶⁵³g[]⁶⁵⁴g[]⁶⁵⁵g[]⁶⁵⁶g[]⁶⁵⁷g[]⁶⁵⁸g[]⁶⁵⁹g[]⁶⁶⁰g[]⁶⁶¹g[]⁶⁶²g[]⁶⁶³g[]⁶⁶⁴g[]⁶⁶⁵g[]⁶⁶⁶g[]⁶⁶⁷g[]⁶⁶⁸g[]⁶⁶⁹g[]⁶⁷⁰g[]⁶⁷¹g[]⁶⁷²g[]⁶⁷³g[]⁶⁷⁴g[]⁶⁷⁵g[]⁶⁷⁶g[]⁶⁷⁷g[]⁶⁷⁸g[]⁶⁷⁹g[]⁶⁸⁰g[]⁶⁸¹g[]⁶⁸²g[]⁶⁸³g[]⁶⁸⁴g[]⁶⁸⁵g[]⁶⁸⁶g[]⁶⁸⁷g[]⁶⁸⁸g[]⁶⁸⁹g[]⁶⁹⁰g[]⁶⁹¹g[]⁶⁹²g[]⁶⁹³g[]⁶⁹⁴g[]⁶⁹⁵g[]⁶⁹⁶g[]⁶⁹⁷g[]⁶⁹⁸g[]⁶⁹⁹g[]⁷⁰⁰g[]⁷⁰¹g[]⁷⁰²g[]⁷⁰³g[]⁷⁰⁴g[]⁷⁰⁵g[]⁷⁰⁶g[]⁷⁰⁷g[]⁷⁰⁸g[]⁷⁰⁹g[]⁷¹⁰g[]⁷¹¹g[]⁷¹²g[]⁷¹³g[]⁷¹⁴g[]⁷¹⁵g[]⁷¹⁶g[]⁷¹⁷g[]⁷¹⁸g[]⁷¹⁹g[]⁷²⁰g[]⁷²¹g[]⁷²²g[]⁷²³g[]⁷²⁴g[]⁷²⁵g[]⁷²⁶g[]⁷²⁷g[]⁷²⁸g[]⁷²⁹g[]⁷³⁰g[]⁷³¹g[]⁷³²g[]⁷³³g[]⁷³⁴g[]⁷³⁵g[]⁷³⁶g[]⁷³⁷g[]⁷³⁸g[]⁷³⁹g[]⁷⁴⁰g[]⁷⁴¹g[]⁷⁴²g[]⁷⁴³g[]⁷⁴⁴g[]⁷⁴⁵g[]⁷⁴⁶g[]⁷⁴⁷g[]⁷⁴⁸g[]⁷⁴⁹g[]⁷⁵⁰g[]⁷⁵¹g[]⁷⁵²g[]⁷⁵³g[]⁷⁵⁴g[]⁷⁵⁵g[]⁷⁵⁶g[]⁷⁵⁷g[]⁷⁵⁸g[]⁷⁵⁹g[]⁷⁶⁰g[]⁷⁶¹g[]⁷⁶²g[]⁷⁶³g[]⁷⁶⁴g[]⁷⁶⁵g[]⁷⁶⁶g[]⁷⁶⁷g[]⁷⁶⁸g[]⁷⁶⁹g[]⁷⁷⁰g[]⁷⁷¹g[]⁷⁷²g[]⁷⁷³g[]⁷⁷⁴g[]⁷⁷⁵g[]⁷⁷⁶g[]⁷⁷⁷g[]⁷⁷⁸g[]⁷⁷⁹g[]⁷⁸⁰g[]⁷⁸¹g[]⁷⁸²g[]⁷⁸³g[]⁷⁸⁴g[]⁷⁸⁵g[]⁷⁸⁶g[]⁷⁸⁷g[]⁷⁸⁸g[]⁷⁸⁹g[]⁷⁹⁰g[]⁷⁹¹g[]⁷⁹²g[]⁷⁹³g[]⁷⁹⁴g[]⁷⁹⁵g[]⁷⁹⁶g[]⁷⁹⁷g[]⁷⁹⁸g[]⁷⁹⁹g[]⁸⁰⁰g[]⁸⁰¹g[]⁸⁰²g[]⁸⁰³g[]⁸⁰⁴g[]⁸⁰⁵g[]⁸⁰⁶g[]⁸⁰⁷g[]⁸⁰⁸g[]⁸⁰⁹g[]⁸¹⁰g[]⁸¹¹g[]⁸¹²g[]⁸¹³g[]⁸¹⁴g[]⁸¹⁵g[]⁸¹⁶g[]⁸¹⁷g[]⁸¹⁸g[]⁸¹⁹g[]⁸²⁰g[]⁸²¹g[]⁸²²g[]⁸²³g[]⁸²⁴g[]⁸²⁵g[]⁸²⁶g[]⁸²⁷g[]⁸²⁸g[]⁸²⁹g[]⁸³⁰g[]⁸³¹g[]⁸³²g[]⁸³³g[]⁸³⁴g[]⁸³⁵g[]⁸³⁶g[]⁸³⁷g[]⁸³⁸g[]⁸³⁹g[]⁸⁴⁰g[]⁸⁴¹g[]⁸⁴²g[]⁸⁴³g[]⁸⁴⁴g[]⁸⁴⁵g[]⁸⁴⁶g[]⁸⁴⁷g[]⁸⁴⁸g[]⁸⁴⁹g[]⁸⁵⁰g[]⁸⁵¹g[]⁸⁵²g[]⁸⁵³g[]⁸⁵⁴g[]⁸⁵⁵g[]⁸⁵⁶g[]⁸⁵⁷g[]⁸⁵⁸g[]⁸⁵⁹g[]⁸⁶⁰g[]⁸⁶¹g[]⁸⁶²g[]⁸⁶³g[]⁸⁶⁴g[]⁸⁶⁵g[]⁸⁶⁶g[]⁸⁶⁷g[]⁸⁶⁸g[]⁸⁶⁹g[]⁸⁷⁰g[]⁸⁷¹g[]⁸⁷²g[]⁸⁷³g[]⁸⁷⁴g[]⁸⁷⁵g[]⁸⁷⁶g[]⁸⁷⁷g[]⁸⁷⁸g[]⁸⁷⁹g[]⁸⁸⁰g[]⁸⁸¹g[]⁸⁸²g[]⁸⁸³g[]⁸⁸⁴g[]⁸⁸⁵g[]⁸⁸⁶g[]⁸⁸⁷g[]⁸⁸⁸g[]⁸⁸⁹g[]⁸⁹⁰g[]⁸⁹¹g[]⁸⁹²g[]⁸⁹³g[]⁸⁹⁴g[]⁸⁹⁵g[]⁸⁹⁶g[]⁸⁹⁷g[]⁸⁹⁸g[]⁸⁹⁹g[]⁹⁰⁰g[]⁹⁰¹g[]⁹⁰²g[]⁹⁰³g[]⁹⁰⁴g[]⁹⁰⁵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(i.e., *Mūlki-vaṣṇāḍa*) obtained from *Somidēva-Mahārāja* who bore the epithets *Mahāmaṇḍalāśvara*, *Traiśūkyamalla*, *Bhojabala-cīraṇārāyaṇa* and *Nīlakaṇṭhapatāpa*, the village of *Māṣaruppalī*, situated near the southern gateway of *Śrīśailam* (i.e., *Siddhavatṭam*) and that *Gaṅgaya Sāhaṅgār* in his turn made over the village as a gift (*pradānam*) to *Kālāḍi Vāṣṇodēva Nāyaka* of the *Bhāṭṭa-gotra* who hailed from *Malaimaṇḍalam* (i.e., *Malabar*). This *Nāyaka*, again in his turn, granted a part of the village as *Brāhmanjūrī* to a *Brāhmana*, *Perumāl*, son of *Siddhamarnāra* of the *Pāṭimūḍa-gotra*. Of the remaining lands in the village, he gifted away one share to the temple of *Siddhavaṭṭamūḍaya-Nāyaṅār* for the expenses of offerings and worship at the time of the morning service (*tiruppalī-ṭuṭṭi*) of the deity. The rest of the lands was endowed to a *Malaiyāṇṭa* in the village for offering of alms to the *skandya-saṅgāṭas* and for feeding *Malaiyāṇa-Brāhmanas* living in the *maṭṭu* and engaged in religious penance. The inscription ends with the usual imprecation against the destroyers of the charity and contains a final benediction that the religious faith, *Māhātmyam* might grow and spread.

It will be seen that the inscription is of interest in several respects. In the first place it is to be noted that the language and script of the record is Tamil and this is important in view of the fact that the region where it is found and the chiefs mentioned therein are associated with the Telugu country. Attention will be drawn to the significance of this in the sequel. Historically, the record is of interest in the mention made in it of *Mahāmaṇḍalāśvara* *Somidēva-Mahārāja* who, to judge from the string of *hīrudas* attached to his name, seems to be a local chief of some importance ruling over the region around *Siddhavatṭam*. As to his identity it may be observed that the *hīrudas* held by him are identical with those adopted by a line of chiefs who were further distinguished by the additional epithets of *Kālakaḍa-puramāṇḍhīvara* (i.e., the lord of the best of cities, *Kāṇkaḍa*) and *Siddhavaṭṭadēvara-dvaya-īri-pādārūḍhaka*. Some members of this family are known from inscriptions in and around *Siddhavatṭam* itself. One of them was *Rāyadēva-Mahārāja* who bore the epithets, *Mahāmaṇḍalāśvara*, *Kāṇkaḍapuramāṇḍhīvara*, *Traiśūkyamalla*, *Bhojabala-cīraṇārāyaṇa*, *Pāṇḍya-prajāpātri*, *Aṇḍabharāṇḍhara*, *Nīlakaṇṭhapatāpa* and *Siddhavaṭṭadēvara-dvaya-īri-pādārūḍhaka*. One of his inscriptions found at *Rāyachōṭi*, *Cuddapah District*, is dated *Śaka* 1155, *Nandana*, *Āṣāḍha* in. 11 (i.e., A. D. 1232, June 30, Wednesday) and states that one *Paḍavala Bannayaga* consecrated the image of *Jagādhama-Perumāl* at *Āṇḍapūr* in *Kūl-Māṣayapāḍi* and that the chief *Rāyadēva-Mahārāja* granted to the deity the village of *Rāyanārāyaṇapattēri* as *tiruvaiyāṭṭam*. The script and language of this record is Tamil like the present *Māchupalle* inscription. The second record of this chief is found at *Jōṭi* near *Siddhavatṭam*¹ and it is dated *Śaka* 1169, *Plavaṅga*, *Jyāṣṭha* in. 13, *Vaḥḍavāra* (i.e., A. D. 1247, May 18, Saturday). Although the record starts with the *prastāva* of *Rāyadēva-Mahārāja* whose *hīrudas*, as found in the *Rāyachōṭi* inscription, are also detailed here, the date quoted is referred to the reign of *Rakkasa-Gaṅgarasa*. The inscription says that one *Chenti-Rāmināyaka*, the servant (*vija-hāritya*) of *Rāyadēva-Mahārāja* made a number of benefactions on the date specified during the reign of *Rakkasa-Gaṅgarasa*. The wording of the record leaves it doubtful as to whether *Rakkasa-Gaṅgarasa* is to be taken as identical with *Rāyadēva-Mahārāja* which seems very likely since the donor *Rāmināyaka* describes them both as his overlords. It, however, he is considered a different person nothing is known regarding the family to which he belonged.² Attention may here be drawn to the mention of *Rakkasa-Gaṅga* in a contemporary Telugu literary work, the *Niruchanōttama-Rāmāyaṇamu* of *Tikkana Sōmayāḍin* from which we learn that *Rakkasa-Gaṅga* was defeated in

¹ No. 446 of 1911 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

² No. 563 of 1913 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

³ A fragmentary record mentioning a certain *Rakkasa-Gaṅga* 'as ruling the earth' is found at *Sivāḍi*, *Pāṇḍyanur* taluk, *Chittoor District* (No. 233 of 1921-2 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.). For want of sufficient data it is not possible to connect him with *Rakkasa-Gaṅga* of *Siddhavatṭam*.

battle by the Telugu-Chōḍa chief of Nellore, Mammāsiddhi II who is stated to have sent his Kāyastha general Gaṅḡya-Sāhaṇi to collect tribute from him. More about this incident will be said in the sequel. At Tāḍpatri in the Anantapur District is a long inscription¹ of another chief of the family, viz., Udayāditya who lived many years earlier than Rāyadēva-Mahārāja. This record which is dated Śaka 1120, Kālayukti, Māgha śu. 15, Thursday, solar eclipse (i.e., A. D. 1199 January 28, Thursday, solar eclipse), gives the genealogy of Udayāditya as follows: in the lunar race there was Atturāja whose son was Āhavamalla, whose son was Gaṅga and Gaṅga's son was Sōmadēva who was the father of Udayāditya, the donor of the inscription. Udayāditya is given a string of *binudas*, commencing with the words, *Arka-samara-saṅghastan-śpalabdhā-vijayalakṣmī-amūṅgula-rīṣika-mahasthula*, etc., and including among other epithets those like *Siddhantaśāhā-dīpta-vī-pāda-patnāśāhaka*, *Kalukapattavarādhīkari*, *Bhuvanatrāṭra*, *Kṣatriguṇavīra* and *Pratāpakuṁāra*. He is further stated to be ruling from his *rājadhāni* Tāḍpāḷapura, i.e., Tāḍpatri. Āhavamalla mentioned as the great-grand-father of Udayāditya in the Tāḍpatri inscription seems identical with his namesake, two of whose records are found in the Rajampet taluk of the Cuddapah District. One of them from Sandalūr,² which is in Tamil, records a benefaction by him and refers to one Bhāskara-Bhaṭṭāpādīyāya. The other inscription from Taḍgaṭṭūr,³ which is in Kannada, is dated Śaka 1073, Prajōṭpatti, Māgha śu. 15, Thursday (i.e., A. D. 1152, January 21, Thursday) and refers itself to the reign of the Western Chāḷukya King Taila, i.e., Tailapa III. It records the consecration of the temple of Mūlasāhāna-Pāpavināśadēva by Āhavamalla in honour of his guru Pāṇipata Tapasāhama Jiyar. A still earlier member of the family was Malla-Mahārāja who is described as ruling Āyaje 300 as a subordinate of Tribhuvanānamalla (Vikramāditya VI) in an inscription at Alampūr, Raichur District, dated Chāḷukya-Vikrama year 26, Kālayukti.⁴ This chief, like Udayāditya of the Tāḍpatri record, has a *pranāma* commencing with the words, *Arka-samara-saṅghastan-śpalabdhā*, etc., and bears almost all his *binudas*. If he is identified with Āhavamalla of the Tāḍpatri record, which is not unlikely, he must be supposed to have had a long rule of over fifty years from Chāḷukya-Vikrama year 26, i.e., A. D. 1101-2 to 1152 A. D. Two more chiefs of this stock are brought to light by an inscription at Chintalapattūr, near Pushpagiri, Cuddapah District.⁵ They are Murāri-Kṣāvadēva-Mahārāja and Sōmadēva-Mahārāja. Their *pranāma* includes all the epithets held by Sōmadēva-Mahārāja of the present Māchupalle inscription and in addition that of 'Lord of Kalukapattura'. The record states that these two chiefs made a joint donation of Vedullāshetrava to god Indrāsvara of Pushpagiri on the occasion of their visit to the holy place in Vibhava, Āśāḍha śu. 10, Monday. The corresponding Śaka date is not specified in the record. Since the year Vibhava corresponded to A. D. 1208 it is not unlikely that the record was set up in that year, although the other details noted in the record do not tally with any date in the month of Āśāḍha of this year.⁶ If the date cited is A. D. 1202, this inscription being only 13 years later than the Māchupalle record of A. D. 1255, it is not improbable that Sōmadēva-Mahārāja of the Māchupalle inscription and his namesake of the Pushpagiri record are identical. It would follow from this identification that Sōmadēva-Mahārāja of our record was also a son of the family of chiefs who were distinguished by the appellation, 'Lords of Kalukapattura'. The omission of this particular title in the Māchupalle inscription does indeed weaken

¹ S. I. I., Vol. 19, No. 598.

² No. 577 of 1907 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

³ Topographical List of Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency, Vol. 1, p. 4, 591; Local Records, Vol. 15, p. 290.

⁴ Telugu Inscriptions, pp. 126-7. Ins. No. 26. The epoch year quoted does not tally with the Ch. Vik. year 26; the latter would correspond to A. D. 1101-2. The Kālayukti year would correspond to A. D. 1078 and 1138 both of which do not seem to be the intended year.

⁵ No. 319 of 1903 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

⁶ The details, however, correspond to A. D. 1148, June 28 but this date would be too early for Kṣāvadēva and Sōmadēva since these two princes were contemporaries of Amaladēva of A. D. 1272-1302.

the argument in favour of his identification as a scion of that family which seems, however, otherwise well established considering not only the occurrence of the other *birudae* which are common to most records of these chiefs but also the provenance of the present record of Sōmidēva near Siddhavattam, the god of which place was the family deity of some of the members of the family. Further, the language and script of the Machupalle inscription is Tamil, a feature characterising some other inscriptions of the family, viz., the Rāyachōṭi inscription of Rāyadēva-Mahārāja and the Nandalūr record of Āhavamalla. Thus the locality of his rule, his name and some of the titles held by him which are common to other members of the family of the Kalukadapura chiefs and finally his proximity in point of date to Sōmidēva-Mahārāja of that family figuring in the Pushpagiri inscription, would all render it tenable that our Sōmidēva-Mahārāja of the Machupalle inscription was a scion of the Kalukadapura rulers and identical with Sōmidēva of the Pushpagiri record.

From the foregoing analysis of the epigraphs of the lords of Kalukadapura, it would appear that the earliest member of the stock so far known was Attirāja of the lunar race. He might have flourished about A.D. 1100 since he was the fourth ascendant from Udayaditya of A.D. 1199 figuring in the Talpatri inscription cited above. The history of the family before Attirāja is not definitely ascertainable but some clues in this regard are however available from their *prasaśi* and titles. For instance, the *prasaśi* commencing with the words, *Aṭṭa-samra*, etc., which the chiefs of Kalukadapura adopted was also the characteristic preamble of the Valumbha family, who ruled over parts of Coimbatore and the adjacent territory from the 9th to the 11th century A.D. Thus again the title *Bhānuvatsiṣṭra* held by the chiefs of Kalukadapura was a well-known Vaidumbha name and title. Further, it is not unlikely that the epithet *Antambanābharaṇa* of the Kalukaduja chiefs is a corruption of *Vaidumbābharaṇa* which was assumed by the Vaidumbha chief Bhīma-Mahārāja of the Pālagiri record,¹ dated Śaka 978 (i.e., A.D. 1058). This chief further claims a lunar origin like Attirāja, the earliest known ancestor of the Kalukadapura chiefs, as noticed above. Another significant datum which may be taken to establish that the lords of Kalukadapura were either lineally descended from the Vaidumbha rulers of Rēmāṇa or were their political successors who appropriated their titles, dominions, etc., is traceable in the very title of 'Lord of Kalukadapura' itself. For, Kalukadapura is identical with the modern Kallakudi in the Vayalpat taluk of the Chittoor District and at this very place were found two inscriptions of the Vaidumbhas referable to the 9-10th century A.D. indicating that the region of Kallakudi was their principality. One of them belongs to Guṇḍatriṣṭra Vaidumbha-Mahārāja² and the other was issued by Bhuvana-triṣṭra Iravagya-Mahārāja on the occasion of his coronation.³ The latest date for the Vaidumbha chiefs so far known is Śaka 978 (i.e., A.D. 1056) which is furnished by the Pālagiri record of Kaligatriṣṭra Bhīma-Mahārāja, son of Maṭṭirāja-Mahārāja cited above. It has to be noted, however, that between this date (A.D. 1056) of the last known member of the earlier Vaidumbha family and that of Attirāja (c. 1100) the earliest known progenitor of the later stock there is a gap of about 50 years during which the history of these rulers is unknown. Nevertheless, it is certain that the Vaidumbhas must have continued to flourish in parts of Rēmāṇa side by side with the Telugu Chōḍas with whom it is well-known that they often came into conflict. It would appear that like the Telugu Chōḍas they came under the suzerainty of the Western Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa. This event might have taken place in the time of Chāḷukya King Trailokyasalla Āhavamalla Sōmāvara 4 since we find some of the titles like *Trailokyasalla* and *Āhavamalla* being adopted by the Kalukadapura chiefs thus indicating their subordination to that Chāḷukya emperor.

¹ No. 323 of 1935-36 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. See *As. Res. S. I. E.*, 1935-36, pp. 64-7.

² No. 443 of 1940-41 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

³ No. 442 of 1940-41 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

Now, to return to the Māchupalle inscription. Another point of interest attaching to it is that Gaṅgaya-Sāhaṇi, the Kāyastha chief ruling from Vallūra, figures in it as an associate of Sōmidēva-Mahārāja in the gift made, evidently in the capacity of a friend or a joint subordinate under a common overlord. It was perhaps in the latter capacity that he figures in this inscription. For, Gaṅgaya-Sāhaṇi was a feudatory of the Kākatīyas and he is mentioned as such in several inscriptions of Kākatīya Gaṅgavati issued in the same year in which the inscription from Māchupalle was issued (i.e. A. D. 1255).¹ He was, besides, employed as a general of the Telugu Chōḍa chief Minumaidihli II of Nallāro (A. D. 1239-1268) who was the friend and ally of Gaṅgavati.² Literary evidence testifies to the fact that Gaṅgaya-Sāhaṇi was deputed by the Telugu Chōḍa ruler to collect tribute from Rakkasa-Gaṅga who is stated to have been defeated by Minumaidihli, but whose territories were given back to him in exemplification of the Chōḍa ruler's character as an *āyātantaḥ*.³

It has been surmised above that Rakkasa-Gaṅga was the same chief that was also known as Rāyadēva-Mahārāja, the Kalukadapura prince who was ruling over the region of Siddhavaṭṭam and its adjacent territory. Gaṅgaya-Sāhaṇi, having been thus deputed, seems to have gone to Siddhavaṭṭam and on the occasion of his visit to the holy place might have made the grant registered in the Māchupalle record under study. Since the verse in the *Nirachandhara-Bāmāpaganam* cited above, explicitly states that the dominions conquered from Rakkasa-Gaṅga were duly restored to him, Gaṅgaya-Sāhaṇi being sent only to collect tribute, it is self-explanatory that in the Māchupalle record, Sōmidēva, the successor of Rakkasa-Gaṅga, should be described as the original donor from whom Gaṅgaya-Sāhaṇi obtained the gift village, for it was Sōmidēva-Mahārāja that was the actual ruler of the area in which the gift-village was situated. In this connection it is significant that except a few early inscriptions of the family, all the other records of the Kalukadapura chiefs which quote their *pradāna* are found issued without reference to any overlord. Even the Pushpagiri record of Sōmidēva-Mahārāja of A. D. 1268 is found issued with the full preamble of the family and without any reference to an overlord. The Pushpagiri record further makes it apparent that the two chiefs figuring therein, Mūrāri-Kṛṣṇavādēva-Mahārāja and Sōmidēva-Mahārāja were left to enjoy their possessions in freedom till A. D. 1268 at least. Not long after this date, these princes seem to have offended the Kāyastha chiefs of Vallūra for it is learnt from the records of Ambadēva, the Kāyastha chief who assumed rulership sometime about A. D. 1272 and flourished till A. D. 1302, that he defeated Kṛṣṇavādēva and Sōmidēva along with Alu-Gaṅga. There can be no doubt that the first two princes were the chiefs of Kalukadā whose Pushpagiri inscription has been cited above. This defeat must have taken place sometime before A. D. 1290 as the earliest of Ambadēva's inscriptions mentioning this exploit is dated in this year.⁴ We hear no more about the lords of Kalukadapura subsequent to this date.

It is not known what brought Vāmidēva Nāyaka of Mahimajalāra to Siddhavaṭṭam where he figures as the donor in the present record. His visit may have been just an act of pilgrimage to the holy place Siddhavaṭṭam on the occasion of which he made the pious gift recorded in the inscription. That the object of the gift made by him was in the first instance obtained from Sōmidēva-Mahārāja and in the second from Gaṅgaya Sāhaṇi, must be understood to bear some particular significance, the exact nature of which it is not possible to say. It is not unlikely that he was either some subordinate commander under Gaṅgaya Sāhaṇi, the generalissimo of the Telugu Chōḍas and the Kākatīyas or was just a learned man interested in Śaivism and its spread. This Nāyaka is otherwise unknown to us except from this inscription.

¹ No. 21 of 1936 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. (S. I. I., Vol. X, No. 246).

² Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 194.

³ *Nirachandhara-Bāmāpaganam*, Canto 1, v. 41.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXV, p. 274; S. I. I., Vol. X, No. 493.

Kālaḍi in Malaimangalam with which the name of Vāsudēva Nāyaka is associated may be identified with Kālaḍi now in the Travancore-Cochin Union, which was the birth-place of Śaṅkarācārya, the *advaita* philosopher.² We cannot be sure if Vāsudēva Nāyaka's association with this place in Malabar which was either his ancestral seat or actual place of residence accounts for the present benefaction made by him to the *śāradāḍi-saṃnyāsins* and some *Brāhmaṇas* who also hailed from Malabar and who were practising religious austerities in the *Malaiyāṅgi-maṭha* attached to the temple of Siddhavaṭṭamudaiya-Nāyanār. It is no wonder that there should have existed a religious institution for the practice of *Pāṭupata* tenets at Siddhavaṭṭam, for, the place, as stated in the record itself, was sanctified as the southern gateway of Śrīśailam,³ the great centre of *Pāṭupata* Śaivism. Further the ruler Sōmidēva-Mahārāja belonged to a family who were devotees of god Siddhavaṭṭanātha.⁴ The benediction at the end of the present record to the effect that *Māhēśvaram* should develop and spread has a special bearing in this context since *Māhēśvaram* signifies some exclusive tenets of the Śaiva faith and practice⁵ allied to or identical with the *Pāṭupata* doctrines. Gangaya Sāhaṅī's strong Śaivite persuasion is not only evidenced by this record but also by several more of his at Triparāntakam, the eastern gateway of Śrīśailam. One of them⁶ dated on the very same date as the Machupalle inscription has a benedictory verse at the end commencing with the words, *Sīdham-astu sarva-jagati(tām) parakīra-nirātā bhavantu bhūta-yagāḥ*, etc.

The *śāradāḍi-saṃnyāsins* referred to in the record under study and for whose maintenance Vāsudēva Nāyaka made provision, were evidently a class of mendicant monks residing in the *Malaiyāṅgi-maṭha* at the village. They were following the Śaiva tenets as indicated by the benediction at the end of the record, the significance of which has been pointed out above. Reference to *śāradāḍis* and to similar orders of monkhood like the *tridāḍis* and *śāḍis* are found in inscriptions all over South India. It is noticed that these classes lived in the precincts of both Śiva and Viṣṇu temples.⁷

² An. Rep. on S. I. E., 1940-1943, part II, p. 256.

³ Triparāntakam (Marikapur taluk, Guntur District), Kāṇṇēsuram (Nizam's Dominions) and Alamparam were similarly sanctified as the eastern, the northern and the western gateways of Śrīśailam.

⁴ It may be recalled that another Kalikadapura chief, Ahayamalla, consecrated the temple of Mūlathāna-Pāpariśāḍava in honour of his *Pāṭupata* guru, Tapōdhara Jīvar at Taḍga (first noticed above).

⁵ R. G. Bhandarkar: *Faiths and minor religious systems* (1913), pp. 119 ff.

⁶ S. I. E., Vol. X, No. 346.

⁷ In the temple of Bhakṛavanta-Perumāl at Sōmadēvi, Tirunelveli District, there flourished an institution called the *Vēda-Pyṭhamaṭha* in which lived the holy order of *śāradāḍi-śaṃnyāsins* who recited and expounded the *Sāstras* (No. 344 of 1911 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.). An inscription in the Vēdanārāyaṇa-Perumāl temple at Murappunāḍi alias Pōṣala-Vin-Sōmidēva-chaturvēdīmangalam in the same district records a donation made by the assembly of the village to the deity Narasimha Perumavāmin worshipped in the maṭha of *śāradāḍi-paramaśaṃnyāsins* (No. 435 of 1906 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.). In the *Mūlathāna-Perumāl-maṭha* attached to the temple of Appay (god Nāṭayana) at Sōmadēvi, Tirunelveli District, a number of *tridāḍi-saṃnyāsins* and *parama-śāradāḍis* are stated to have lived (Nos. 667 and 673 of 1916 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.). The same order of *saṃnyāsins* and some *śāḍi-śrīṅgāṇas* were maintained in the Tirunadadāḍi-maṭha attached to the famous Viṣṇu temple at Alagarkūl near Madurai (No. 277 of 1930 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.). In the precincts of the Kōḍāṭṭāra temple at Belagāmi, Mysore State, there flourished the *Kōḍi-maṭha* which afforded shelter to various orders of ascetics like *śāradāḍis*, *śāḍis*, *tridāḍis*, *homas*, *paramaśaṃnyāsins* and of the mendicants arriving from different countries (Ep. Carr., Vol. VII, Shikarpur 102). Madhavaram, a general of Chāḍḍakya Sōmāyara stated to have created an *anāśāḍa-śaṃnyāsa* (home of religious practices) at Nāgarvāḍi (Nagri, Nizam's Dominions) for the *śāradāḍis*, *tridāḍis*, *śāḍis*, *homas*, *paramaśaṃnyāsins* and other spiritual aspirants (*Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1916, p. 47; *Hyd. Arch. Ser.* No. 8, pp. 24, 30, 35).

In the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1912, para. 38, it has been suggested that 'śāradāḍis as distinguished from *tridāḍis* were evidently followers of a school of Vāḍḍava *saṃnyāsins* who carried in their hands a single bamboo rod as an emblem of the order to which they belonged. The *tridāḍis*, on the other hand, carried three bamboo rods as an emblem of the order to which they belonged. The *śāradāḍis*, however, carried three rods tied together into one and belonged to the *Advaita* school of Śaivism.' The difference, however, seems to be based on the conception and practice of *saṃnyāsa* and on the level of asceticism attained by each order along the path of renunciation of the self and the realization of *ātman*. Some Sanskrit texts which mention these orders seem to emphasise only this aspect. For example we have in the *Manu-smṛiti* the verses:

Vāg-dāḍiḥ śaṃnyāḍiḥ kīya-dāḍiḥ-tathā-mira-śaḥ |

Yasya-śaṃnyāḍiḥ buddhaś-śāradāḍiḥ sa ucyate |

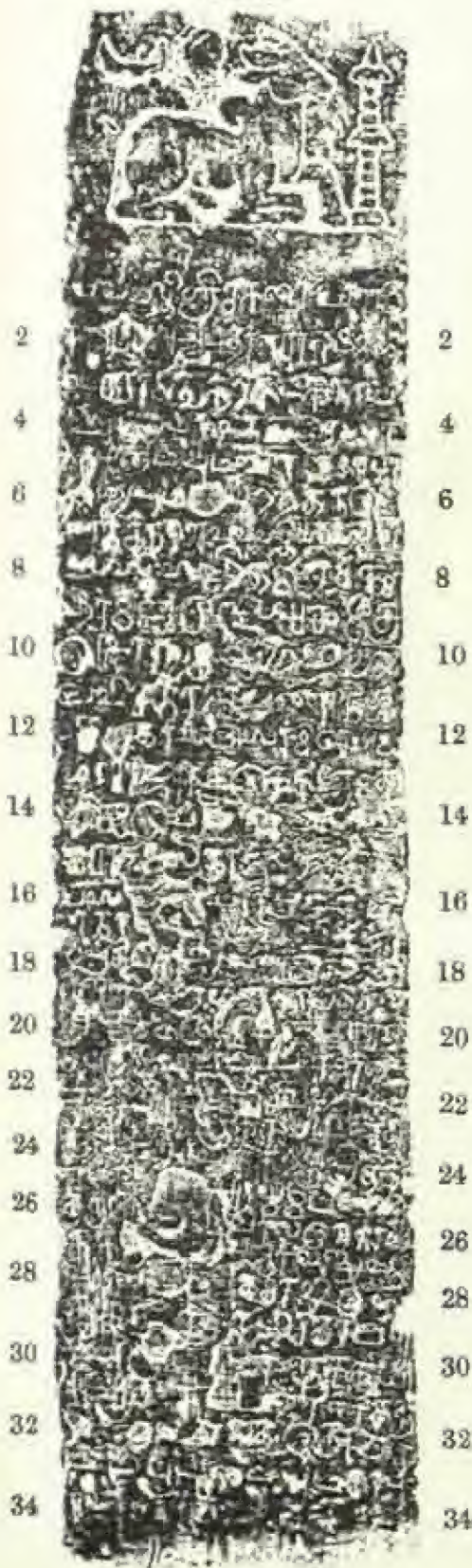
Tridāḍiḥ-paramaśaṃnyāḍiḥ sarva-bhūteṣu māmavah |

Kāya-tridāḍiḥ sa-saṃnyāsaḥ tathā mūlīm nīgacchati || (Canto XII, sv 10 and 11).

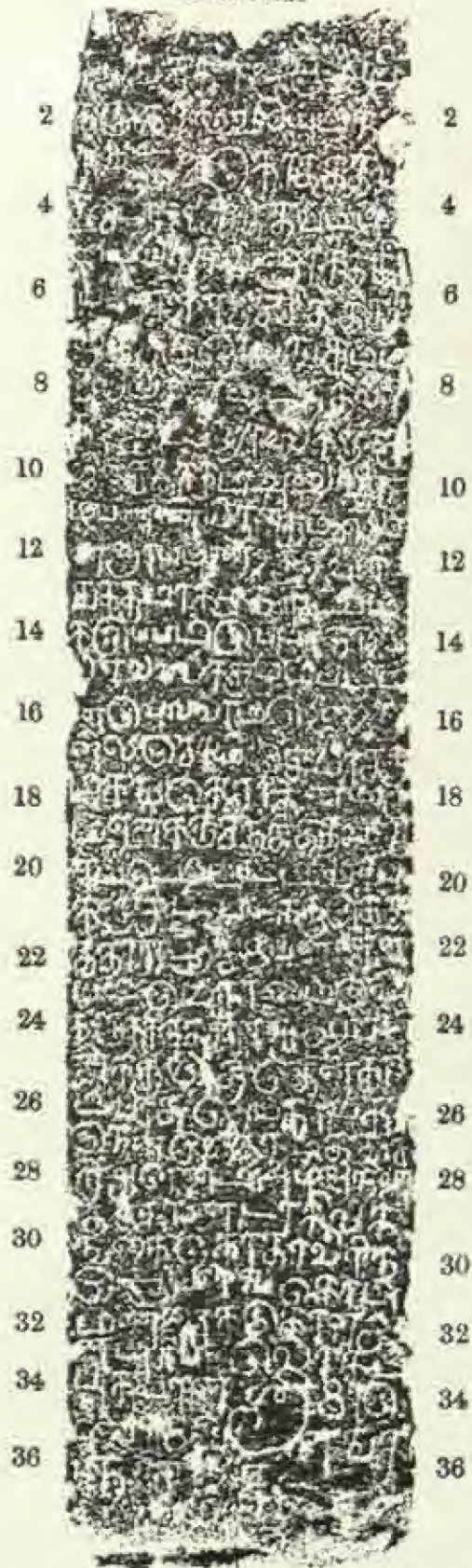
The *Nārada-parivrajaka-upaniṣad* (Pāñcamaṃṣadhik. v. 2 (*Mūlakaṭha* *śāradāḍi-śaṃnyāsins*), Nirvṛtyaṅga ed. 1932, p. 263) says that a man who has *jñāna* as his staff is said to be *śāradāḍi* (*jñāna-darśi* *ātma-jñāna-śāradāḍi* = *uśyate*). Monier Williams defines *śāradāḍi* as the name of a class of monks and of a *Vēdānta* school. He refers to a work called *śāradāḍi-saṃnyāsa-sūtrā* which I am unable to trace. Apra says that *śāradāḍis* are divided into four orders, viz., *śāḍis*, *śāḍis*, *śāḍis*, *śāḍis* and *paramaśaṃnyāsins*, the one following being of higher status (*uśyate*) than the preceding one. Both the *Nārada-parivrajaka-upaniṣad* (p. 272) and the *Śaṃnyāsa-sūtrā* (*uśyate* 2, p. 413) while speaking of *saṃnyāsins* say that they are of six orders, viz., *śāḍis*, *śāḍis*, *śāḍis*, *śāḍis*, *śāḍis*, *śāḍis*, *śāḍis*, *śāḍis* and *śāḍis*, the one following being a higher class of *saṃnyāsa* than the preceding one. The characteristics, i.e., dress, mode of conduct and living, etc., of each order are then detailed.

MACHUPALLE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SOMIDEVA MAHARAJA

First side



Second side



Second Side

1 ppaṅguga[il āru yī-	19 m enakku śand[ī[rādi*]tta-varai
2 kkalaiyūm nī[k]-	20 eppēṭpaṭṭa [prāpti]-
3 kī mīra kottadil	21 ga[um-utpada-]kkuduttu-
4 uḍaiyār Śittavāḷam-ā-	22 ttā(dhā)rā-pūrvam paṇṇa-
5 ḍaiya Nāyanār[k*]ku-ttīru-	23 paḍiyē nāḡum (var-
6 ppa[ī-e]nechehi-tīrm-y-a-	24 ga[ukku-ttā(dhā)rā-pūrvva[m*] paṇ-
7 mudukku oru-paṅgum Ma-	25 ṇi-kkuduttēṅ Kāla-
8 laiyāṇi-maḍattil ē-	26 ḍi Vāsudēva Nāyaka-
9 kadapḍi-sanyāṇigajukku	27 nēṅ [ī*] i-ttanmattuk-
10 bhikṣaṇikkum anuś[ā]ṇa-	28 ku śrēṅum aliṇu ninai-
11 m paṇṇi yirukku[m*] Malaṇḍ[ā*]	29 ttār-ṇṇ[ā]-āḡil Ga-
12 ga-brāṇmaṇḍaṅku jīvaṇṭ-	30 āḡal Gōdāvi(va)ri na-
13 tukku-m-āga mukḡūrum-[ā]	31 ḍu āyitaṇ-gō-bī[ā]-
14 ga ippaḍi ivvūr nār[ā]-	32 maṇarai-kkourā-
15 [ī] ślāḷikkum-utpada ma-	33 ṇ pakka-lōkam
16 [nai]-v(y)-ellām iṭṭrai nā-	34 pūguvān [ī*] Śrī māhā-
17 [il] Sōmudēvarasārn-	35 ēvaram vi[ā]ḡa [ī*]
18 m Gaṅḡa Śāgaṇiyāru-	36 naṇ[ī]-āḡa [ī*]

No. 22—DIVE AGAR MARATHI COPPER CHARTER : SAKA 982.

(1 Plate)

MORESHWAN G. DIXERIT, POONA

This single sheet of a copper plate was obtained by me in the village **Divē Agar**, in the Janjira area of the Bombay State, through the courtesy of Shri. S. N. Joshi-Patwardhan, a resident of the village, in May 1919. It is reported to have been found by a farmer while digging for earth in his *vāḍi*. The plate measures about 6½ inches broad and 3½ inches high, and has a small hole in the middle of the margin on its proper left, through which a copper ring is passed. The ring is quite plain and does not bear traces of a seal. It is possible that a blank sheet of copper, now missing, was strung on this ring which held them both together, though the inscription on the extant plate is complete in itself.

The inscription consists of 9 lines of writing in characters of the Nāgarī alphabet, current in the 11th century. Influence of the southern alphabet may be traced in the forms of a few letters, e.g., *ṇ* in l. 3. We may also note the southern forms of the numerals 9 and 7 in lines 1 and 6.

The language of the inscription is early Marāṭhī. As regards orthography there are several points which attract our attention. Though *sa* and *śa* are generally very well distinguished throughout the record, the occasional use of *sa* for *śa* is to be noted as in *सर्व्वरी* in line 1 and *सासन* in line 3. The *prashtha-mātrā* is used to denote medial *ai* in several places; but not so in medial *i*, except in line 9 where it is used thrice. The abbreviations are indicated by a small circle and a

visarga in line 5 where सु० गाः stands for सुवर्ण गद्याणकाः; and it is interesting to see that the word preceding the *visarga* is lengthened as गा. In line 6 सुर्वः appears to be the abbreviated form of सुवर्णः. The doubling of consonants is seen in the words सव्वरी (line 1), मार्गमिर (line 2), and सुवर्णः (lines 5 and 9).

From the linguistic point of view the following peculiarities may be noticed. There is a distinct tendency towards *anulisation* in certain words as in स्थितिपुरिची in line 2, सासनं in line 3, ठवियलं in line 5 and ठवियलं in line 6. The *anusvara* is used to denote the plural in the case of सासनं in line 3; but in the words प्रमुक्खं स्थानं it indicates the subject in the instrumental case. The use of redundant *visarga* is noted twice, पामेः in line 5 and दावोदरः in line 6. Certain nouns have u endings as in संवत् in line 1, योगक्षेम in line 7 and देवत्वं in line 9. These and other peculiarities characterise this early record in the Marāṭhī language.

The date of the inscription is given as Śaka Sāhvat 982, Śārvārī, Paurṇamāsī of Mārgaśīrṣa, Friday. This date¹ regularly corresponds to Friday, 10th November, A. D. 1060.

A short one-line inscription² carved at the base of the colossal statue of Gōmajēśvara at Srāvāṇa Belgola, in the Mysore State, is supposed to be the earliest record in the Marāṭhī language discovered so far. Though not precisely dated, this inscription is attributed to about A. D. 983 from the mention of Chāvūḍarāya, a minister of the Gaṅga king Rāchamalla, found in this inscription. Comparatively very few records in Marāṭhī have been handed down to us till about the Śilāhāra-Yāśava period, whose language is a mixture of Sanskrit and early Marāṭhī. After about A. D. 1200 inscriptions in Marāṭhī become a regular feature in Mahārāṣṭra, but great difficulty is experienced in deciphering them because of the bad preservation of the stone on which they are generally found incised. Only a few amongst these have been critically edited,³ though their readings are not free from doubt. For want of accurate data the development of the Marāṭhī language through its successive stages therefore still remains a desideratum and our knowledge of early Marāṭhī records before the 12th century does not extend beyond about six or seven inscriptions published so far. In view of this the present charter in Marāṭhī which is fairly lengthy and sufficiently well preserved will be found to be much useful.

The inscription records a private deed. It states that on the aforementioned day, two *śāstans* (charters) regarding (the village) Sthūtipurī were kept with one Māvala-bhaṭṭa by the village assembly (*sthāna*)⁴ headed by Yāśudēva-bhaṭṭa, Vāyā Shadaṅgavi, Rāyappa (Haisāsa and Sūhū Shadaṅgavi). Further, one hundred and twenty seven *śasṛṅas* (=Lādyāṅka coins) were kept with Dāyōdara; (which was the expense) for the maintenance (*yōga-kṣhēma*) of the assembly. This (deed) was known to Rāya-pai, Pāṇḍya-dēva Shadaṅgavi, Tika Shadaṅgavi, Jivāṇai, Nāgaruṃra-bhaṭṭa, Madhuvai Shadaṅgavi and Madhuvaya Dēvalu, of Divā. The inscription ends with a sentence stating that whatever *śasṛṅa* (i.e., the amount in gold) was specified, it was along with a *bhāṅga*. The exact meaning of the last word cannot be construed satisfactorily.

Though the inscription does not furnish any information of historical interest, it throws valuable light on the administration of the local village assemblies; and how certain important transactions were recorded in the period. It will be seen from it that two important charters

¹ Pillal, *Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. III, p. 123.

² *Ep. Carv.*, Vol. II, No. 479; *ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 166.

³ The Marāṭhī text of these inscriptions consists of a few words or sentences in that language; the major portion is mainly Sanskrit.

⁴ (See below, p. 123 n. 5.—Ed.)

TEXT.¹

- 1 ग्रो² स्वस्ति शक संवत् ६८२ सर्व्वरी³ सवत्सरे मा-
 2 नोसिर पौष्णमास्यां शुक्ले ॥ श्रीस्थितिपुरिची दो-
 3 नि सासनं⁴ वामुदेवभट्ट वाये⁵ पडंगवि रिसियप्प⁶
 4 धेसास सीधु⁷ पडंगवि एतत्प्रमुखं स्थानं मावलम-
 5 ट्टपासे⁸ ठवियली ॥ तथा सातावीसे शत मुवण्णं⁹ द-
 6 वोदरः पासि¹⁰ ठवियलें । सु० राः¹¹ १२७ सुव्वं सोगळे-
 7 मु स्थानहचा¹² । दीवेचे रिसियप¹³ पौवदेव¹³ पडंगवि-
 तिके
 8 पडंगवि जीवणं तामरुद्धभट्ट मधुवें पडंगवि मधुव-
 9 य देवसु हे जाणति । जें मुवण्णं लिहलें तें कांठेअ.¹⁴
 समेतः ॥

¹ From the original plate.² Expressed by a symbol.³ Read शार्व्वरी.⁴ Read सासनं.⁵ If भट्टवाये is read together, it would stand for Sanskrit भट्टपाद in which case वामुदेव भट्टवाम would be the name of one person, and not two, as indicated in the introduction.⁶ A short vertical stroke is visible below प which may stand for प्प.⁷ The * ending is common for proper names in Mahāśāstrā even now, e.g., राम is often changed to राम्.⁸ The * sign is unnecessary.⁹ Read दामोदरापासि.¹⁰ Abbreviation of सुवर्णमण्डपका. It would have been difficult to recognise this if the same numeral figure were not expressed in words in the previous line.¹¹ For स्थानाचा.¹² This may be ऋषियप्प or ऋषि पै. Pai is a well known surname among the Śaivite Brahmins. For other instances of the use of this appellation, see Bhandarkar plates of Śilahāra Chhattarāja, above, Vol. XII, p. 263, Berlin Museum plates of Chhattarāja, Z. D. M. G., IX, p. 265 and other Śilahāra inscriptions.¹³ Sanskrit पद्मदेव ; पद्मदेव—पद्मदेव—पौवदेव—पौवदेव.¹⁴ I am unable to explain the word कांठेअ. Its connection with मुवण्णं is certain. Taking the word कां as the prefix (ka-mūrdh) for the following abstract ठे and assuming the word as कंठेअ, it is possible to suggest that the gold coins were perhaps strung in a necklace or कंठा. But it is clear from the context that the coins were intended for use and not for ornamental purpose. Another suggestion would be that कांठे was a kind of vessel in which the coins were kept. I am however not certain about either of these interpretations.

८ स्वासराक संवत् ७८ २ सवर्षे गी संवत् संवत्
 ९ श्री (सिगापो) श्रीमां श्री शुक्र ॥ श्री शुक्रि नि पु गी श्री दो
 १० हि सायकें वा शुद्धेय रुट्टो दो छट्टे ग वि (सिग) न
 ११ प्रो सायमी दुष्टा देग वि पत्त च मु र्वे सु कें मा पु ल २
 १२ ट्टा सैः ठ वि यं ले ॥ त वा सना गी सै य न सु य ल ३ दा
 १३ जो द नः पा सि ठ वि यं ले ॥ सु यं ॥ १२ सु र्वे ॥ यी य रु
 १४ मु स्ना न रु सा दी ये ये नि सि य पि पां व द व द ड वि नि के
 १५ स दे ग वि ही रालि ना या रु ड रु ट म पु वि छ ई या वि म पु व
 १६ दा दे व ल रु जाल ति ॥ हि सु य ल वि द ले ति कां ठ म स ल त्का

No. 23—PESHAWAR POTSHERDS WITH KHAROSHTHI WRITINGS

(I Plate)

B. CH. CHHABRA, DODGAMUND

In September 1945, Mr. Md. Waliullah Khan, at that time one of the Sub-Overseers attached to the then office of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Frontier Circle, Lahore,¹ under the direction of this latter officer, sent me twentyfour potsherds from Peshawar. They bear the Register Numbers 1249/1 to 1249/17, 1249/19 to 1249/24, and 1249/26. Their exact findspot is not known, but most probably they were found in the vicinity of Peshawar itself.

These potsherds are of various dimensions. No. I is the smallest of the lot, its extreme length being $1\frac{1}{2}$ ", extreme breadth $1\frac{1}{4}$ ", and thickness $\frac{1}{4}$ ". No. XXIII is the biggest, its extreme length being $7\frac{1}{2}$ ", extreme breadth 4", and thickness varying from $\frac{1}{2}$ " to $\frac{3}{8}$ ". They vary in texture also. Besides, no two pieces can be dovetailed. Judging from their curvatures, all except two are fragments of biggish pots or pitchers. The two exceptions are Nos. XVIII and XXIV. Both of them exhibit a superior finish. The former is evidently a fragment of a thin platter, painted red both inside and outside. The latter is likewise a piece of a deep cup or beaker.

No. XXIV is exceptional in another respect, too. The writing on it, consisting of five clear letters, is 'incised', whereas on all the other pieces it is 'painted'. The 'incision' was done obviously with a stylus or some other sharp instrument while the object was still wet after it had been turned out from the potter's wheel, whereas the 'painting' was done on the baked and finished products.

As is to be expected, the inscription on No. XXIV is very distinct, while the painted writings have very much faded. The faint traces of the latter could be deciphered with great difficulty. In order to make out the contour of individual letters, I had to moisten repeatedly the 'painted' surface of each piece with a wet sponge. The same method was followed by the draftsman, Mr. S. N. A. Subrahmanya Mudaliar, the Photographer of my office, who is responsible for the drawings reproduced here. It may be seen from the accompanying photographic reproductions of some of the pieces that the traces of the painted writings are, except in a few cases, mostly indiscernible.

Their fragmentary nature does not allow us to draw any far-reaching conclusions. It is, however, clear from some of them, especially from Nos. IX, X, XII, XX, and XXIII, that the pots containing these inscriptions belonged to a Buddhist establishment. The name *Buddhamitra*, occurring on No. XXIV, is also quite consistent with that. The name actually must be *Buddhamitra*, the form *budha* being due to Prakrit influence.

Below I offer my readings of these fragmentary inscriptions and comments on them.

I

This sherd contains faint traces of two almost complete letters that can be read as:

sa dha

There is just a very small remnant of another letter after the second letter, but it is too small to be recognized as a part of a particular letter. The first letter seems to have a slanting stroke over its right side, but it is comparatively thin and may not be a part of the writing.

The reading *sa dha* recalls to mind the name of an individual *Sudhala*, that occurs in one of the minor Kharoshthi inscriptions from Taxila (see *C. I. I.*, II, 100, Inscribed gold ring, pl. XX-1).

¹ Mr. Md. Waliullah Khan is now the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Pakistan Circle, Lahore.

II

This piece has three letters the first of which is slightly destroyed at the top. They read :

a da na

The form of *na* shows a later development. It may be referred to the Kushāna period, i.e., about 2nd century A. D.

No sense can be made of the extant portion of the record. The last two letters, however, suggest that they are the first two letters of the word *danamukhe* 'gift' which so frequently occur in donative Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. One of the three earthen jars with similar painted inscriptions discovered at Pālāpū Dherī mound, now in the Peahawar Museum, has this expression (see *C. I. I.*, II, 121, Pl. XXIII-1a). On the analogy of this we may surmise that the present sherd is a piece of a pot which was a religious gift by an individual whose name is lost.

III

But for a small irregular spot of black paint about the centre showing that this piece also had some writing on it, it has now no writing left on it. The whole writing seems to have been washed clean.

IV

This piece contains remnants of three letters. The upper portion of the first letter is gone, but what remains of it suggests that it might have been a *sa* with its loop filled up. The second letter is mostly blurred. It may be a *da* or a *dha*, but in either case the form would be unusual. The third letter is almost entirely gone.

V

This potsherd has the upper portion of one letter, which is to be read as :

khe

It is very faint, but can be read when moisture is applied to the piece. There is a small trace of another letter below the left limb of *khe*, but it cannot be recognized. The reading *khe* is suggestive of *danamukhe* 'gift'. And possibly the pot was a gift by an individual. This may be compared with No. 2 above.

VI

This piece contains very small upper portion of six letters, none of which can be read with any certainty. The loop of the second suggests it to be an *a*. The last one is most probably an *a*, too. Almost completely gone.

VII

This potsherd has five letters. Bottoms of the first three have been destroyed. The fourth is complete and the fifth is only partly preserved. They read :

a ra ga to[cha]

The third letter shows a stroke on the top to its right, but a careful examination showed that it is not joined with the letter *ga* and is not meant to be a part of this syllable. Again, applying moisture shows the inscription more distinctly.

No interpretation of the extant portion of the record can be suggested at this stage. Compare, however, No. XII below.

PESHAWAR POTSHERDS WITH KHAROSHTHI WRITINGS.



XIII



XXIV



XI and XII



(From Photographs)

VIII

This piece contains only two letters, both clear enough. They read:

pha u

The letter *pha* is distinct, only its arm on the left is a little longer than usual. The two letters may be a name of a person, derived from *Phalga* (→ *Phaga* > *Phaū*).

IX

This sherd has three letters. They read:

sa ghe cha

The second letter looks more like *ge*, but it is taken for granted that it had a hook attached to its right to the lower end of the vertical which is now mostly effaced.

The preserved portion is almost identical with the beginning of another potsherd inscription (No. 444 of the Peshawar Museum, *C. I. I.*, II, 63, Pl. XII-3; cf. also *ibid.* 121, Pl. XXIII-1a) which is likewise fragmentary but which has at least seven letters preserved, reading:

saṅghe chaṭudīte Ka

In the light of this, the present inscription may also be translated as:

'in the Saṅgha (of the four quarters)'.

X

This piece contains six complete letters and a very small remnant, in the beginning, of another.¹ They are very faint, but can be read by applying moisture to the surface. The last two are decidedly *gra ha*. The preceding one looks like *ro* but it is possibly *ri*, the upper end of the medial *i* stroke having been effaced. And what precedes it is *pa*. Thus this is a complete word *parigraha*. The first two letters are *ga na*, evidently the plural genitive of a word ending in *ga*, such as *gaṇa*. The reading is thus:

... *ga na parig(r)aha* 'in the acceptance of...'

This may be compared with the final expression of the Wardak vase inscription of the year 51 (*C.I.I.*, II, 170, Pl. XXXIII): *Mahasaṅghigaṇa parigraha*.

The present inscription may also be taken to end with the word *parigraha* itself, though what preceded cannot be restored now.

XI

This potsherd has six signs. The first is only partially preserved. It cannot be read with certainty, but judging from the extant remnant, it might have been *kha*. The second letter is comparatively very small and faint. It looks like a *dha*. The third is decidedly a *saṃ*, though a portion of the subscript *m* is gone. The fourth syllable, though perfect, is rather unusual. Its upper part is that of *y* and the subscript is either a *y* or a *m*, or possibly the whole combination is meant to denote some other sound. The fifth letter is *mi*, with the stroke of the medial *i* abnormally long and its lower end bending towards the left—rather uncommon features. The last letter is obviously a *cha*, though its lower half is gone. The whole may thus read:

[*kha*] *dha*(?) *saṃ gya* (or *gah*) *mi cha*

It is not possible to make out any sense of this, though presumably we have a reference here to a *saṅgha* 'Buddhist congregation'. Or is it perhaps a personal name *Saṅghamicha* (*Saṅghamitra*)?

¹ Owing to the faint nature of the writing, the draftsman has mixed several strokes with the result that his drawing has not come out perfect.

XII

This fragment contains eight signs, the last two of which are only partly preserved and the first has its lower portion broken off. They read :

n[e] aroḡadaḡaḡ[i][sae]

Since the extant portion contains a well known formula, that frequently occurs in certain dedicatory Kharoḡabḡhī inscriptions, the missing portions of the letters can easily be supplied. Thus the first letter must have been a *no*, showing a word in the genitive singular. The sign of the medial *i* in *kṣhi* has evidently been rubbed off and what follows must be read as *pas* to complete the expression. It means 'for the bestowal of health upon'. Compare *C.I.I.*, II, 77, text lines 3 and 5.

XIII

This potsherd has five complete letters and the vertical stroke of another at the end, which is not recognizable. They read :

dī pa ma na a [ra ?]

It is not possible to explain this inscription at present.

XIV

This piece has two complete letters, and traces of two letters one in the beginning and one at the end. They can be read :

[da] kṣhi na [e]

Most probably here again we had the same formula as occurs in No. XII above, namely *aroḡa daḡaḡaḡ*.

XV

This piece contains faint traces of three letters the first and the last of which are partly destroyed. They seem to read :

[da] sa [āra]

No sense can be made out.

XVI

The inscription on this piece is also too fragmentary to yield any sense. It has traces of five letters, only the middle three have greater portions preserved and can be read as :

... *pa a sa* ...

XVII

The inscription of this potsherd is completely gone; only a part of the stroke of some letters is now visible to show that the piece contained some writing.

XVIII

This sherd has very faint traces of some letters, two of which can be read as :

sa la

These are preceded by remnants of another letter now no longer legible. What follows these two letters is almost completely obliterated.

XIX

This has three letters, the first of which is mostly destroyed but may have been an *a*. The inscription reads :

[a]ma dī

The arms of *ma* are abnormally long.

XX

This piece has the beginning of an epigraph—the blank space on the right shows that no writing has been lost in the beginning. The extant portion has four almost complete letters and remnants of a fifth. They read :

Saṅghe ando...

The *e*-stroke in *ghe* is ornamentally treated. The next letter is partly effaced, but it is most probably a *so*. The first word means 'in the *saṅgha* or congregation', while it is difficult to say what follows it.

XXI

This fragment has remnants of about six letters only three of which (first, second and fifth) can be read with some confidence.

shye cha... be...

No sense can be made out.

XXII

The inscription on this piece is almost completely obliterated. Two of the letters towards the end can be read as :

wa so

This piece has a sign consisting of three triangles embossed near the neck of the pot, which may be an Armenian character.

XXIII

This piece has also the so-called Armenian character near the neck of the pot.

The Kharōṣṭhī painted inscription is mostly damaged, but it ends in :

danamukhe

Only the upper part of the last syllable is preserved. While the form of *ma* is peculiar, it is met with in certain known Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions. The word *danamukhe* means 'the gift'.

XXIV

While the inscriptions on the other fragments are all painted, the one on this piece is engraved. It has the concluding part of an inscription ; or perhaps the extant part is the complete inscription itself. The space left blank after the last letter shows that in any case nothing has been lost at the end. It clearly reads :

Budhamitram

It can be translated as ' [This cup is] of Budhamitra '.

No. 24—SANGSI MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

Sāṅsai is a village about five miles from Gagan Bāvā in the Kolhapur District of the Bombay State. It is not known when, but it must be several decades ago, at least, that a slab of stone

bearing sculptures in relief and an inscription, was unearthed in a field near the village. As the sculptures depict the funeral scene of a woman, it was readily believed that it constituted a *sati* memorial. Later on, the slab appears to have been removed to the spot where it now stands, about two miles east from Gagan Bāvdā and 35 miles west from Kolhāpur, and a crude temple constructed over it. A tradition grew around in course of time attributing it to the memory of a woman who committed *sati* long ago.

At the instance of Mr. N. G. Pandit Rao, the then Public Relations Officer of the Kolhapur State, Dr. H. D. Sankalia and Dr. M. G. Dikshit, both of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, visited the site in 1946 and copied the inscription. These two scholars, who will hereafter be referred to as SD for the sake of brevity, have published a note on the preliminary findings of their discovery in the *Modern Review*, Calcutta, March 1947 (pp. 213-15), and a fuller study of the inscription, as also of the sculptures, in the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, December 1948.¹ Subsequently Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, Officiating Government Epigraphist for India, visited Sāngal in December 1949, and took a photograph of the tablet and stampages of the inscription.²

On account of the erroneous notion created by the local tradition apparently supported by the sculptural representation and owing to imperfections in the decipherment of the epigraph, SD were led to believe that the stele commemorated the performance of the rite of *sati* by a lady after the demise of her husband, and consequently their observations are vitiated by this prepossession. But the facts, as we shall presently see, are different.³ In view of these considerations and the importance of the inscription for securing glimpses of the political and social conditions of the locality in ancient times, it was thought necessary to edit it in the pages of this journal. So I am editing it here with the kind permission of Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, who generously furnished me with the necessary facilities.⁴

The slab measures approximately 6 feet in height and 4 feet in breadth. It is broader and angular at the base and somewhat curved towards the top. As a result of the various damage, the sculptures and the inscription have been obliterated in several parts. In the lower portion and about the middle of the stone is the portrait of a lady, in relief, lying down at full length on a funeral pyre surrounded by flames and some attendants. Immediately above this group and across the slab runs the inscription. Higher up in the top portion are a few more carvings.

The inscription consists of two lines. The characters belong to the southern class of alphabet and evince 'box-head' features, the 'boxes' being solid. Close resemblance may be traced between them and those of the Tālagunda pillar inscription⁵ of Kākāthavarman of the early Kadamba family. Two letters, however, have certain peculiarities deserving notice here. The *l* of the Tālagunda inscription is made up by a curve joined to the vertical stroke and the two arms of the curve can be distinguished, the left one being more pronounced. But in the present record the upright stroke stretches right up to the bottom and the angular curve stands affixed all towards the left. Similar is the case with *n*. Whereas the *n* of the former epigraph is constituted of a looped curve emerging from the bottom of a straight line, that of the latter has its curve with more developed loop attached exclusively to the lower left side of the vertical stroke. The final *l* occur-

¹ Pages 161-166, with a good photograph of the entire stele and separate facsimile of the inscription.

² The inscription is numbered 269 of the A.R.E. for the year 1949-50.

³ The record expressly states that the memorial was erected by a king in honour of his deceased wife. This correct position was noticed for the first time by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra and Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao : *Archæology in India* (1950), p. 161. Mr. S. K. Dikshit has also pointed it out independently : *Ann. Bh. Or. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 291-92. After this article was prepared it was found that the late Dr. Fleet had noticed this inscription before : *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part 3, p. 286, n. 1.

⁴ I am also indebted to Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao for his kind suggestions in the study.

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 24 ff. and Plate.

ring once in line 1 is represented by the lower part of the letter without the top knot, engraved in miniature size in the lower space.

In regard to **orthography** the following peculiarities, though not unusual in the present record, may be noted. The consonant following *r* is doubled, e.g., in 'ār=yyā and bhāryyā, line 1. In 'āstham, line 2, the reduplicated aspirate has been changed to its corresponding surd, as required by the grammatical rules. The *anuvāra*, even at the end of a word, has occasionally been involved into *anudhi* and changed to the class nasal of the following letter of the next word : e.g., in *puṇyā-nāḥ=pari-*, *ajuras=toṣy-* and *soḥyaṇ=ari-*, line 2. The entity of *anuvāra* has been retained in the following instances ; *divaṁ prītyā* and *-sthāpitam chaitya-*, line 2.

The **language** is Sanskrit and the whole record comprises one single verse in the *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. The first two *pādas* of the verse are accommodated in the first line and the next two in the second. Some space indicating the end of a *pāda* is left after the first and the third *pādas* which end in the middle of the line. The **poetry** is of the ornate classical order with a melodious ring about it.

The inscription commences with an auspicious spiral-like symbol which seems to stand for *Om*. Next comes, what I am inclined to assume it to be, the name proper of the king : because the latter part of the expression is clearly *lācchana* which means 'a name' also. This name is constituted of four *akṣaras* beginning with *Pu*. As suggested in a foot-note later, the name can be restored as *Pushpāyudha*. But since it is not advisable to venture a surmise, I would prefer to refer to the king hereafter by the initial letter *Pu*, only. Next we are introduced to the king's wife by name *Hālidēvi*.¹ The second *pāda* whose latter part is lost, seems to state that the lady had captured the heart of her husband by her virtuous conduct. The third *pāda* refers to her death when she was still young. Here the poet, indulging in a fancy, describes that she went to heaven to guard, as it were, the treasure of her accumulated merits.² The last *pāda* informs that the memorial tablet of stone was set up with due ceremony³ by the king himself out of affection for her.

The epigraph is not dated and so in order to ascertain its probable date we have to fall back on the evidence of palaeography which is our only guide in the present instance. As observed above, the characters of this record show a remarkable similarity with those of the Tālagunda pillar inscription. From the reference to *Sāntivarman*, son of *Kāknathavarman* in the latter record, it has to be assumed that it was drafted and engraved during the former's reign. Now *Sāntivarman*'s reign has been assigned to the middle of the 5th century A. D.⁴ Hence we might place our epigraph about A.D. 500.

Thus it becomes clear that the inscription under study constitutes an epitaph perpetuating the name of a distinguished lady who pre-deceased her royal husband and the installation of the memorial in her honour by the latter ; and no grounds whatsoever exist for the assumption that the stele comprises a *sati* memorial. This fact, though true, is rather unique. We are familiar in the areas of the Deccan and Kānājak with such sculptured memorials as speak of heroes who laid their lives for a sacred cause and of men and women who courted death after the demise of

¹ This name is peculiar and rarely met with. It reminds me of another similar name *Hāla*, of a *Sātavāhana* king. I am not sure if this can be connected with Sanskrit *kālā* meaning 'a plough'.

² In order to guard the treasure it is necessary that one should be strong and young in spirits. It is therefore in the fitness of things that the lady repaired to heaven in her youth.

³ The expression *an-sthāpitam* in the text literally means 'was installed in the proper manner'. This phrase is significant and I am inclined to believe that the memorial tablet must have been originally installed and preserved in a well-constructed shrine by the king himself. The shrine might have fallen to ruin in course of time, thus exposing the stele which came to be buried under the earth wherefrom it was rescued.

⁴ George M. Moraes, *Kedārga Kula*, p. 72 ; N. Lakshminarayana Rao and R. S. Pancharukhi, *Karapāṭaka Arasumanētanagala*, p. 15 ; *A New History of Indian People*, p. 238, etc.

their masters and lords or under a religious vow. These generally date from the period of the 7-8th century onwards. But here is a singular instance, perhaps the first and the only one of its kind, known so far, that stands out as a welcome departure from the usual convention. Further, its early age lends importance to its unique nature.

After reviewing the contents of the epigraph, we may revert for a while to the sculptures on stone which are inseparably associated with it. The art of moulding images in plastic material was known to the civilization of the Indus Valley¹ and the history of Indian sculpture may be traced from that early age. The early creations seem to have been religious in origin and design and they generally formed part of a monument in stone or were scooped out in rocks of hills. Portrait sculpture as a secular art does not seem to have been cultivated independently by Indian artists and the few available instances of portraits² depicting royal devotees or distinguished personalities, associated with religious constructions, may be taken to prove the truth of the above statement. Under these circumstances, the present piece of sculpture on a detached slab deserves a noteworthy place in the account of Indian sculpture, particularly that of the Deccan region.

The funeral scene is well laid amidst consuming fire and a few devout followers of the lady. In their refined execution, clarity of expression, wealth of details and general impressiveness, the figures of the lady and attendants compare favourably with the early sculptures of Bharhut and Amarāvati on one side and later ones of Ajantā and Bādāmi on the other.³ The realistic nature of the scene may be judged from the fact that out of three followers, one is seen seated firmly facing the ordeal of fire and another is shown fleeing away unable to stand its blaze. The figures above the inscription, which are largely obliterated, represented, in all probability, the heavenly scene, as is usually noticed on the memorial slabs of *satis* and heroines of later period.

No details regarding the place or family of king Pu... are mentioned in the epigraph. But it would be, perhaps, too much to expect them in an epitaph of the kind. During the period represented by the inscription, the rulers of the early Kadamba house were still powerful and their sway extended as far as the area of the Belgaum District⁴ in the north. We are not sure if the Kolhāpur region also was included in their territory. At this time the area of the Sātārā District and the tract further north were under the administration of the Rāshtrakūṭa princes of Mānapura.⁵ There is no indication to assume whether king Pu... was a subordinate ruler under either of these. Or as is more plausible, he was maintaining a semi-independent status, his chiefdom being situated in a corner on the border of and in between the two above-named kingdoms. The headquarters of this chiefdom lay, most probably, not far away from the provenance of the memorial tablet.

TEXT*

1. Om [*] Śrī-Pu⁶ - ◡ ◡ [lā]ñchhanasya nripatōr-yyā Hāḷī⁷dēv-ity-abhāt bhāryyā sac-
charitōna bhā[ṭ]ṭri⁸ ◡ ◡ - - - ◡ - - - ◡

¹ St. Kramlich: *Indian Sculpture*, Plate 1.

² T. G. Ayyanathan: *Portrait Sculpture in South India*. Also compare, above, Vol. XXI, pp. 4-5 where references to *śatās* in the Pratihara-*śatās* and *guru-śatās* in the Mathurā pillar inscription are discussed.

³ *Indian Sculpture* (op. cit.), Plates (v, xii, xxiv, xxv, etc.

⁴ Hāḷī in this district was an important seat of the early Kadamba power and inscriptions of the early Kadamba rulers issued from this place indicate the extent of their authority over this region: *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 22-24, 28 and 30; etc.

⁵ *Ann. Bā. Or. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 38-42.

⁶ From the inscription.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ The subscript of the second *śatās* of this expression which appears to be a personal name, might be *p*. So the name may be restored either as Puṣhpadyūtha or Puṣhpadyāja to suit the metre. Of these the former is preferable as it appears to be familiar.

⁹ The metre requires that the second syllable of this name be *li*.

¹⁰ This *śatās* might be *śrī* some traces of which are seen. If so, the word may possibly be restored as *śrīśatās*.

SANGSI MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION



(From a Photograph)

2 puṇyā[nā]m-parirakṣan-ārtham-ajñān-tasyā gatyā² [dī]varā prītyā śālam-īdadh
 avayam(ya)n-nīpati[nā]³ sam⁴sthāpitam ch[aityakaṁ]⁵ [I]⁶.

TRANSLATION

Hail! This funereal memorial in stone has been installed by the king himself—the king bearing the illustrious appellation¹ Pu... out of affection for his (beloved) queen Hālidēvi who (having won the heart of) her lord by her noble character, repaired to heaven before the advent of old age, to guard (assiduously, as it were,) the (accumulated treasure of her) religious merits.

No. 25—AN INSCRIBED POT AND OTHER BUDDHIST REMAINS IN SALIHUNDAM

(4 Plates and 1 text figure)

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN, CALCUTTA

The latest accessions to our knowledge of the schools of Buddhist art, architecture and iconography in general and of South Indian epigraphy in particular have been contributed by the discovery in Āndhra-dēśa, of a number of Buddhist sculptures, *stūpas* or *mahāchaityas*, *chaityas* or prayer-cells or halls and *vihāras* or monasteries, dug up at Nāgārjunakonda in the Guntur District, Kāpavaram and Ailuppu in the East Godavari District, and Sālihundām,⁷ Śaṅkarām and Rāmatirtham in the Vizagapatam District.⁸ On the hill at Sālihundām, overlooking the river Vainśadhārā and the Bay of Bengal, 3 miles farther down, was discovered a curious but very interesting monastic orientation (plates I and II) with a high apical *chaitya* on the summit of the hill crowning the hill, as it were (plate I-c), a circular or wheel-like *mahāchaitya* behind it with bricks laid flat on its entire surface instead of the usual, spokes and hub arrangement that one meets with in the Āndhra *stūpas* (plates I-a, b, plate III-a), and with the regular monastery and smaller *chaityas*, two of them *Buddha-chaityas* and votive *stūpas* scattered on the sides and slopes of the hill (plate II). As at Maināmati (Madanāvati) and Lālmāi in East Bengal, where the author of this article had to save a large and rich site⁹ from Military depredation and spoliation, the discoveries here are the results of a hurried survey and excavation by the author necessitated by

¹ This *śākhā* is lost; but it must be without doubt *śā*.

² The *śākhā* *ji* is not properly engraved.

³ There are dots, one above the letter *gn* and another towards left above *y*⁴. If these are construed as misplaced *manaseras* of *ṣṣ* and *pō*, the reading would be *kyāpō* *gōṣṣṣṣ*. This can be taken as a clause in *anti* *suphā* and will yield quite a good sense. But it is better to take these dots as only flaws in the stone, for the *manaseras* proper are larger and circular; cf., *śa*=*śā* and *ṣṣ*=*ṣṣ* in the same line.

⁴ The letter *dī* is damaged and not sufficiently clear. But it can be restored with confidence.

⁵ The letter *śā* is lost; but it can be confidently restored.

⁶ The *manasera* of *śam* appears to have been wrongly placed above the next *śākhā* *śhā*.

⁷ The second *śākhā* of this word is partly preserved and the last one is restored suitably.

⁸ It is not unlikely that the name of the king was simply Kīmadēva and the composer elaborately paraphrased it as *Paripāyudha* to make it more poetic and for the convenience of metre.

⁹ A brief reference to the finds at Sālihundām was made by the writer in his Presidential address to the Archaeology Section of the 13th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, October 1946, p. 14 and in his address at the Silver Jubilee Session of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry, April 1948, p. 31. [Mr. A. H. Longhurst has described the Buddhist ruins of Sālihundām in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Southern Circle, Madras*, for the year 1919-20, pp. 34-38. The site has already yielded some inscriptions of about the 7th or 8th century A.C. (Nos. 338-342 of the Madras Epigraphical collection of 1919). The *śākhā*, etc., described in the present article are, however, subsequent discoveries.—Ed.]

¹⁰ Sālihundām is now included in the Śeṭṭhākūlam (Chiesole) Taluk of the district of the same name.

¹¹ B. C. Law *Pots*, part II, Poona, 1946, pp. 212-231.

large-scale spoliation of the hill for bricks, building material and road material in which, strange to say, the P. W. D. took a leading part. The survey was commenced in 1943-44 and continued in 1946-47 and it may not be out of place here if such of the structures as were saved and antiquities as were salvaged are very briefly described in this article. It is of great interest that crystal reliquaries shaped like *stūpas*, with gold relics in them in the shape of flowers (*śaṅkha-puṣpa*), were found in the *mahāchaitya* behind the apsidal *chaitya* on the crown of the Sālihunḍām hill (plate III-b, c).

The chaitya : (plate I-c)—Though the *chaitya* on the top of the hill is actually in ruins, one can judge from its remains that it stood to a considerable height, and being juxtaposed on the topmost and narrowest point of the hill should have been clearly visible from the sea-port of Kalingapatnam which is only three miles away from the hill (plate II-a, c). Evidently, Buddhist pilgrims and merchants came here to offer their tributes from the sea-side along the Vamsadhārā river. The *chaitya*, which is apsidal, still bears its old lime plaster (plate I-c) which glistens in the sun as though it was just finished off. Right in the centre was a votive *stūpa* of lime-stone, the basement of which alone now remains, the rest having been pilfered, as I was told, by treasure-hunters and house-builders.

The mahāchaitya : (plate I-a, b, d ; III-a)—Behind the apsidal *chaitya* lay the *stūpa* or the *mahāchaitya*, of complete brick-work, in the form of a wheel and with bricks laid flat on its surface as one can judge from the existing height of its ruins (plate I-b ; III-a). A few pieces of a curvilinear moulding are all that remain to-day of a lower plinth that faced the *mahāchaitya* at its lowest part or base. Such pieces compare well in their architectural function with what, in the Amarāvati inscriptions, are called ' abatamūla ', a name applied to the lowermost and slightly projecting mouldings of the rail of the Amarāvati *stūpa*. This *stūpa* appears to have been the most important one on the Sālihunḍām hill, or shall we say in this part of the Kalinga, for, it not only departs from the general hub-and-spokes arrangement of the brick frame-work of the Āndhra *stūpa*, though retaining its wheel-like outer shape, but also yielded 3 stone caskets and 3 crystal reliquaries. The 3 crystal reliquaries are shaped like *stūpas* and each was found in a stone *karagḍa* or casket (plate I-d, III-a). In the arrangement of the stone *karagḍas*, which in shape recall the three stone caskets found in the Bhāṭṭiprōḥi *stūpa*, in Repalli Taluk of the Guntur District, there is a remarkable deviation from the Āndhra *stūpa*. While at Bhāṭṭiprōḥi their juxtaposition was vertical and the three were found right in the centre at convenient inter-spaces, here at Sālihunḍām they were arranged at equal distance from each other, in a horizontal row along the diameter of the *mahāchaitya* which, as we have already remarked was shaped like a wheel (plate III-a). The stone caskets were in two parts each, a receptacle and the lid (plate I-d). Two of them are rectangular in shape while the third is circular and bigger and was found right in the centre of the *mahāchaitya* (plate III-a). Its receptacle-part was shaped like the drum of a *stūpa*, while its lid resembled the *opḍa* (dome) and *haraṁkā* (pavilion) parts of the *stūpa*. The central casket or *karagḍa* seems to suggest by its form that it was meant to resemble the *mahāchaitya* itself.

The contents of the caskets are of untold importance to the Buddhist world. While they are crystal reliquaries like those of the Bhāṭṭiprōḥi *stūpa*—three in number, one in each stone casket—they recall by their shape three different forms of the *stūpa* that were known to the ancient architects of India. And for this reason they are described here briefly. The first crystal-reliquary, which was found in one of the rectangular *karagḍas* (plate III-b, c) recalls the simple type of the *stūpa*. It is spiroidal (not a hemispherical dome though that was what was meant) and consists of two parts, a big and all-swanning part and a small circular part or base which slips underneath the former so completely as to create the impression that the two are of one indivisible unit. But when these two parts thus united, are scoured from above, they reveal a slot of space in the body of the crystal in which rests a gold flower (*śaṅkha-puṣpa*) glittering like burnished gold, which

AN INSCRIBED POT AND OTHER BUDDHIST REMAINS IN SALIHUNDAM

(I)



1. SALIHUNDAM.—The base of the hill on which the inscribed pot was found.



2. SALIHUNDAM.—Another view of the base of the hill on which the inscribed pot was found.



3. SALIHUNDAM.—The base of the hill on which the inscribed pot was found.



4. SALIHUNDAM.—The base of the hill on which the inscribed pot was found.



1059. **1. BALIHOLOM**—A SMALL STRUT AND HIGH CRATER ON THE SOUTHERN SLOPE OF THE HILL.



1060. **2. BALIHOLOM**—A SMALL STRUT ON THE SOUTHERN SLOPE OF THE HILL.



1061. **3. BALIHOLOM**—THE BALIHOLOM CRATER.



1062. **4. BALIHOLOM**—THE BALIHOLOM CRATER.

TRANSLATION

(This pot belongs to) the Kaṭṭahārāma (or Kaṭṭahāra ārāma) of (=endowed by) the sons (offspring) of the Rāṣṭrapālaka (by name) Haṁkudeyika.

Note

It may be inferred that the *Kaṭṭahāra ārāma* was the donation of the sons of the Rāṣṭrapālaka of the place or village Haṁkudeyi or Haṁkudayi; who hailed from the village that bore such a name. Haṁkudeyika or Haṁkudayika may even stand for Saṁkudeyika, as *ha* and *sa* interchange. The name Haṁkudayi, Haṁkudeyi or Saṁkudayi, sounds like Kaludayi, a Buddhist name, and for that reason may be taken to be the name of the Rāṣṭrapālaka referred to in the inscription. *Kaṭṭahā* reminds us of *Kaṭāha* in Palembang and the overseas colonisation from the Kalinga country and the Tamil name Kaḍāram near Nāgapaṭṭam (cf. Kaḍāraṁ-Koḍān) and the Tamil Kāḷagaṁ (Kāḷagattākkamun). The term also reminds us of the *Kaṭṭahārasutta*¹ of the Buddha which was associated with Kōśala. If the term *Kaṭṭahārāma* is taken as a contraction for *Kaṭṭahāra* + *ārāma*, then we get *Kaṭṭahārārāma* which by the law of *sakṛdadvasthāna* or haplology becomes *Kaṭṭahārāma* just as we have it in the inscription (cf. *Kṛishṇa* + *nagar* = *Kṛishnagar*). It is refreshing indeed to note that a Buddhist Monastery (*ārāma*) is named after the *Kaṭṭahārasutta* which the Buddha, from out of his kindness, propounded to a group of *Kaṭṭahārakas* or faggot-carriers who lived in Kōśala. It is said that the Buddha travelled to Kōśala to give the *Kaṭṭahārakas* of Kōśala a sermon, which from thence onwards came to be called *Kaṭṭahārasutta*. Kōśala is but the country adjoining the Kalinga, and the river Vamśadhārā, on which the *Kaṭṭahāra ārāma* was situated, flows through Kōśala before it comes into the Kalinga (see Text Fig. 1 below).



Fig. 1.

The name of the monastery to which the drinking vessel belonged is given as *Kaṭṭahārāma*. In all probability the *chūṭya* in which the pot was found was included in the *Kaṭṭahārāma*.

¹ [See also the *Kaṭṭahārā-jāṭaka*, No. 7 of the *Jāṭaka*, ed. by V. Faushol, Vol. I, pp. 123-6, translation by Robert Chalmers, ed. by E. B. Cowell, Vol. I, pp. 27-29.—Ed.]

AN INSCRIBED POT AND OTHER BUDDHIST REMAINS IN SALLHUNDAM

(III)



b. SALLHUNDAM.—Three crystal reliquaries from the Mahavihara (colored)



a. SALLHUNDAM.—Crystal reliquaries from the Mahavihara (open)



c. SALLHUNDAM.—The Mahavihara with the stone stupa at the west porch.

(From Photographs)

SCHEFF OF 1801A, CALCUTTA

7. SIKKIM—POTTERY FROM A BURIAL-CHAMBER



8. SIKKIM—POTTERY FROM A BURIAL-CHAMBER



images, some of which unfortunately cannot be traced now. This is because, as is well known, a large number of images have since been occasionally removed from the villages by interested parties. But most of the old villages in some Districts of Bihar, such as Monghyr, Patna and Gaya, still abound in broken images usually of the Pāla age, both inscribed and uninscribed. Some at least are coming out every year at the stroke of the cultivator's ploughshare and the workman's spade to increase the number of accumulated images, although the process of the removal of better preserved images is also still going on. In January 1950, I conducted a search for old inscriptions amongst the images accumulated in certain villages about the western fringe of the Monghyr District and this led to the discovery of some very interesting records. The images are mostly mutilated and many of them bear no inscriptions at all. The writing on the largest number of the inscribed images again either gives only the Buddhist formula *yo dharmā dāya-pradharmā*, etc., or especially when the image is not a Buddhist one, merely says that a particular image was the gift (*dāya-dharma* or *dāya-dharmā*) of a certain private individual, sometimes styled *dāya-pati*¹. Only in a few cases they prove important owing to the mention of the regnal year of the king, during whose rule an image was installed, or rarely to some other interesting information such as about the locality where the image was installed or where the man responsible for the installation lived. In connection with this survey, I visited the localities called Rājannā, Chunki, Valgūdar, Raghugarh, Pāner, Samārpōkhar, Kāwāyā, Gōlī, Rāmpur, Amarpur and Urān. The villages lie in the vicinity of the Luckeesarai, Kiul and Kajra railway stations on the East Indian Railway. Of all the inscriptions examined by me in the above localities, the three discovered at **Valgūdar** were found to be the most interesting, as they not only helped me in locating the ancient city of Krimilā, headquarters of a *rājya* of that name within the Pāla empire, but also as one of the three records offered an exceptionally important date in the chronology of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar.

On the 9th of January 1950, I visited Valgūdar (lat. 25° 10' 30" N. ; long. 86° 5' E.) which is a small village lying by the side of the railway line between the Luckeesarai and Mankatha railway stations. I was fortunate enough to find there no less than three small inscriptions. The earliest of them was found on a pedestal (image now lost) which is lying in the compound of the house of Babu Kesav Sinha and is being used now by the people as a platform for washing their feet. It contains two lines covering a space 17.5" in length and 2.4" in height. The *akṣaras* are about 5' in height, although the conjuncts with vowel marks are sometimes double that height. The second inscription was found on a mutilated image lying in the verandah of the Kutchery of Babu Dilip Narayan Sinha, who, I was told, is a samundar staying at Bhagalpur. I was further told that the image had been discovered sometime previously while digging the earth for the foundation of a house. It is an image of a seated goddess with a child on her lap. It may be mentioned here that such images of the Dēvī with child were noticed by me in many places in South Bihar. She must have enjoyed great popularity amongst the people of the region in the early medieval period. There is a similar image of the goddess at the neighbouring village of Rājannā which, as the inscription on it shows, was styled Puṣṭādevī and was installed during the reign of Sayapāla (c. 1038-55 A. C.). A mutilated image of the same deity is now preserved in the Asutosh Museum of the University of Calcutta. The inscription on it shows that it was installed during the reign of Rāmapāla. This image also seems to have been originally found somewhere in South Bihar, although goddesses of similar types were fairly popular in Bengal as well. The Dēvī's

¹ Cf. Pālī *dāya-dharmā*, a gift, an offering.

² In old Bengali, this word is used in the sense of a person who had promised to dedicate an object on the fulfilment of a particular desire and later kept the vow. See I. M. Das, *Bhāgati Bhakti-śikṣādhāra*, p. v. In the rest of the inscriptions of the type referred to above, the word *dāya-pati* seems to be used in this technical sense. *Dāya-dharma* thus seems to refer to an image installed according to a previous promise called *vajrasādhā*.

vāhana is usually found to be the lion. A similar image now lodged in the compound of a temple on the bank of the tank called *Samaārpōkhi* at Luckeesarai has a snake canopy above the deity's head. The deity seems to have been the primitive Mother-goddess worshipped under different local names in various parts of East India, though she may have been associated with the Buddhist deity *Hārīti* as well as the Brahminical goddess *Pārvati* with *Śanda* on her lap. An image of a four-armed goddess, holding in the upper hands a fish and a pot and by the lower ones a child, was found in the village of Paikpara in the Dacca District (East Bengal) and is now preserved in the Dacca Museum. N. K. Bhattacharya identifies the deity tentatively with the Buddhist goddess *Hārīti*, although it is pointed out that *Hārīti*'s representations have usually two arms only. This image has, however, neither the usual lion pedestal nor the occasional snake canopy. Images of the *Dēvī*, with two or four arms and a snake canopy but with or without a child on her lap, found in Bengal, have been identified with the Snake goddess called *Manasā*.¹ The name of *Manasā* (supposed to be derived from that of the South Indian *Mañśaśūma*) is, however, not found in the literature of a date earlier than the latter part of the medieval period, and an image of the same deity, with the snake canopy but without the child, found at Marol in the Dinajpur District, is known from the inscription (in characters of the tenth or eleventh century) it bears to have been called *Bhāṭṭaṅgi Maṭṭivā*.² Images of *Manasā* are usually without the child; but one quoted from *Kaśīrāma* late *dhyaṇas* of this goddess, quoted by Bhattacharya,³ at least the one quoted from *Kaśīrāma* *Vāchaspati*'s commentary on Raghunandana's *Tīthyaṇṭikā* represents the goddess as *Āṭika-mātā* and *śīṭa-mātā*, the latter pointing to her representation with a child on her lap. It seems that the same primitive mother-goddess with a child on her lap, sometimes represented with a lion pedestal and sometimes with a snake canopy, was worshipped under different names in different parts of East India, the snake-canopied form being later endowed with the name *Manasā* in Bengal. The Jain *Ambikā* seems to be an adaptation of the same deity.⁴ The inscription on the Valgudar image of the *Dēvī* with a child on her lap is written in two lines, covering a space about 4·2" in length and 1" in height. The *akṣaras* are about 4" in height. The third inscription discovered by me at Valgudar was found on the pedestal (image now lost) lying near a well in the locality called Saṅgat owing to its being the area under a Sikh religious establishment in the village. It is written in three lines covering an area about 7·4" in length and 1·2" in height. The letters are small in size and measure about 3" in height.

The characters employed in all the three inscriptions are the same as found in the records of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar, although the first and second epigraphs are considerably earlier than the third one. While Nos. 1 and 2 have to be ascribed on palaeographical grounds to the eighth or ninth century, No. 3 should be assigned to the twelfth century. All the three inscriptions are written in **Sanskrit** prose, though there are some mistakes and signs of Prakrit influence. As regards orthography, they closely resemble the epigraphic records of the Pālas and hardly anything in them calls for special mention. Inscriptions Nos. 1 and 2 are not dated; but the former

¹ *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahminical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, pp. 63 ff.; Plate XXV.

² *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, pp. 40-61; Plate LXVI, No. 123.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 400. The occurrence of *Manasā-dēvī* as an illustration of the *śīṭa*, *śāntā* *śāntā*, for the *ś-śāntā*, *śāntā*, in the old commentary of Bhāṭṭaśūma on the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (see B. Sen, *Bhāṭṭaśūma's Upaniṣad*, second edition, p. 108; cf. *History of Bengal*, op. cit., p. 297 and notes) is unparalleled and is probably a late interpolation. *Manasā* is mentioned in early medieval works as the *śāntā* *śāntā* *śāntā* *śāntā* (14th-15th century); *MAHĀN*, Letters, Vol. XIV, p. 6, note 2; and the lexicons of Jāyādharma and Kāśyapa. For the snake-goddess *Manasā* *Maṭṭivā* or *Manasā* *Maṭṭivā* (cf. *History of Bengal*, op. cit., p. 297 and notes) of Mysore, see H. Whitehead, *The Village Gods of South India*, pp. 82-83. The *śāntā* of Kāśyapa may have introduced this name of the goddess in Bengal. The name *Pandāsari* reminds us of the *Pandras*, an ancient non-Aryan people of Eastern India.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 218, 219, 223, 227.

⁵ *History of Bengal*, p. 405; Plate LXIV, No. 163.

refers to the reign of the Pāla king Dharmapāla whose rule is now assigned to circa 769-815 A. C.¹ or 770-810 A. C.² As suggested above, inscription No. 2 has to be ascribed on palaeographic grounds to the days of Dharmapāla or to those of his immediate successors. Inscription No. 3 is dated in the Śaka year 1033 (1161 A. C.) as well as in the 18th regnal year of Madanapāla whose reign is assigned now to circa 1130-50 A. C.³ or 1140-55 A. C.⁴, although, as will be shown below, all previous suggestions about the date of this king are now proved to be wrong by the discovery of the present inscription.

Inscription No. 1, as it reads, seems to imply that a god named Madhusūritika was installed at the *adhishthāna* or city of Krimilā during the reign of king Dharmapāla by the lady Ajhuka who was the wedded wife of a person named Sālō. If, however, the *usarga* in *madhusūritikāḥ* is ignored, that expression may be taken as an adjective of the personal name Sālō, although in either case its real import remains doubtful. In case the second alternative is preferred, it has to be assumed that, as in numerous other cases, the name of the deity installed by Sālō's wife is not mentioned in the record. That is, however, not an important matter. Nor has the reference to Dharmapāla's reign any special value to the students of history as the inclusion of the region, where the inscription has been found, in the dominions of the Pāla king is definitely known from other records. The chief interest of the inscription lies in the mention of the city of Krimilā where the image is said to have been installed. It is very interesting to note that the same city is also mentioned, under the spellings *Krimilā* and *Krimilī*,⁵ in inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3 to be discussed below. It is further mentioned in an inscription on a Dvālatāditya slab which was installed in the 5th regnal year of Śūrapāla (possibly the first ruler of this name who flourished about the middle of the ninth century) and is now lying at Rājauṇā, a village abutting on Valgūdar.⁶ It is very probable that the slab had been originally discovered at Valgūdar but was later carried to Rājauṇā. It is thus clear that the small village of Valgūdar in the western fringe of the Monghyr District of Bihar stands on the site of the city of Krimilā famous in the days of the Pālas. There is again no doubt that this city was the head quarters of the *ekhaya* or district of the same name that formed a part of the Pāla dominions. The Monghyr copper-plate of Dāvapāla, who was the son and successor of Dharmapāla and reigned in circa 815-54 A. C. or 810-50 A. C. according to recent writers on the Pālas,⁷ was issued by the Pāla king from Mudgagiri (modern Monghyr) and records the grant of a village situated in the Krimilā *ekhaya* forming a part of the Śrinagara *bhukti*. The *bhukti* or province called Śrinagara (literally 'the illustrious city') was no doubt named after Pāṭaliputra which was apparently the administrative headquarters of the province in question. That Pāṭaliputra, of which the modern representative is Patnā (from Sanskrit *paṭṭana* meaning a town, i.e., the town *par excellence*) was regarded as the city *par excellence* is known from the *Jaya-mangalā* commentary on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmarātra*,⁸ explaining words like *nāgarakūḥ*, *nāgarikūḥ* and *nāgarikyaḥ* (i.e., men and women of the *nagara*) as *pāṭaliputrakūḥ*, *pāṭaliputrikūḥ* and *pāṭaliputrikyaḥ* (i.e., men and women of Pāṭaliputra). The Śrinagara *bhukti* was often called *Nagata-bhukti*⁹ and possibly also *Magadha-bhukti*.¹⁰ The exact location of the Krimilā

¹ Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 384.

² *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, p. 177.

³ Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 385.

⁴ *History of Bengal*, *loc. cit.*

⁵ The name is derived from a Sanskrit word which is spell both as *krīmī* and *krīm*.

⁶ The Rājauṇā Puṣkaraśrī image inscription of the time of Narayapāla, referred to above, also mentions Krimilā as the place of installation and appears to have been originally found at Valgūdar.

⁷ Cf. Ray, *loc. cit.*; *History of Bengal*, *loc. cit.*

⁸ VI, 3, 30-9, 34.

⁹ Cf. Sastri, *Nalanda and its Epigraphic Materials* (Memoirs of the A. S. L., No. 66), pp. 33, 52, 53, 84.

¹⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 33, 51, 52.

viśaya in the above *śruti* was hitherto impossible; but now it can safely be said that it was the area round the present village of Valgudar in the western part of the Monghyr District. It is possible further to suggest that the Krimilā *viśaya* was bounded in the east by a *viśaya* with its headquarters at Mudgagiri (i.e., Monghyr) and in the west by another with its headquarters at Nagara or Pātaliputra (near Patnā).¹

The second of the three inscriptions records that the image of the Dēvi, on which it is incised, was the *deva-dharma* of a person whose name appears to be Nṛkatta. The first line of the record shows that the image was installed at the *adhiśṭhāna* (city) of Krimilā. Three letters appearing to read *gauṣaṇī* (or *gauśeṇī*) follow the reference to the city, although it is difficult to say whether some other *akṣaras* after these three had been originally engraved but were later broken away. As it stands, the inscription may suggest that the name of the Dēvi was Gauṣavā or Gauśivā. Of course, no goddess of such a name is known to us; but, as has been suggested above, this popular deity was apparently worshipped in different localities under various local names. It may, however, also be suggested that these three letters form the first part of the name read at the beginning of the next line or that they, together with some following *akṣaras* now lost, formed an adjective qualifying the person named Nṛkatta.

Inscription No. 3 says that, on the eleventh day of the month of Jyaiṣṭha in the 13th regnal year of king Mahanapāla, corresponding to Śaka 1083, an image of the god Nārāyaṇa was installed at Krimilā by two *Paramamishra* brothers who appear to have been named Abhi and Inda (Indra?). They were the brothers of *Bhaṭṭa-śrī-Suk(kp)trīṇa* and sons of *Bhaṭṭa-Paṇḍita-śrī-Vyāsa* (Vyāsa). Now the chief interest of this inscription lies in its **dating**, both in the Śaka era and in the regnal reckoning of the Pāla king. It is well known that, of the numerous epigraphic records of the time of the Pāla emperors, only two were so long known to have been dated according to any era, while all others are only dated in the regnal years of particular kings. Thus there is absolutely no unanimity among scholars in regard to the dates of accession of the kings in question. The first of the two Pāla records dated according to any era is the Sārnāth inscription² of the time of Mahipāla I dated in Vikrama Samvat 1083 (1026 A. C.); but the record is not simultaneously dated in the king's regnal reckoning and does not therefore offer any help in determining the initial year of the reign of Mahipāla I. The second of the two records, referred to above, is the Gayā inscription³ of Govindapāla, whose relationship with the known monarchs of the Pāla family could not be determined. This epigraph is dated in the Vikrama year 1232 (1175 A. C.), styled Vikārin according to the Northern Cycle of Jupiter, as well as in the 14th year of the *gata-rājya* of Govindapāla. The reference is, however, not to the *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya* (i.e., the increasingly victorious reign) of the king as is expected in such cases, but to his *gata-rājya*, i.e., his sovereignty that was on the date in question a thing of the past. Although it appears quite clear from the date of this inscription that Govindapāla ascended the throne in Vikrama Samvat

¹ The Krimilā *viśaya* is also mentioned in the legend on several Nālandā seals. See *ibid.*, pp. 34, 54. The village of Kaeṭṭa, known from the seals to have belonged to the said *viśaya*, may possibly be identical, as suggested to me by Mr. A. Olshak, with the present Kaeṭṭā, 14 miles south-west of Valgudar. The spurious Nālandā plate of Samudragupta (cf. *Silver Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 202-04) records the grant of two villages one of which was situated in the Krimilā *viśaya*. Even if this spurious record, forged a few centuries after the middle of the fourth century when Samudragupta ruled, may not prove the existence of the *viśaya* in the Gupta age, it no doubt shows that the *viśaya* and therefore the city which gave the *viśaya* its name existed before the rise of the Pālas. The Sankagach image inscription (*Ganesh Datta College Bulletin*, No. 1, by R.K. Chowdhary, pp. 1-16) of the 24th regnal year of Vigrahapāla II or III mentions a statue of Krimilā.

² Bhattacharya, *ibid.*, No. 114.

³ Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, No. 370. The date is given as *Saṁvat 1232 Fālgun-sukratīkṣṭ 1st-Govindapālāditya-gata-rājya-śatvaddśia-sa-samvat*. The date corresponds to the 22nd September, 1175 A.C.

1219 (1162-63 A. C.)¹ but that he lost his sovereignty before the 14th year counted from that date, most writers on Pāla history believe that the reckoning started from the time when he lost his throne. Thus the actual reign period of Gōvīndapāla is usually placed before a date in Vikrama Śaṁvat 1219 (1162-63 A. C.).² There are no less than seven Buddhist manuscripts copied at Gayā and Nālandā referring to king Gōvīndapāla in the colophon.³ Only one of these refers to the 4th year of his *vijaya-rājya* indicating no doubt that Gōvīndapāla reigned at least up to the fourth year after his coronation, i.e., from Vikrama Śaṁvat 1219 (1162-63 A.C.) to 1222 (1165-66 A.C.). In four cases, the colophons associate the dates (years 24, 37, 38 and 39) simply with Gōvīndapāla without referring either to his *vijaya-rājya* or to his *gata-rājya*; but, in two other cases, the colophons remarkably agree with the phraseology of the Gayā inscription in referring respectively to the 18th *ullā* year of Gōvīndapāla and to the 38th year of his *vinashā-rājya* (i.e., destroyed sovereignty). It is therefore clear that Gōvīndapāla lost his sovereignty between the fourth (V. S. 1222=1165-66 A.C.) and the fourteenth year (V. S. 1232=1174-75 A.C.) after his coronation, although some people of South Bihar, especially the Buddhists, continued to refer to the rule of this Buddhist king in dating their records in preference to the non-Buddhist rule that possibly followed Gōvīndapāla's overthrow from that region. The above dates of Gōvīndapāla's accession and of the loss of his sovereignty are corroborated by the inscription under discussion.

We have seen that the Valgūdar inscription of Madanapāla, who is the last known member of the Pāla royal house, is dated in Śaka 1083 which was the 18th regnal year of the said Pāla king. The actual date quoted is the eleventh day of Jyāishtha, corresponding to the 4th May 1161 A. C. This shows beyond doubt that Madanapāla began to rule in Śaka 1066=Vikrama Śaṁvat 1201=1144-45 A. C. and continued to reign at least up to Śaka 1083=Vikrama Śaṁvat 1218=1161-62 A.C. The first regnal year of Gōvīndapāla, as we have already seen, corresponds to Vikrama Śaṁvat 1219=Śaka 1084=1162-63 A.C. This shows that there was hardly any interval between the end of Madanapāla's reign and the accession of Gōvīndapāla. It thus appears almost certain that Gōvīndapāla was the immediate successor, if not actually the son, of Madanapāla. The date of the Jaymagat image inscription of the time of Madanapāla was originally read as the regnal year 19 which is, however, a wrong reading for 14.⁴ Thus the duration of Madanapāla's reign, previously known to have been only about 14 years, is now definitely established to have been at least about 18 years.

The Pāla emperors are known to have ruled over Bengal and Bihar, although about the time of Madanapāla and Gōvīndapāla practically the whole of Bengal appears to have been lost to the Śēnas who hailed from Karpāṭa or the Kannada area of South India. The reign of Vijayaśēna, the first imperial ruler of the Śēna dynasty, is now assigned to the period c. 1095-1158 or c. 1125-58 A. C. while his son and successor Vallabhaśēna is supposed to have reigned in c. 1153-79 A. C.⁵ Like the Śēnas of Bengal, another Karpāṭa dynasty was established in North Bihar by Nānyadēva in 1097 A. C. The independent rule of this family is known to have continued

¹ The regnal years appear to have been counted as corresponding to the calendar years so that the last regnal year of one and the first of his successor usually corresponded to the same calendar year. Cf. the same procedure followed in counting the *śaka* years of the later rulers of Orissa (*J.A.S.B.*, 1905, p. 100).

² See *History of Bengal*, op. cit., p. 171, note.

³ R. D. Banerji, *Pālas of Bengal* (Memoirs of the A. S. B., Vol. V), pp. 110-12. The dates are given as (1) *Śrīmad-Gōvīndapālārāja vijaya-rājya-samvatsar* 4; (2) *Śrīmad-Gōvīndapālāditya-ullā-samvatsar* 18 *Kārtika-din* 11; (3) *Śrī-Gōvīndapālārāja-Samvat* 24 *Chaitra-sudi* 8; (4) *Gōvīndapālāditya* Śaka 27 *Śrāvaṇa-din* 11; (5) *Śrīmad-Gōvīndapālāditya* *vinashā-rājya* *akṣayinī-samvatsar* *śuklāshukla* *Jyāishtha* *śrāvaṇa* *ullā* Śaka 29 *Śāradā-din* 14. The 5th quotation points to the month being regarded as lunar and *pūrṇimānta*.

⁴ *History of Bengal*, op. cit., p. 173.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

for a long time.¹ It therefore seems that Gōvindapāla succeeded Madanapāla only over some districts of South Bihar, though even there the later Pālas were struggling for their existence with the Gāhaḍavālas of the U. P. The Maner plates² of 1124 A. C. show that the Gāhaḍavālas had already advanced as far as the Patna District where the Gāhaḍavāla king Gōvindachandra (c. 1114-55 A. C.) granted in that year a piece of land not far from Patna. The Lar plates³ of 1146 A. C. show that the same Gāhaḍavāla king was during that year staying at Madagiri or Monghyr. These records suggest that the later Pālas, who were Buddhists, were ousted from the Patna and Monghyr Districts by the Brahmanical Gāhaḍavālas. But the Valgūdar inscription of 1161 A. C., referring to the *Kṛimīlā vishaya*, situated between Patna and Monghyr, as a part of Madanapāla's dominions, no doubt points to the success of this king against the Gāhaḍavāla rulers.⁴ Whether, however, Madanapāla's successor Gōvindapāla was ruling only over the Gayā District and the adjoining area or whether his dominions also included the whole of the Patna and Monghyr Districts cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. The Bōdhgayā inscription⁵ of Gāhaḍavāla Jayachandra (c. 1170-93 A. C.), however, shows that it was the Gāhaḍavālas who overthrew the Pālas even from the Gayā District. The date of the Bōdhgayā inscription falls between Vikrama Samvat 1240 (1183-84 A. C.) and 1249 (1192-93 A. C.), but probably towards the earlier part of this period. The Sihar plates⁶ bearing an earlier date (1175 A. C.) appear to refer to a grant of land made by king Jayachandra in the Patna District.

As already noticed above, the Pālas dated their charters according to their regnal reckoning. This is also the case with the private records of their time. The use of the Vikrama Samvat in the Gayā inscription of Gōvindapāla, which is not an official record of the king, may be explained by the fact that this era, which was quite popular in the U. P.,⁷ may have infiltrated itself in South Bihar especially when the Gāhaḍavālas succeeded Gōvindapāla. The Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions, discovered in Bihar, are dated in the Vikrama Samvat and the Gayā inscription referring to Gōvindapāla's lost sovereignty belongs apparently to this period of Gāhaḍavāla occupation of South Bihar. Of course, the Buddhists of Banaras may also have been partially responsible for carrying the use of the Vikrama era to the Buddhist sites of Bihar. But even if this the use of the era of Vikrama in Gōvindapāla's Gayā inscription can be rather easily explained, it seems difficult to explain the dating of the Valgūdar inscription of Madanapāla in the Śaka era. This era was adopted by the imperial Gaṅgas of Orissa about the end of the tenth century probably from their southern neighbours, the Eastern Chālukyas of the Āndhra country. With the expansion of the Gaṅga power about the beginning of the twelfth century towards the north-east up to the Bhāgirathī or the present Hooghly river, the use of the Śaka era must have been known in the south-western fringe of Bengal. But the popularity of this era in Bengal seems to have been actually due to the establishment of the power of the Sēnas who hailed from a country where the era was popular. The fact that the Sēnas followed their predecessors, the Pālas, in dating their

¹ See *J. H. Q.*, Vol. VII, pp. 519 ff.

² *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 81.

³ Above, Vol. VII, p. 95.

⁴ There is another image inscription, dated in the 3rd year of Madanapāla's reign, corresponding to 1146-47 A. C., which was found at Bihar in the Patna District. The Jaynagar image inscription, referred to above, is dated in his 14th regnal year, corresponding to 1157-58 A. C. The village of Jaynagar is known to be near Lucknow (in the Monghyr District), but is placed in the Gayā District, (see Cunningham, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. III, p. 25) apparently through mistake.

⁵ Bhattacharya, *List*, No. 401.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 129; Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 517-38.

⁷ The popularity of the Vikrama Samvat in the U. P. was due especially to the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperors, although it was used in an earlier age by the Maukhuris and the Malayāsēnas (Bhattacharya, *List*, Nos. 10, 34). The dating of the Śrāvaṇa inscription of the time of Mahipāla I was due to this local influence.

charters according to regnal reckoning in preference to the Śaka era, exhibits the influence of local practice. The same conservatism in regard to the method of dating is also noticed in similar other cases. Records referring to the rule of the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Mahēśvarapāla found in Bihar and North Bengal, temporarily occupied by the king after having defeated the Pāla king Nārāyaṇapāla (circa 854-908 A.C.), are dated according to his regnal reckoning and not according to the Vikrama era as is the case with the official Gurjara-Pratihāra charters as well as other records of their time found in other parts of their empire. In spite of the fact, however, that the Sēnas did not use the Śaka era in their official records, its growing popularity in Bengal during the Sēna age is proved by the use of this era in epigraphic and literary records of the period such as Vandyaghaffya Sarvaṇanda's work, *Tikāgarṇava* (composed in Śaka 1081=1159-60 A.C.),¹ the *Adbhutavāgara* (commenced in Śaka 1089=1167 A.C. or Śaka 1090=1168 A.C.) and *Dāśavāgara* (composed in Śaka 1091=1169 A.C.), both ascribed to king Vallabhadra,² the Sundarban plate of Dīnmaṇapāla (Śaka 1118=1196 A.C.),³ the *Saduktikāraśāṅkṛta* (composed in Śaka 1127=1205-06 A.C.) by Śrīdharaśāha,⁴ the Tipperah plate⁵ (Śaka 1141=1219 A.C.) of Harikūladēva Rāṇavaśka-malla and the Chittagong plate⁶ (Śaka 1165=1243 A.C.) of Dāmōdara. Its introduction in Sylhet and Assam during the same age is indicated by such records as Vallabhadra's inscription⁷ of Śaka 1167 (1185 A.C.) and the Kanaiharah rock inscription⁸ of Śaka 1127 (1205 A.C.). The introduction of the era in North Bihar⁹ may have been due to the establishment of the rule of the Karmāṭa dynasty in that country referred to above. Yet these facts do not quite clearly explain the use of the Śaka era in the Valgūdar inscription of the time of Madanapāla discovered in a village in the western part of the Monghyr District, not only because the cause of its introduction in that area is unknown, but also because here we have one of the earliest amongst the epigraphic and literary documents dated in the Śaka era so far found in East India.¹⁰ It has possibly to be suggested that the Brāhmanya brothers who were responsible for the inscription in question were not original inhabitants of the city of Krimilā, but had hailed from a territory where the use of the Śaka era had become or was becoming popular.¹¹

The only place name mentioned in the three inscriptions is that of the city of Krimilā, the identification of which has already been discussed above.

Inscription No. 1

TEXT¹²

1 Siddham¹³ [?] 46-Dharmapālādēva-rājyē Krimilā-adhishṭhānē Madhukāśāka[h]

2 835-dharmapālād-Ajāhikēna dēva-dharmas=yam kṛtāh]

¹ *Kalpavṛkṣa* (G.O.S.), p. 131.

² *History of Bengal*, op. cit., pp. 230 ff.; 252 ff.

³ *I.H.Q.*, Vol. X, pp. 321 ff.; *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, pp. 679 ff.

⁴ Ray, op. cit., p. 333; *History of Bengal*, op. cit., p. 230.

⁵ Bhattacharya, op. cit., No. 1112.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 1114. The Mehar plate of this king has the date Śaka 1165.

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 1167.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 1169.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, No. 1126.

¹⁰ Theories tracing the use of the Śaka era in Eastern India in earlier centuries (cf. *J. G. J. R. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 246 ff.) are unwarranted.

¹¹ The form *śrīpāl* for *śrīpāl* in our inscription may suggest Orissa. *Śrīpāl* for *śrīpāl* is fairly common in medieval Orissan records. See *J. A. S. E.*, Vol. LXIV, Part I, p. 192, line 5; *J. R. A. S. B. L.*, Vol. XVII.

¹² From impressions.

¹³ Expressed by a symbol.

THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM VALGUDAR

No. 1



Scale: Three-tenths

No. 2



Actual Size

No. 3



Scale: Three-quarters

TRANSLATION

Let there be success ! (*The god*) Madhvarēgika¹ (*is installed*) at the city of Krimilā during the reign of the illustrious Dharmmapālādēva ; this meritorious gift (*i.e.*, the image) is caused to be made by Ajhuka² who is the wife of Sālō.

Inscription No. 2

TEXT³

1 Siddham⁴ [||*] Krimilādhishthān[ē] Gausa[sē]vā

2 {Nṛi[ka]ṭṭa[ya] [dē]dharmam⁵ = yam(yam ||)

TRANSLATION

Let there be success ! (*The goddess*) Gausavā (or Gausēvā)⁴ (*is installed*) at the city of Krimilā : this is the meritorious gift of Nṛikaṭṭa.

Inscription No. 3

TEXT⁷

1 Siddham⁸ [||*] śrīman-Madanapālā[ra]jyā(jya)-and 18 Jyaish[tha]-dinē 11 śrī-Kra(Kri)m-
[ilāyām] bha-

2 [ṛi]paṇḍita-śrī-V[yā]ya(na)-satayōh bha[ṭṭa]-śrī-Sukī⁹(kṛi)[tri]ma-bhrāṭṭi-bha[ṭṭa]-śrī-
Abhī.¹⁰

3 {nā}yōh parama-vaishṇavayōh śrī-[Nā]rāyaṇa-pratim = tya[m](yam) || Śaka-nripāt(patē)h
1083 [||*]

TRANSLATION

Let there be success ! On the eleventh day of Jyaishtha in the year 18 of the reign of the illustrious Madanapāla : at Krimilā ; this image of the illustrious (*god*) Nārāyaṇa belongs to the illustrious *Bhaṭṭa* Abhī and Inda (Indra), who are devout worshippers of Vyāṇa, who are the brothers of the illustrious *Bhaṭṭa* Sukritima and who are the sons of the illustrious *Bhaṭṭa paṇḍita* Vyāṇa (Vyāṇa?) (*The year*) 1083 of the Śaka king.

¹ For alternative suggestions, see above, p. 140.

² [If this is taken as the name of Sālō's wife, the masculine ending (*Ajhāka*) remains unexplained.—Ed.]

³ From impressions.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Read *śrī-dharmam*?

⁶ For alternative suggestions, see above, p. 141.

⁷ From impressions.

⁸ Expressed by a symbol which is damaged.

⁹ [These two syllables seem to read *Sālō*.—Ed.]

¹⁰ Correctly *ay-āh-Inda[ndra]yōh*. The first name may either be *Abhī* or the *śa-dā* of a name like *Abhinaya*.

No. 27—DAIKONI PLATES OF PRITHVIDEVA II: YEAR 890

(1 Plate)

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, OOTACAHUND

This is a set of two thick oblong copper plates¹ discovered at the village of **Daikoni**, near Akaltārā, District Bilaspur, Central Provinces (Madhya Pradesh). The copper plates were in the possession of the *Māyazār* of Daikoni and the information about the existence of the charter was conveyed to the Government Epigraphist in 1944 by Pt. L. P. Pandeya. With the help of the Deputy Commissioner, Bilaspur District, the originals were secured by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, the Government Epigraphist for India, with whose kind permission I edit the record here.

The plates have slightly raised rims to protect the writing. Each of them measures about 11·8 inches in length and 7 inches in height. They are strung together by a circular ring passing through a hole about ½ inch in diameter, which is bored in the middle of the length-side of the plates at the top. The ring is about 1·5 inches in diameter. To this is soldered a circular seal of about 2·5 inches in diameter. The seal contains at the top the emblem of the *Gujarāṭakṣat* which covers about half its space. Below this is engraved the legend, *I Rāja-kṛmāt-Prithvīś-2 vāḥ* engraved in two lines and in the Nāgarī script of about the 12th century A. C. Both the plates are engraved on the inner side only, the first plate containing 13 lines and the second 14 lines of writing. The set weighs 257 *toḷas*, the ring alone weighing 33 *toḷas*.

The characters of the inscription are Nāgarī and are well engraved. There have been practically no mistakes in engraving and no erasures. The language of the record is Sanskrit. Except for the opening words which contain the salutation to Brahman and the last words recording the date, the whole inscription is in verse. There are in all eighteen verses, including the imprecatory verses, and they are all numbered. The *dupḍas* are marked for the halves as well as at the ends of the verses. As regards orthography, the writing shows the same peculiarities that are found in almost all the records of the period, i.e., 12th century A. C. They are the following: (i) use of *v* for *b* except in two cases: *babūvar*, line 8 and *babūva*, line 14; (ii) use of dental *s* for the palatal *ś* (iii) the duplication of the consonant after *v*. The *avagraha* sign is employed wherever necessary. The form of *b* may be noted as it has little difference from *p* except that its box is absolutely square and hence angular at the left bottom instead of being rounded off as for *p*.

The object of the charter is to record a gift made by king **Prithvidēva II**, a Kāśāchūrī king of Ratanpur, whose genealogy is traced from the sun, from whom was first born king Mann, the *ādityāja*. From Mann was descended Kārttavīrya, in whose family were born a number of kings called the Hāhayaas. Among them was Kāṅkālā, who obtained fame as a noble and philanthropic king. He had eighteen sons of whom the eldest became the lord of Tripurī. He made his brothers lords of *mapḍalas*.² In the progeny of one of these younger brothers was born Kālīgarāja. His son was Kamalarāja to whom was born Ratnarāja (I). From Ratnarāja (I) was born through Nāmalā³ a son called Prithvidēva (I). Prithvidēva (I)'s son by Rājalladēvī was Jājalladēva. His son was Ratnadēva (II) who secured the wealth (i.e., was the lord) of the entire Kōsala country. Prithvidēva II, the donor of the present charter, was his son. He is stated to have granted the

¹ C. P. No. 2 of A. R. S. I. E., for 1944-45.

² The text of the record at this place reads *pārcatī(śrī) cā-maṇḍala-paṭa-ma-chakṣa va(ha)madān*. In the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva I (above, Vol. I, p. 34, text line 6) the corresponding passage reads *śāḍānī-cā-maṇḍala-paṭa-ma-chakṣa va(ha)madān*.

³ In the Amolā plates of Prithvidēva I (above, Vol. XIX, p. 79, text line 16) her name is given as Nāmalā.

village of *Vaṇḍakunt* in Madhya-dēśa with all its incomes to one Viśṇu, a Brahman of the Vatsa *gōtra* and of the *pañcīka-pravara*. The donee is described as the foremost of the *trivēdin* scholars, as possessing a fine character developed out of his knowledge of all *sūtras* and *āgamas* and as comparable to Viśṇu. He was the dutiful son of Śivadāsa who was likewise an obedient son of Śeṭṭhama. The occasion for the gift made by the king is stated to be a lunar eclipse which occurred on Kārttika 15. The date of the charter is given as *Saṁvat* 890, *Mārgya* *va di* II, *Ravana*. As in the case of the other records of the family, and especially of those of Prithvidēva II, in some of which the year is stated to be the Kalachuri *saṁvat*,¹ the year quoted in the present inscription must also be referred to the Kalachuri-Chōdi era. In the Amodā plates of Prithvidēva I,² and the Khazod inscription of Ratnadēva III,³ the year is specifically stated as the *Chōdiāśva* *saṁvat*. Thus, referring the year quoted in the Daikoni plates to this era which began in 247-8 A. C., it is found that the date and its details given correspond to 1138 A. C., October 30, Sunday, i.e., -15, in accordance with the *pūrvamūlānta* calculation of the lunar month. The lunar eclipse on Kārttika 15 referred to in the inscription must have been the one which occurred just eleven days earlier, on October 19 of the same year which was the day of Kārttika 15. Prof. Mirashi has shown that the Kalachuri year began on the 1st *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the *pūrvamūlānta* Kārttika⁴ and it is found that the date of our record follows the same calculation.⁵ It will also be clear that it was the expired Kalachuri year 890 that is quoted in our inscription since the details of the *tithi* and week-day given in it do not correspond to any date in the Mārgaśīra month of 1137 A. C. but only of 1138 A. C. Further, the lunar eclipse mentioned in the record as the occasion for the gift occurred not in 1137 A. C. but only in 1138 A. C. on Wednesday, October 19, which was the day of Kārttika-*pūrvamūlānta*.

Most of the verses describing the genealogy of Prithvidēva II in the present charter are identical with those found in other charters of the family, viz., the four sets of the Amodā plates of which one belongs to Prithvidēva I,⁶ two to Prithvidēva II,⁷ his grandson, and the fourth to Jājalladēva II,⁸ the son of Prithvidēva II. Verses 1 to 11 of the present plates which take the genealogy up to Ratnadēva II are again identical with the first eleven verses of the Sarkhō plates of the same king, Ratnadēva II. It would therefore appear that the text of this genealogy was at first composed in the time of Prithvidēva I, the grandfather of Ratnadēva II and was employed by his successors without much alteration except what was added with reference to the successive donor-kings. The later members of the family, viz., Jājalladēva II⁹ and Pratāpasmalla¹⁰, have, in their records, also utilised this text, but only partly, amending it considerably in some places.

There is practically nothing new of historical importance in the present charter, since it contains only a conventional description of the princes of the family whose genealogy is well known and even

¹ Rājira stone inscription of Jagapāla, K. 890 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 129); Bataasur inscription of Prithvidēva II (K. 919), (Blanford's List, No. 1239).

² Above, Vol. XIX, p. 81 and plate.

³ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 168 ff. and plate.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 278.

⁵ The date quoted in the Amodā plates of Prithvidēva I, viz., Chōdi year 881, Phālguna *va di* 7, Sunday, corresponding, as it does, to 1079 A. C., January 27, Sunday, follows the same *pūrvamūlānta* calculation and the year quoted is the expired one.

⁶ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 70 ff. and plate.

⁷ *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. I, pp. 463 ff. and plate.

⁸ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 309 ff. and plate.

⁹ Amodā Plates, above Vol. XIX, p. 309.

¹⁰ Puṇḍrābhūti plates, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 1.

in regard to the donor himself, Prithvidēva II, nothing is recorded as to his conquests or other achievements. The only fact of importance pertaining to the record is that it contains the **earliest date** for this king, viz., K. 890. His other records, both on stone and on copper so far discovered range in date from K. 893 to K. 915. Hence it is learnt from the present inscription that he ruled from K. 890, i.e., 1138 A. C. That he ruled at least up to K. 915 or 1163 A. C. is known from his record at Ratanpur bearing that date.¹ The earliest date known for his son and successor Jājalladēva II is K. 919 or 1167-8 A. C. supplied by his Mallār stone inscription.² Hence the period of rule of Prithvidēva II can be placed between 1138 A. C. to 1163 A. C. or roughly from c. 1135 to 1165 A. C.

It may be observed that of the inscriptions of the Kalachuri princes of the Ratanpur line, the largest number, nearing about a dozen, belong to the reign of Prithvidēva II, the donor of the present charter. It is curious that no record of his early ancestors up to the time of Prithvidēva I have so far been discovered. The Amodā plates³ of this king dated Chēdi year 831 is the earliest record of the family. Of his son and successor Jājalladēva I we have only one inscription so far discovered, viz., the Ratanpur stone inscription dated year 866.⁴ His son Ratnadēva II, the father of Prithvidēva II of our inscription, has left two records, viz., the Seorinarayan plates⁵ and the Sarkhō plates⁶ bearing dates 878 and 880 respectively. Besides these kings who were predecessors of Prithvidēva II, other princes of the line who came after him have also left a few records. Of Jājalladēva II, the son and successor of Prithvidēva II, two inscriptions have been secured, viz., the Mallār stone inscription⁷ dated year 919 and the Amodā plates issued in the same year.⁸ The next prince of the family for whose reign an inscription is available is Ratnadēva III, son of Jagaddēva, the elder brother of Jājalladēva II. His Kharod inscription dated Chēdi sakaent 933 has been edited in this journal.⁹ The son and successor of Ratnadēva III was Pratāpamalla, the last known prince of the Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuris, whose Pōḍrāhandh plates were issued in the year 965.¹⁰

Reviewing the dynasty as a whole, it will be seen from the records of the family so far available and from the dates quoted in them, which, as has been pointed out above, have all to be referred to the Kalachuri-Chēdi era, that every one of these kings must have had sufficiently long reigns averaging from twenty to twenty-five years. This fact would be apparent from the interval that can be noticed between the dates of the records of the successive kings. Thus between the dated records of Prithvidēva I and his successor Jājalladēva I there is an interval of about 35 years which must have been partly covered by their respective reigns. Similar intervals are found between the other members of the family. On a broad calculation, the duration of the rule of each king can be indicated. I give below a tentative scheme of the chronology of such of the rulers of this line of the Ratanpur Kalachuris for whom a continuous genealogy is available.

¹ Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 253.

² Above, Vol. I, p. 39.

³ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 75.

⁴ Above, Vol. I, p. 32.

⁵ *Ibid. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. IV, p. 31.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 159. The Pazgaon plates of Ratnadēva II, dated K. 883, recently discovered constitutes the third known record of this king. Along with this charter was found another grant of Prithvidēva II dated K. 897.

⁷ Above, Vol. I, p. 39.

⁸ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 209 ff. and plates. Prof. Mirashi is probably correct in reading the date of this record as 919 and not as 912 as was read by Hirai (above, Vol. XXVI, p. 257 and n. 1).

⁹ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 169 ff. and plate.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 1 ff. and plate.



It is rather difficult to fix the dates for the predecessors of Kaliṅgarāja, viz., the prince called lord of Tripuri and his father Kōkkala. For, none of the records of this line gives any clue as to the probable duration of the interval between Kaliṅgarāja and his predecessor, the lord of Tripuri.¹ Divergent views have been expressed regarding the probable identity of Kōkkala, whether he is to be identified with the first or the second king of that name in the main Kalachuri line of Tripuri.² It seems quite certain that he cannot be Kōkkala II, since this king who was the father of Gāṅgāyadeva Vikramāditya (c. 1030-1040 A. C.)³ lived much later than the probable date that can be assigned to Kōkkala, the ancestor of Kaliṅgarāja (c. 990-1015 A. C.) of the Ratanpur

¹ Alone of all the inscriptions of the dynasty, the Khairat inscription of Ratnadeva III: Chōdi 933, states that Kaliṅgarajpati was one of the 16 sons (born of Kōkkala?). This is evidently a fabrication (above, Vol. XXI, p. 161 and text lines 4-5).

² Above, Vol. XXI, p. 161; Vol. XXII, p. 160 and n. 2.

³ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 104.

Haihayas. Evidently he must be identical with Kōkkala I, who according to the chronology of the Haihaya kings of the main Tripuri line lived about 850-885 A. C.¹

Since Kōkkala, the predecessor of Kalingarāja of the Ratanpur line, is described in the Amesā plates of Prithvidēva I as having taken the treasures of those born of the Tarmalika families, it has been held that the reference may not be to Kōkkala I of the Tripuri family who belonged to a period anterior to any Muhammadan invasion of North India.² Granting that the exploit is true to facts, there is nothing improbable or anachronistic in assuming that it was Kōkkala I of the 9th century A. C. that should be credited with it. For, although the regular Muhammadan invasions came much later, yet even in the period of the Bādāmi Chālukyas there have been invasions of Gujārāt by the Muslims proceeding from the direction of Sind. It is known that Pulakēśi-Avanijānāraya of Gujārāt encountered an invasion of the Tājikas whom he repulsed sometime about 735 A. C. during the reign of Vikramāditya II.³ The Tājikas were none other than the Arab Muhammadans of Sind, and Muhammadan historians like Al-Bīḥaduri refer to the expeditions which the Arabs of Sind directed against the kingdoms of Baras (Brahm), Uzain (Ujjain), Mālwa (Mālwā) and Jurz (Gujārāt).⁴ It is well known that the Rāshtrakūṭa empire was referred to by the Muslim chroniclers as the 'kingdom of the Balhars' and that it included among its subjects a fair number of Muslims.⁵ Hence it is not unlikely, as shown above, that Kōkkala, the father of the prince called lord of Tripuri, of the Ratanpur line, was Kōkkala I who lived about 850-885 A. C. We can now have an idea of the interval between the lord of Tripuri and Kalingarāja. It appears that it is covered by three generations of kings and hence of a total duration of about 75 years. This gap in the genealogy is not entirely unaccountable; it was precisely during this interval (c. 910-950 A. C.) that the ancestors of Kalingarāja lost the country of Tummāga. It was Kalingarāja who seems to have re-established his sway over it. The statement in the Ratanpur inscription of Jājallādēva I (1114 A. C.) that Kalingarāja selected Tummāga as his capital, since the place had previously been selected for the purpose by his ancestors⁶ supports this surmise.

Prithvidēva II is not described in the present charter with any high sounding titles or achievements to his credit. The record dated, as it is, in K. 890 which is the earliest date known for him so far, seems to have been issued early in his reign before he had made any conquests of his own. That he was a powerful king and that in his reign some conquests were made is learnt from the Rājpu stone inscription of Jagapāla of K. 896⁷ in which Jagapāla is stated to have conquered the forts of Sarāparāgaṣṭha (Sārāgarh) and Mayākāśihavā and the country of Bhramaravadra during the reign of Prithvidēva II. Again the Ratanpur stone inscription dated K. 910,⁸ the latest inscription of his reign, describes him as the lord of Kōsala and states that his feudatory, Brahmadēva of the Talahāri maṇḍala, obtained a victory over Jaṭhēvara, who is evidently identical with the homonymous son of Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṇa. The same victory over Jaṭhēvara is attributed to Prithvidēva himself in the Kharod inscription of Ratnadēva III of Chāḍi year 933.⁹ Another subordinate of his, Vallabharāja, overran Laḍāha and reduced the Gauḍa king as stated in a stone inscription from Akaltārī¹⁰ not far from Dalkaṇi, the findspot of the present charter. Yet

¹ Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 258 and n. 6. H. C. Ray (*Dynamic History of South India*, Vol. II, p. 734) adduces reasons for giving Kōkkala I the dates 875-925 A.C.

² Above, Vol. XXI, p. 161.

³ Above, Vol. XXV, p. 57.

⁴ Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 125-6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁶ Above, Vol. I, p. 34, text l. 7; Vol. XXII, p. 160, n. 2.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 140, text B. 10-11.

⁸ Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 261, text l. 20.

⁹ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 163, text l. 8.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 84; *Inscriptions in G. P. and Berar* (1931) p. 121, Ins. No. 302.

another general of his, *Prithvīpati* is credited with a number of exploits like the conquest of the *Khiminṇḍi maṇḍala*, the *Chāhāri maṇḍala*, Daṇḍapura, Khijjiṅga, the killing of Haravāhu and the threatening of the ruler of Daṇḍabhukti.¹ Since Vallabharāja and Paruṣhottama were also the generals of Prithvidēva's father Ratnadēva II, it is doubtful if the conquests attributed to them were all effected during the reign of Prithvidēva II or earlier. Among the conquests that can definitely be assigned to his reign, the most important are his capture of the Bhramaravādra *dēva* and the defeat inflicted on Jājāśvara, the Eastern Gaṅga prince.

The identification of many of the territories and princes conquered by Prithvidēva II and his father Ratnadēva II and those by his grandfather Jājalladēva I has been satisfactorily made with a few exceptions to which I may draw attention here. To begin with, the Bhramaravādra *dēva* may not be Bāmra, east of Sārangarū, as Kielhorn thought, but is evidently the Bhramarakōṭya *maṇḍala*, the name by which Chakrakōṭya or the modern Bastar State was known.² During the period in which Prithvidēva II ruled in Kōsala, Bastar was under the rule of the Nāgyarūḍī kings, of whom Kanharadēva, son of Sōmśvara³ was perhaps his contemporary. Khijjiṅga, reduced by Paruṣhottama, is the modern Khiching in the Mayūrbhanj State, now merged in Orissa.⁴ It is referred to as Khijjiṅga-kōṭṭa in the inscriptions of the Āḍī Bhūḍja kings of the 9-10th century A. C. It is not known who the ruler of Khijjiṅga was when Paruṣhottama conquered it. Of the adversaries of Jājalladēva I, Sōmśvara whose army was captured, and Bhujabala of Suvarṇapura who was defeated, have not satisfactorily been identified. It has been suggested by Hiralal that Sōmśvara was the homonymous ruler of the Chakrakōṭya *maṇḍala* or Bastar.⁵ Recently Mr. G. Ramadas has adduced reasons for identifying him with Sōmśvara II, a Chōḷa prince who was ruling at Suvarṇapura, i.e., Sonapat on the Mahānadi in Orissa.⁶ I am more inclined to agree with Mr. Ramadas in this identification, though the arguments adduced by Hiralal in support of the former identification are none the less strong. Sōmśvara of Bastar, who claims to have conquered a number of countries, including Ratnapura, the very capital of Jājalladēva I, and also to have taken 6 lakhs and 96 villages of the Kōsala country, was indeed too powerful a king to have been captured by the Ratnapur ruler. Secondly, the Kharod inscription of Ratnadēva III states that Jājalladēva I defeated Bhujabala of Suvarṇapura.⁷ The mention of Suvarṇapura as the capital of Bhujabala renders it very likely that this chief must have been one of the contemporary Chōḷa rulers of the lineage of Chandrāditya who were ruling at Suvarṇapura in this period.⁸ Evidently Sōmśvara mentioned in the Ratnapur inscription of Jājalladēva I is identical with Bhujabala of Suvarṇapura mentioned in the Kharod record, since neither of the two inscriptions mentions any other prince by name as Jājalladēva's adversary.⁹ One more argument in support of Mr. Ramadas's identification, which, however, cannot be pressed far, is that Ratnadēva II, the son and successor of Jājalladēva I, assumes the title of *Mahārāṇaka*,¹⁰ which he did perhaps in imitation of Sōmśvara II of Suvarṇapura, who donned the title of *Rājaka*.¹¹ Further, the princes of both the families are found to assume the high sounding epithet of *Sakala-Kōsal-ādhipati*, thus indicating that there existed rivalry between them for the lordship of Kōsala.

¹ Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 279. Dr. D. C. Sircar would read Haravāhu as Haravāḍya.

² Above, Vol. IX, p. 176. *Śaṅkarapurāṇḍī* (D. R. Bhandarkar Preritition Volume 1040), p. 272.

³ Above, Vol. IX, p. 312.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXV, p. 132.

⁵ Above, Vol. X, p. 26.

⁶ *Journal of the Asiatic Soc. Society*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 223.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 163, text I. 6.

⁸ See the article on *Mahārāṇaka* plates of *Śaṅkarādityan* (III) further on in this Volume.

⁹ Dr. D. C. Sircar adducing the same argument identifies Sōmśvara with *Kamra Sōmśvara* of the Kolgi plates. (*I. H. Q.* Vol. XXII, p. 304; above, Vol. XII, pp. 238 ff.)

¹⁰ Śaṅkararayan plates: *Ind. Hist. Quart.* Vol. IV, p. 51.

¹¹ Palma Museum plates: above, Vol. XIX, p. 99, text I. 13.

Gōkarṇa who was the other chief, besides Chōḍagaṅga, stated to have been defeated by Ratnadēva II has not satisfactorily been identified either. Prof. Mirashi considered it likely that Gōkarṇa was another name of Jayśēvara, the son of Chōḍagaṅga.¹ I may, in this connection, draw attention to a Gōkarṇa, a Telugu Chōḍa prince of Vardhamānapurā (Hyderabad), of whose reign there is a record at Ēlāṣvaram in the Nizām's dominions, dated Chālukya-Vikrama year 33 (wrong), Plava, i.e., 1126-7 A. C.² A few other members of his family are also known from inscriptions to have been ruling parts of Hyderabad territory.³ Gōkarṇa of the Ēlāṣvaram record cited above is evidently the same as the homonymous person mentioned in the Annakōḍa inscription of Kākatīya Rudra (1162 A. C.)⁴ and of whom it is stated in that record that he was murdered by his own brother Bhīma. Since his date, i.e., 1127 A. C. would make him a contemporary of Ratnadēva II, the father of Prithvīdēva II of our record, it is not unlikely that he was the Gōkarṇa whom Ratnadēva II is stated to have defeated. Whether Gōkarṇa was defeated along with Chōḍa-Gaṅga in the same campaign or in a different encounter cannot be stated definitely.

As for the geographical names occurring in these plates, Vuḍukunī in the Madhyadēśa has to be looked for in the vicinity of the Lāphā Zamindārī of the Bilsapur District. For, the Madhya dēśa is apparently identical with the Madhya maṇḍala, mentioned in both the sets of the Amolā plates of Prithvīdēva II as the division in which were situated Āvalā and Baḍnabodh, two villages which are at present represented by Aurā Bhātā and Barbur, both in the Lāphā Zamindārī.⁵ The Madhya maṇḍala or Madhya dēśa is here indicative, not of the Madhya dēśa of classical references which is now modern United Provinces (Uttar Pradesh), but of the central portion of the dominion of the Ratanpur chiefs. Hence Vuḍukunī is to be located in the vicinity of Ratanpur itself. I would identify it with Daikōn, itself, the findspot of these plates, which is a few miles south-east of Ratanpur, near Akaltārā.

TEXT

[Metres : Vv. 1, 9, 12, 13, 15, 17 and 18 *Anuṣṭubh* ; 2, 6 and 11 *Upajāti* ; 3 *Sragdharā* ; 4 and 10 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; 5, 7 and 8 *Vasantatilakā* ; 14 *Āryā* ; 16 *Mandākrāntā*.]

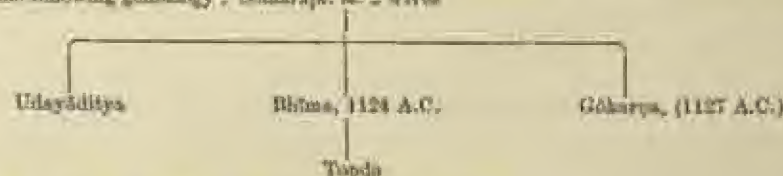
First Plate

1 Śuddham* [||*] Ōm namō Vra(Bra)hmanē || Nīrguṇaṁ vyāpakam nityam Śivam parama-kāraṇam || bhāva-grāhyaṁ paracīyōti-tasmat sād-vra(d-bra)hmanē namaḥ || 1 ||

* Above, Vol. XXII, p. 162 and n. 1.

¹ *Bhārat*, Vol. V, part I, pp. 143 ff. and plate.

² *Telangana Inscriptions*, Vol. I, (Hyderabad, 1933), Chālukya Inscriptions, No. 23, Misc. Ins., Nos. 2, 3 and 18. These furnish the following genealogy : Sūmarāja. a. 2 wives



³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 9 ff. and plate : above, Vol. IX pp. 290-1.

⁴ *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. I, pp. 47-8. Evidently the Madhya dēśa mentioned in the Sakthē plates of Ratnadēva I above, Vol. XXII, pp. 163-4) as the country from which the donor of that charter hailed is the Madhya dēśa of our record and not the Madhya dēśa of classical references.

⁵ Nandlal Dey : *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 116.

⁶ From impressions.

⁷ Expressed by *ay* *ba*.

[illegible][illegible]

Seal



(From a Photograph: Enlarged)

- 2 Ynd-ōtad=agrēnarum=āhva(m=amba)rasya jyōtiḥ sa pūshā puruṣaḥ purāṇaḥ | ath=āya
putrō Manur=ādi-rājas=tad-anvayō=’bhūd=’bhuvī Kā-
- 3 rtavīryaḥ || 2 || Dēvaḥ śrī-Kārttavīryaḥ kṣhīti-patir=abhaṇaḥ=’bhūṣhaṇam bhūta-dhātṛyā
hōl-ōtkshipt-ādri-vi(bi)bhūyat-tuhina-
- 4 giri-sut-ālōcha-santōṣhit-ōām | dōr-ddamō-ākāṣṭha-sēta-pratigamita-mahāvāri-Rāvā-pravāha-
vyādhāta-Tṛya-
- 5 kaha-pūjā-guru-janīta-rusham Rāvapaṇi yō vavaṇḍha(babandha) || 3 || Tad-vamśa-pra-
bhavā narēndra-patayaḥ khyātāḥ kṣhītau Haṭha-
- 6 yāś-tāshām=anvaya-bhūṣhaṇam ripu-manō-vinyasta-tāp-ānalāḥ | dharmma-dhyāna-dha-
nnaśan̄chita-yatāḥ sasva(śaśva)t=satāḥ saukhya-
- 7 kṣīti-prōyān=sarvva-guṇ-ānvitāḥ samabhavaḥ=chhṛimān=asaṇ Kōkkalaḥ || 4 || Aśtāśaś-
āri-kari-kurābha-vibharmga-sūh-
- 8 hāḥ putrā [ba]bhūvur=ati-san(śau)rya-parāś=cha tasya | tatr-āgrajō nṛpa-varas=Tripur-
īśa śait-pārsvō(rāvō) cha māṇḍala-patīn=sa
- 9 chakāra vaṇḍbhū(bandhū)n || 5 || Tāshām=anūjaya Kaliṅgarājaḥ pratāpa-vahni-kāhapit-
āri-rājaḥ | jātō=’anvayō dviśṣṭa-rī-
- 10 pu-pravīta-priy-ānan-āmbhūraba-pārvvay-ānduh || 6 || Tasmād=api pratata-nirmala-kīrti-
kāntō jātāḥ sutāḥ Kamalarā-
- 11 ja īti prasiddhaḥ | yasya pratāpa-taraṇāv=auditō rajanyām jātāni paṇkaja-vanāni vikāś-
bhāṇī || 7 || Tēn-ā-
- 12 tha chandira-vadanō=’jani Ratnarājō viśv-ō(viśv-ō)pakāra-karuṇ-ārjita-puṇya-bhārah |
yōna-sva-vā(bā)hu-yuga-nī-
- 13 rāmīta-vikramōga nītaṇ yaśas=trihuvano vinīṣṭya sa(śa)trūn || 8 || Nōnall-ākhyā priyā
tasya śūrasya=ō-

Second plate

- 14 va hī śūratā | tayōḥ autō nṛpa-ārēṣṭhaḥ Prithvidēvō babhūva ha || 9 || Prithvidēva-samud-
bhavaḥ samabhavad=Hājalladē-
- 15 vi-sa(su)taḥ sūrah sajjana-vāṇchehli(vāñchli)t-ārtha-phaladeḥ kalpadrumaḥ śrī-phalaḥ |
sarvvēśhām=uchito=’archehanō sumanasām
- 16 līkshṇa-dviśṣṭa-kachakāḥ pasyā(śohā)t-kāmtatar-āṣṭaga-āṅga-madanō Jājalladēvō nṛpaḥ
|| 10 || Tasy-ātmanjaḥ sakala-Kōśala-maṇ-
- 17 jana-ārīḥ śrīmān=samāhṛta-samasta-nar-ādhipa-ārīḥ ||*|| sarvva-kṣhītiśvara-śi(śi)rō-vibhī-
āmhri(ghri)-śāvah sa(śō)vābhṛitām nidhir=asaṇ blu-
- 18 vi Ratnadēvaḥ || 11 || Tasy=aiśa tenayō dhātṛiṇ prasā(śā)sti maya=śāṇpadā | Prithvidēvō
mahāpālō viśā(śā)l-ō-
- 19 [va(jj)va]la-pauruṣaḥ || 12 || Vatsasya gōtrē=’ti-pavitra-mūrttir=’vijō=tra pañcha-pravarō
bhūḥva | samasta-śā(śā)str-ā-
- 20 gama-yōda-vēitā Vra(Bra)hm-ōpamaḥ Śrō(Śrō)utama-nāmadhēyaḥ || 13 || Anukurvana-
nīja-pitarāṇ eskala-guṇ-aughair=ana-
- 21 tṛḥa-guṇa-rām(ā)h | Śivadāsa-nāmadhēya=tasya namaṣyaḥ autō bhātāḥ || 14 || Ādyaa-
trivēdi vidmahām=as(śō)-

- 22 *śha-śā(śā)str-āgama-jñāna-manōjña-sū(śā)lāḥ* | *Vishṇu-ūpaniṣo Vishṇu-iti prasiddhas-tataḥ*
sūtaḥ prādurubhūṭ-prasa(śa)śyaḥ ||
- 23 || 15 || *Rāhu-grasṭhā(śtē) rajanī-tilakē Kārttikē parihāṣṭasyām(śyāṁ) kṛtvā haṣṭ-ślakam-*
īḥ mahā-śradhayaḥ Mādhyā-dēsu(śē) (1) sūryv-ā-*
- 24 *dāyāḥ saha Vuḍukunī-grāmam-atyantā-ramyaḥ Prithvidēvō namapatir-adāḥ Vishṇavē-*
śmai dvijāya || 16 || *Sau(śa)khaḥ bhadrā-*
- 25 *sanāḥ cheḥḥa(chha)trāḥ* | *gaḥ-śva(śva)-vara-vāhanam* | *bhūmi-dānasya chihṇāni phalāni*
svarggaḥ Paratindara || 17 || *Śva-dattāḥ para-dattā(ṇ*) vā*
- 26 *yō harēta vacuṁdhacīm* | *sa viśṭhāyāḥ kṛmīṭ-bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ maha majjati* || 18 ||
Saṁvat 890 Mārgga va di
- 27 || Ravau ||

No. 28.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF KAMPANA FROM MADAM

(1 Plate)

V. VENKATASUBBA AYYAR, MADRAS

The two subjoined inscriptions A¹ and B² are engraved, one on either side of the entrance to the Southern *gōpura* in the second *prākāra* of the *Tatākapuriśvara* temple at Madam in the Wandiwash taluk of the North Arcot District in the Madras State. Both the records are in a good state of preservation and are engraved in Tamil. One is in prose and the other in verse, but both refer to the same event.

Record A in prose, is dated in Śaka 1285, Śōbhakṛit (A. D. 1362-63) in the reign of the Vijayanagara ruler **Kampana Uḍaiyar**. It states that Gaṇḍaragūḷi Mārāya-Nāyaka, son of Sōmaya-Daṇḍāyaka, captured Veṇṇumaṅkoṇḍa Śambavarāya and Rājagamhīraṇṇmalai and that he celebrated the victory by constructing the *gōpura* called 'Gaṇḍaragūḷi-Mārāyanāyakan-tirukkōpuraṁ' in the second *prākāra* of the temple of Tiruvagūḷēvaramuḷaiya-Mahādēva³ at Kulattūr. The figure of a fine bull facing the proper left, with a sword and crescent above and a lamp-stand in front, is carved at the left hand corner of the record. Record B without date, narrates in verse the same facts given in A with some poetical embellishments. The figure of a caparisoned bull with a dagger in front, pointing downwards, is engraved to the right of this record. The importance of these epigraphs lies in the historical information that they contain, viz., that Gaṇḍaragūḷi Mārāya-Nāyaka overcame the resistance put up by the Śambavarāya against the expansion of the Vijayanagara sovereignty by capturing Veṇṇumaṅkoṇḍa Śambavarāya and his stronghold, the fortress of Rājagamhīraṇṇmalai.

Before proceeding to discuss the contents of these inscriptions it will be of interest to study how the political situation in the Tamil country was favourable for the rise to power of the Śambavarāya family to which this Veṇṇumaṅkoṇḍa Śambavarāya, the contemporary of Kampana II belonged.

¹ No. 267 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

² No. 268 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

³ The god is now known as *Tatākapuriśvara*. [In the two inscriptions edited below the god is called *Kulattūr-Āṇḍaiyār* and *Kulattūr-velampadiśvara*, both equivalent to *Tatākapuriśvara*. *Kulattūr* may be taken to be the poetic form for *Kulattūr*; cf. *Kulattūr* for *Kulakkuṭi*. (Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 383, n. 6).—Ed.]

During the last quarter of the 12th century A. D. the Chōla country stood restored to its original greatness in the time of Kulōttunga-Chōla III (A. D. 1178-1216), who proclaimed his conquests by assuming the titles 'Conqueror of Madura, Iḥam (Ceylon), Katavūr, Koṅgu *alias* Virāṭōla-maṇḍalam,¹ Kāñchi and Valji.² Such wide conquests indicate the enemies that the Chōla sovereign had to encounter in order to rebuild the empire which at this period was nearly co-extensive with the present Tamil districts, including portions of the Cuddapah and Nellore Districts of the Madras State. This vast territory, for purposes of administration, was divided into a number of chiefships, each owing allegiance to the central power. Towards the close of Kulōttunga-Chōla's reign, we find that his kingdom, especially the northern portion, was ruled pre-eminently through the following chiefs :—

- 1 the Telugu Chōlas of the Nellore District,
- 2 the Yādavas with their capital at Kāḷahasti in the Chittoor District,
- 3 the Śambavarāyas in the North Arcot District,
- 4 the Malayamāṇ chiefs of Kīḷiyūr in the region around Tirukkōyilūr in the South Arcot District,
- 5 the Kājavas who were coming into power in portions of the North and South Arcot Districts,
- 6 the Bāvas who had settled on the banks of the southern Poyyār and carved out a new province called Vāṇagoppāḍi,
- 7 the Adigaimāns of Tagadūr, *i.e.*, Dharmapuri in the Salem District, and
- 8 the Gaṅgas of Kōlār in the Mysore State with their jurisdiction extending to the present North Arcot District.

To keep these disintegrating forces under control was a great task, but the chiefs, when opportunities offered themselves, seem to have consolidated their position, independent of the central power, by entering into pacts or alliances with one another. In the time of Kulōttunga-Chōla himself we find several such pacts entered into by some of them. Since we are chiefly concerned with the Śambavarāyas, we shall see what part they played in strengthening their position in the country when events were slowly drifting towards the collapse of the central power culminating in the imprisonment of the Chōla monarch Rājārāja III (A. D. 1216-1248) by one of his own subordinates, the Kājava chief Kōpperuñjūḡadōva I.

The Śambavarāya³ chiefs whose records are found in portions of the Chingleput, North and South Arcot Districts are said to have belonged to the Śeṅgōṇi⁴ family which was also otherwise known as Śambhukula.⁵ The earliest member hails from Mañṇūṛruppalli in Oymā-nāḷu.⁶ These chiefs figure as vassals in Chōla records from the time of Vikrama-Chōla (A. D. 1118) onwards, while some later members, to judge from their surnames, such as Kulāśekhara Śambavarāya and Sundara-Pāṇḍya Śambavarāya, should have changed their allegiance to the Pāṇḍyas, evidently due to political exigencies. Most of these chiefs have surnames like *Nāṭṭiyaracay*,

¹ No. 237 of 1917.

² *Pudakkōṭṭai Inscriptions*, No. 164.

³ Nos. 518 of 1902, 107 and 115 of 1900; 223 of 1904; 483 of 1908; 433 of 1913; 254 of 1919; 56 of 1922; 73 of 1945-46.

⁴ The Śambavarāyas belong to the Vanniya sect which is found in portions of Tanjore and South Arcot Districts. Some members of this sect at Conjevaram even now have the title Virā Śambhu. (*Vannavarappannam* by Minisami Nayakar, pp. 225 and 226).

⁵ Śeṅgōṇi seems to be a village from the title Śeṅgōṇimangala-mittāḷo (who resided Śeṅgōṇimangalara) assumed by a Śambavarāya chief (No. 189 of 1918).

⁶ A village called Śambakulaṇḍamāḷ-agarani was evidently founded by a member of the Śambavarāya family (*E. J. L.*, Vol I, pp. 102 and 103). In Sanskrit the form Champa is found for Śambhu.

⁷ No. 422 of 1922.

Attimallan, *Attimallan*,¹ or *Attijēṇḍāṇ*. The epithet 'Nālāyiravan' i. e., 'the Commander of the Four thousand' seems to indicate the original connection these chiefs had with a body of soldiers consisting of 4,000 members. One such was known as 'Minavugal-veṇ-kandāṇ Vikramaśōḷandāya-Vēlaikkārar', which name suggests his active part in a conflict with the Pāṇḍyas.² The Śambuvārāyas worked their way up by service to their overlords in the latter's military campaigns. Their exploits are revealed by the several titles assumed by them such as *Pāṇḍi-nāḷu-konḍa* (who took the Pāṇḍya country), *Taṇiṇṇṇāṇ* (who conquered single), *Seṇṇṇilai-veṇṇāṇ* (who conquered in every direction he went), *Seṇṇṇṇil-veṇṇāṇ* (who conquered at Seṇṇṇāṇ), *Palacūḍa-vallavan*³ (adept in wielding various weapons), *Tan-vaḷi kōṭṭuvāṇ* (who shows his sword)⁴ and *Vengrumaṇkonḍa* (who took the earth by conquest).⁵ They also endeared themselves to the people by charitable acts like founding villages, constructing tanks and building temples.⁶ It is worthy of note that some of these chiefs called themselves **Pallavas**. They also shared the titles of Kāḍava Kōpperuṇṇiṇṇas such as *Āḷappiṇṇāṇ*,⁷ *Āḷagiya-ḷṇāṇ*⁸ and *Āḷagiya Pallavan*,⁹ or *Pallavāṇḍāṇ*. These common titles suggest an affinity between the Śambuvārāyas and Kōpperuṇṇiṇṇadēva, but whether the relationship was only political and not matrimonial¹⁰ has yet to be established. From the figure of a bull engraved by the side of each of the two inscriptions under review, it is evident that the Śambuvārāyas adopted the bull as their insignia. As noted before, these chiefs allied themselves with other chieftains like the Bāgas, the Adigaimāns and the Kāḍavas, and even against some rival members of their own family for securing territorial rights and for offensive and defensive action. They gradually assumed such importance that Ediriliśōḷa-Śambuvārāya, a member of this family, was so perturbed by the presence of a foreign army in the land that he sought supernatural intercession to avert the disaster threatened by the Singhalese invasion in the time of Rājādhirāja II.¹¹ Later members of this family seem to have thrown in their weight against the Muhammadan expansion in the south,¹² which was perhaps the occasion¹³ for their assuming independence with the titles *Sakalōḷukuchakravartī* and *Vengrumaṇkonḍāṇ*, and later we find them issuing records in their own

¹ It is not clear whether this title *Attimallan* is to be traced to the village Attiyār, i. e., Little Conjeeveram (S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 849) or Atti in the North Arcot district. This title was also borne by the Malaiyamān chiefs of Kiliyār (S. I. I., Vol. VII, No. 1022; Nos. 411 of 1906, 311 and 322 of 1921).

² *Minavugal-veṇ-kandāṇ* means 'he who saw the back of the Mīṇavan i. e., Pāṇḍya' (No. 389 of 1922). Rājārāja-Śambuvārāya's grand-father claims to have conquered the Pāṇḍya country (No. 222 of 1904).

³ Nos. 181 and 184 of 1933-40.

⁴ S. I. I., Vol. I, pp. 87-88.

⁵ A record of Rājārājāyana (No. 59 of 1933-34—A. D. 1340) mentions a chief named 'Seṇḍāḷu-konḍa Śambuvārāya. It has been suggested in the *An. Rep. on Epy. for 1934*, p. 37 that this title was probably assumed by some earlier chieftain in commemoration of his having won independence from the Chōḷas.

⁶ No. 422 of 1922.

⁷ No. 353 of 1923.

⁸ Nos. 106 of 1912 and 487 of 1921.

⁹ Nos. 52 of 1919 and 428 of 1922; S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 123.

¹⁰ No. 435 of 1913 styles Kāḍava as 'brother-in-law', without specifying the person to whom he was so related. An inscription from Vaḷivār (No. 58 of 1908) mentions Vīrārakkāḍa who styles himself a Pallava, though he uses the Śeṇḍēṇṇi and Śambuvārāya titles. The Śambuvārāya chief *Āḷagiya ḷṇāṇ* Śambuvārāya makes a gift to an image set up in the temple at Tiruveṇṇaimallūr in the name of the mother of *Āḷagiya Pallavan Kōpperuṇṇiṇṇadēva* I (S. I. I., Vol. XII, No. 170).

¹¹ No. 29 of 1899.

¹² *An. Rep. on Epy. for 1904*, para. 27.

¹³ No. 434 of 1903 from Tiruvālmāṇṇur in the South Arcot District dated in the 14th year of Vengrumaṇkonḍa Śambuvārāya, corresponding to A. D. 1325-26 refers to an invasion of the Turukkar, i. e., Muhammadans which took place in previous days and to the ruin in the country, brought about by the invasion. The relevant portion of the inscription reads: 'muṇṇāḷ Turukkar vanda tiruvālmāṇṇur nūṇiyal kuḷaiṇḍu dēṇṇum aliṇḍu kōḷakkaṇṇu, etc.

names, quoting their own regnal years. Prominent among them were Veṅṛumaṅkoṭṭa-Sambuvarāya and his son Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya. These were apparently the latest members of this family with any real independent power.

For purposes of reference and study the names of the several members of this family so far known are given in an appendix at the end of this article, though no regular sequence or actual relationship among the different members can at present be established.

Veṅṛumaṅkoṭṭa Sambuvarāya and his son Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya are known to have ruled from A. D. 1322¹ to 1339² and from A. D. 1337³ to 1362-63⁴ respectively. The records of the former who is also called Ēkāmbaranātha, are found in the Chingleput, North and South Arcot Districts. The latest regnal year known for him is 18.⁵ He died by the 3rd year of his son Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya, corresponding to A. D. 1340.⁶ The present inscription is dated in Śaka 1285, Śōbhakrit (A. D. 1363-64). Since Veṅṛumaṅkoṭṭa Sambuvarāya was long since dead, the victory claimed over Veṅṛumaṅkoṭṭa⁷ in our inscription must evidently refer to a victory over his son Rājanārāyaṇa, whose rule, as noted above, extended to A. D. 1362-63. According to the Sanskrit poem *Madhurāvijayam* or *Kamparāya-charitram* composed by Gaṅgādēvi, the queen of Kampapa, it is stated that after besieging and reducing the citadel of Rājagambhira, Sambuvarāya was captured and killed. This fact receives corroboration in the main from other literary works, such as the Telugu poem *Jaimini-Bhāratam* of Pillalamarri Pinavīrabhadra and the Sanskrit poem, *Sāluva-bhūdayam* of Rājanātha-Diṇḍina and *Rāmabhūdayam* of Sāluva Narmadha.⁸

It must be noted that Gaṅgādēvi⁹ does not allude to the restoration of Sambuvarāya, but *Jaimini-Bhāratam* refers to his establishment in the kingdom by Sāluva Maṅgu, the general of Kampapa.¹⁰ Since after his overthrow in 1362-63 A. D.¹¹ Sambuvarāya's inscriptions are not found,

¹ No. 29 of 1933-34 giving Śaka 1260 with 17th regnal year. His accession is placed between May 11, A. D. 1322 and May 10, A. D. 1323 (above, Vol. XI, p. 231).

² No. 48 of 1921 dated in the 18th regnal year (No. 46 of 1900 and 49 of 1921).

³ No. 30 of 1900 and No. 42 of 1900 giving Śaka 1266, Vyaya with 9th regnal year. His accession is placed between July 31, A. D. 1337 and March 24, A. D. 1338.

⁴ No. 162 of 1940 giving [2] 6th year with Śaka 1284, Śōbhakrit.

⁵ His inscriptions with regnal years begin only from his 14th (A. D. 1335-36) and run up to 18th year (A. D. 1339-40). In the earlier part of his reign, he seems to have had very little power, consequent on the Muhammadan occupation of the country.

⁶ His ashes were thrown into the Ganges and arrangements were made for the funeral rites to be performed at Gaya (Nos. 32, 33 of 1933-34).

⁷ A *maṇḍapa* in the Śiva temple at Valdyūtūr (North Arcot Dist.) is known as Veṅṛumaṅkoṭṭa-maṇḍapa, evidently after the name of this chief (*An. Rep. on Epy. for 1933-34*, p. 30).

⁸ *An. Rep. on Epy. for 1928*, page 33; *Sources of Vij. History*, p. 70.

⁹ According to the *Madhurāvijayam*,¹ Kampapa set out from Vijayanagara with an army through Muṭhūgal and reached Virūbhuparam on the Pālār, which he made the base of his operations. He entered the Sambuvarāya country, defeated its king in a battle and having proceeded to his capital, captured it. He then pursued Sambuvarāya to the fort of Rājagambhira where he had taken refuge. He invested the fort, put the Sambuvarāya to death in a duel and captured it. On the death of their king, the subjects of Sambuvarāya submitted to Kampapa who having made Kāñchi his capital, according to the behest of his father, began to rule from the erstwhile Sambuvarāya country' (*J. of the Madras University*, Vol. XI, No. 1, p. 61f).

¹⁰ The *Jaimini-Bhāratam* states that Sāluva Maṅgu defeated the Sultan of the South and thereafter gave his territory to Sambuvarāya, establishing him on the throne (*Sources of Vij. Hs.* p. 29). But *Rāmabhūdayam* mentions that Sāluva Maṅgu, after defeating Champarāya, proceeded against the Southern Sultan who had his headquarters at Madura. There, a hard battle was fought in which the Sultan lost his life (*ibid.*, p. 22). But *Madhurāvijayam* is clear on the point. Gaṅgādēvi here states that Kumāra Kampapa first overthrew the authority of Sambuvarāya and compelled his territory before he proceeded against the Sultan of Madura.

¹¹ In the very year Śōbhakrit, the date of our record, the written order of Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya in connection with worship in the temple at Tatyūr (Chingleput Dist.) was issued by Sōmaya-Daṇḍayaka, the *śaḍḍhān* of Kampapa, evidently for being carried out, thus indicating the end of the rule of Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya (A. R. No. 226 of 1916).

the restoration of this chief, if it really took place, must refer to a prior event. The *Sāluvaśāhitya* explicitly states that Sāluva Maṅga first subjugated the Sambuvarāya and then restored him to his kingdom. The inscriptions of Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya dated from his 14th to 26th regnal years (A. D. 1351 to 1362) are found all over the Chingleput and the North and South Arcot Districts along with a few of those of Bukka, Kampapa and Śāyapa-Uḍaiyar, in this region. At Āvūr in the North Arcot District, there are inscriptions of Kampapa with dates corresponding to A. D. 1352 and 1358 and of Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya dated in his 23rd regnal year (A. D. 1360), showing Kampapa's authority, perhaps in a nebulous state in the region even during the regime of Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya.¹ The existence of these inscriptions presupposes good relationship between Sambuvarāya and the Vijayanagara rulers, for which Sāluva Maṅga must have been responsible, considering the title 'Sambuvarāya-śāhāpanābhārya' assumed by him. Whether Rājanārāyaṇa was a subordinate of Kampapa is not clear; but inscriptional evidence points to his rule as an independent chief either with or without the cognizance of Kampapa.

The capture of Madura from the Muhammadans and the establishment of a viceroyalty there under Kampapa, son of Bukka, may be said to mark the foundation of the Vijayanagara rule in the Tamil country. The first opposition to the expansion of this rule probably came from the

¹ In the Tamil country Kampapa's inscriptions are found in the following places prior to Ś. 1285, the date of our record, in some of which, Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya's inscriptions are also found:

Place.	Kampapa's date.	References.	R. Sambuvarāya's regnal year.	References.
1 Āvūr	Ś. 1274, Nandana = A. D. 1352	No. 297 of 1919	23rd = A. D. 1360 24th = A. D. 1361	Nos. 306 and 307 of 1919.
2 Ditto	Vikram = A. D. 1358-59.	Nos. 304 and 305 of 1919.	....	..
3 Arakkoṇṇamallūr	Vikram = A. D. 1359-60.	No. 103 of 1935	19th = A. D. 1356	No. 151 of 1935.
4 Achotanapakkam	Ś. 1283, Piava = A. D. 1361.	No. 250 of 1901	18th = A. D. 1355	No. 260 of 1901.
5 Śerkāḍ	Ś. 1283 = A. D. 1361	No. 203 of 1921	....	..
6 Tirakkōyūr	Ś. 1284 Subhakti = A. D. 1362-63.	No. 351 of 1921	....	..
7 Mēlpāḍi	Piava = A. D. 1361-62	No. 89 of 1929	....	..
8 Tiruvāmattūr	Subhakti = A. D. 1362-63.	No. 40 of 1922	19th = A. D. 1356	No. 64 of 1922.

It is noteworthy that in portions of the present South Arcot District, immediately after the disappearance of Sambuvarāya, no chief is recognised, as some of the records do not mention the king. No king is mentioned in the following records:

Village.	Date.	References.
a Elavānallūr	Śaka 1284, Subhakti	No. 480 of 1938.
b Tirumangunkurai	Śaka 1283, Do.	Nos. 303 and 304 of 1939-40.
c Varadāzaram	Śaka 1287	No. 151 of 1940-41.
d Nallūr	Śaka 1287	No. 103 of 1940-41.

were given to him,¹ he seems to have been proficient in music. His name was perpetuated by the institution of a service named after him in the temple of Aṭṭiā-Nāyaṅār at Tiruvāmāttūr in the South Arcot District,² and by the village Śāttampāḍi in the same district being known after him as Śōmayya-Daṇḍāyako-chaturvēḍimaṅgalam.³

His son Gaṇḍaragūḷi Mārāya-Nāyaka, according to our inscription, was directly responsible for the defeat and capture of Veṅṇumaṅkoḍa Śambavarāya, for which he received Appamaṅgalaparru as *bīṇi* from the king. He is given the title 'Aliyā-arup-aḷitta' i.e., destroyer of indestructible fortress,⁴ evidently for taking the impregnable fortress of Rājagambhīraṅmalai. He made gifts in the name of his father at Śāttampāḍi⁵ and Peruvaḷūr,⁶ both in the South Arcot District. He also figures as donor in an inscription from Sattravēḍu in the Chittoor District.⁷ The title 'Gaṇḍaragūḷi' assumed by him was also borne by a Śambavarāya chief.⁸ There seems to have been a *maṭha* in existence at Maḷam itself named after Gaṇḍaragūḷi Mārāya-Nāyakkar.⁹ His brother was Dharagi-Appar figuring in a record from Peruvaḷūr.¹⁰

The territorial division Appamaṅgalaparru was situated in the district of Palkuṅga-kōṭṭam,¹¹ in the sub-division **Sīngapura-vaḷanāḍu** included in Jayamṅgaḍasōja-maṅḍalam.¹² It included the modern villages of Dōravūr¹³ and Gaṅḍāpuram¹⁴ in the Ginji taluk of the South Arcot District and may be taken as roughly comprising a portion of this taluk.

Rājagambhīraṅmalai has been identified with Paḍaivēḍu in the North Arcot District,¹⁵ Atti¹⁶ in the Cheyyar taluk and Dēvikāpuram¹⁷ in the Arni division were situated close to it and Vaḍa-Mahādēvamaṅgalam¹⁸ in the Polur taluk was situated within its jurisdiction.

The *gōpura* in the second *prākāra* of the Taṭṭakapurisvara temple at Maḷam is said in our inscriptions to have been built by Gaṇḍaragūḷi Mārāya-Nāyaka in Śaka 1285, Śōbhakṛt; but in an inscription¹⁹ dated in the next year Krōḍhi, corresponding to Śaka 1286, the walls of this *prākāra* are stated to have been raised by Tirmallikijān Nallakamhaṅ Teṅṇavarāyaṅ of Hāṅḡḡḡ. A record without date in the same *gōpura* mentions that this structure and the doorway were the gifts of Tūṇḡḡḡār Āṅṇuḷār.²⁰ Probably this refers to the renovation or the completion of the *gōpura* referred to in our inscriptions.

A

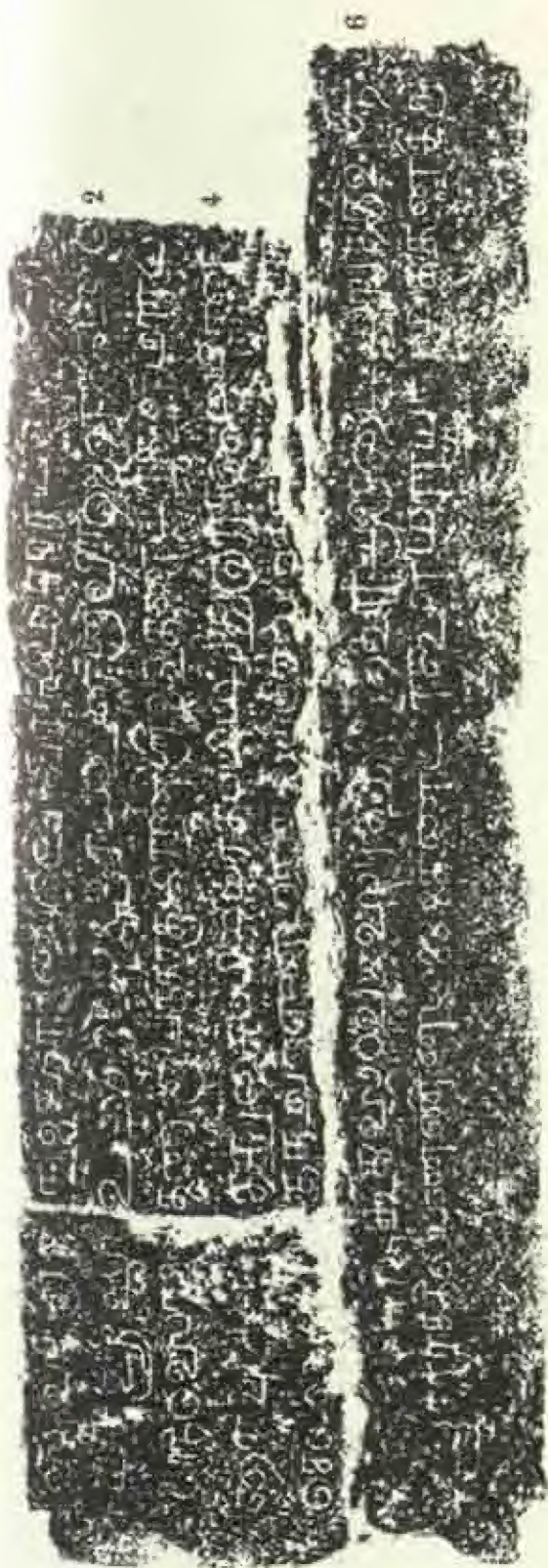
TEXT^a

- 1 Śvaṭi [()] Śrīman Mahāmaṅḍalēśvaraṅ Hariṇāya-vibhāṭaṅ (bhā)ṣaikkut-tappuvarāyaṅ-
gaṇḍan Mōvarāyaṅ-gaṇ.
- 2 ḍan-pūrva-paśchima samandrādhipaṅ Śrī-Vīra-Bokkaṅ-Uḍaiyar kumārar Śrīmatu Kampaṅ-
Uḍaiyar mahā[ā]pra-
- 3 dhāni Sōmaya-Daṇḍāyakkar kumārāṅ Śrīmatu Gaṇḍaragūḷi Mārāya-Nāyakkar Veṅṇumaṅ-
koḍa-Śambavarāya-

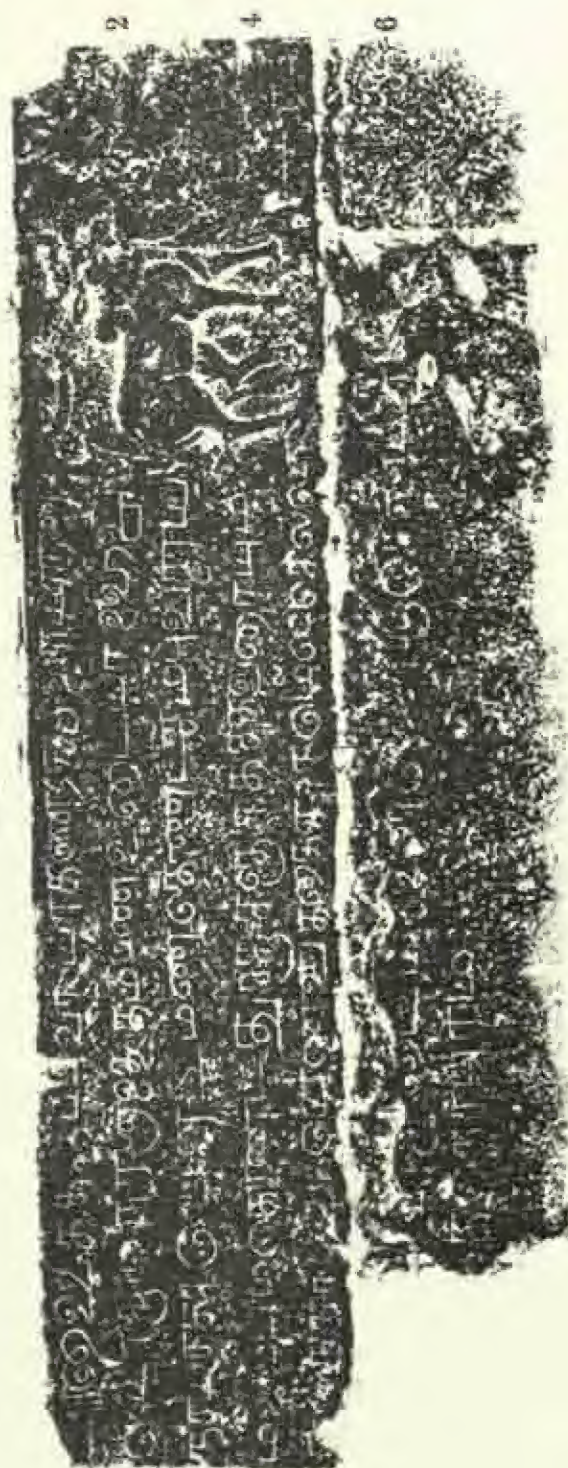
¹ No. 221 of 1931-32.² No. 226 of 1923.³ No. 236 of 1928.⁴ No. 393 of 1911.⁵ No. 728 of 1919 dated in Śaka 1285, Śōbhakṛt.⁶ No. 267 and 268 of 1923-24.⁷ No. 267 of 1923-24.⁸ *Id.*, *Rep. on Exp.* for 1912, para. 33.⁹ No. 352 of 1912.¹⁰ No. 271 of 1919.¹¹ No. 45 of 1922.¹² No. 255 of 1934-35.¹³ No. 513 of 1937-38.¹⁴ No. 239 of 1901.¹⁵ No. 541 of 1937-38.¹⁶ No. 280 of 1919.¹⁷ No. 515 of 1937-38.¹⁸ No. 298 of 1912.¹⁹ No. 54 of 1933-34.²⁰ No. 269 of 1919.^a No. 267 of 1919.

A

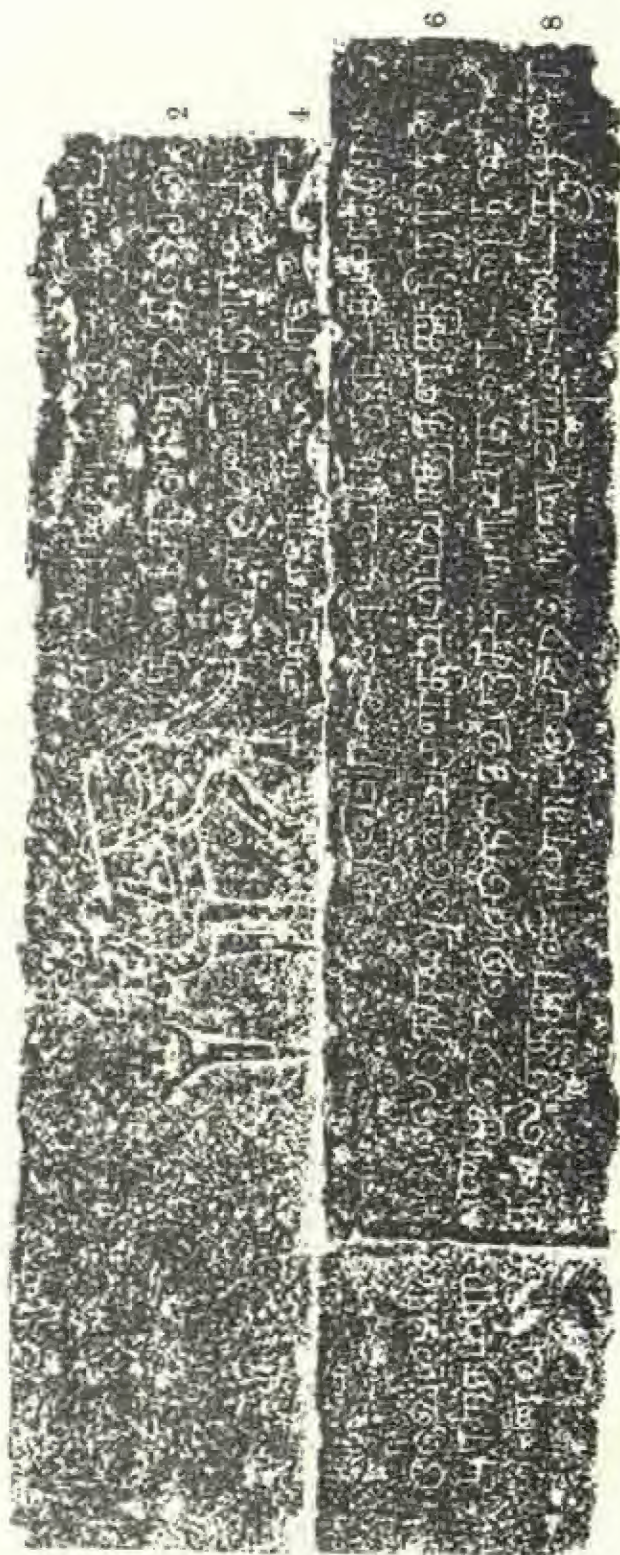
Left half



Right half



Left half



B

Right half



- 4 niyum [jayi¹]tta kaippōḍiyāgap-pōḍitta Irājagembīraṇ-malaiyum koṇḍadukka chandrāditta-
varaiyumu
5 kalla [k-kuḍu²]tta Appama[ṅga]lap-paṇṇu [i³] [Śakābd]am Āyiratta-irunūṟṟu [ye⁴]pūṭ-
taiṇjinnēl kalla-
6 nūṟa [Śōbha⁵]kṛit samvatsaratto [Ku]ṣittūṟ Āḷuḍaiyāṟ Tiruvagu[śvara]muḍaiya-Mahādē-
varicku iruṇḍā[ṇu]
7 [re⁶]kāṇattil paṇṇuṇa dharmmam Gaṇḍaragūḷi Māṟaya-Nāyakkaṇ tīrak-kōpuraṁ^{7a}.

TRANSLATION

(Li. 1 to 4) Hail ! Prosperity ! Śrīmat-Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar, son of Śēṭ-Vīra-Bokkaṇ-Uḍaiyar, with the titles Śrīman-Mahāmaṇḍalōṣvaraṇ, Harirāya-vibhāṣaṇ, Bhāṣaikkunt-tappuva-rāyara-gaṇḍaṇ, Mūvarāyara-gaṇḍaṇ and the lord of the eastern and western oceans, gave (the village) Appamaṇḍalapparru (to last) as long as the moon and the sun, to Śrīmat-Gaṇḍaragūḷi-Māṟaya-Nāyaka, son of Sōmaya-Daṇḍāyaka, the mahāpradhāni, (as a reward) for having conquered and captured (alive) Venrumaṇkoṇḍa Śamhuvarāya (and) taken possession of (his stronghold) Rāja-gambīraṇmalai.

(Li. 5 to 7) (This) sacred gōpura (called after) Gaṇḍaragūḷi-Māṟaya-Nāyaka, in the second prākāra (of the temple) is the gift made (by him) in the (cyclic) year Śōbhakṛit which was current after Śaka 1285 to Tiruvaguśvaramuḍaiya-Mahādēva, the lord of Kuṣattūṟ.

B

TEXT *

- 1 Pō-mēvu tās-aṣakam pūṇḍāgāt tīrumaḍandai tō mēvu mālai puṇai [m]āṭhūṟ chirau-
2 dilaṅga =ṇṇa dilaṅ veytivarach cheyamaḍandai tō mēva veyri-
3 puṇai mēvalar[ga]-aḍi vaṇaṅga mēgamali Vāḷagiri-ṇḷagu puṇai varikkāṟ Bukkaṇa-
4 ṇṇu kālannūḷ pōḷ vaṇaṅga Kampapaṇuṭ koṇḍāḍa maṇḍalikaṟ-āḷippa vayap-pulava[r]
5 vaḷam pā[ḍa] [ka]ṇḍavarga-ṇḷa maḷiḷak kāṇiniyil[kaḷi] tīrach Champaṇ-araṇ palav-
aḷittuṇ Champaṇaiyūṇ kaikko[ṇ]
6 ḍu vempariyal mōḷkoṇḍu vēṇṇu-ṇḷa koṟumb-aṟuttu. taṇakku niṇar tāṇṇa Sōmaya Da-
ṇḍayakkaṇ maṇakkāḷi[koṇ]-*ṇḍ-ṇiḍiruppa maṇ-
7 puranda Māṟappaṇ muraṇmai nēṇi tavaṇḍa Mūvarāyara Gaṇḍaṇ kaṇṇamaliyūṇ verraḍakkai
kaṇai kaḷaṟk Gaṇḍaragūḷi kuru-
8 ṇai v[ḷa]ḷi mudalāga kōṇiyāgap-pōṇṇa aṇṇa [maṇi⁸]ṇuḍil puḷai-ṇḷu=Appamaṇḍalap-paṇṇil
[va⁹]ṇanda Noṇṇuṇ-ayan-av-Vāṇavar-
9 kōṇ vandiṇaiṇṇu Kuḷandai Vajampatiy-āṇar kōḷamalart-tā vaṇaṅgi kaṇḍa gōpuraṇ kaṇḍu
kaḷ-toḷu.
10 pavar-aṇḍar-āṇuvar-aṇaivarun toḷavō⁷

¹ The stone is slightly damaged here.

² The letters *tāḍ*, originally engraved, have been corrected on the stone into *yē*: *yēṇṇu-ṇḷaṇṇu* is not the correct form: it must be *yēṇṇuṇṇu*.

³ Against li. 1 to 5 is engraved a fine bull in relief, facing the proper left, with a sword and crescent above and a lamp-stand in front of the animal.

⁴ No. 268 of 1919.

⁵ The word *mūṇi* is engraved below the line.

⁶ The letter *u* is engraved below the line.

⁷ To the proper right of this record is engraved the figure of a caparioned bull with a dagger in front, pointing downward.

TRANSLATION

(Ll.1 to 5). While the goddess of prosperity who is resplendent on the lotus flower was adorning gracefully (*his*) chest wreathed with fragrant garlands, while (*he*) was conquering in all directions in which (*he*) proceeded, while the goddess of victory was seated on (*his*) shoulders, while (*his*) enemies worshipped at (*his*) feet, while Bukkapa who is praised by all the world (*girt round by*) the cloud-capped Vālagiri and Kampapa who bestows gifts like a rain cloud, showered their praises, while the feudal chiefs extolled (*him*), while great poets sang about (*his*) prowess, while all who saw were pleased, while *Kali* came to an end on the earth,

(Ll.5 to 6) (*he*) destroyed many fortresses of Champā, and captured Champā himself and mounted on a fierce steed, conquered many other petty chieftains.

(Ll.6) And, while Sūmaya-Dagḍāyaka, who is equalled only by himself, was pleased in mind,

(Ll.7 to 8) (*he*), Mārappan, who protected the earth (*and who was called*) Mūvatīyara-gaṇḍan, who does not swerve from the path of justice (*and*) Gaṇḍaraṅgāli whose broad palm wields a streaked javelin and whose feet have sounding (*anklets*), (*and*) who through the grace (*of the king*) had received as *kīrti* Aṇṇamaṅgalap-paru surrounded by walls of red jewels,

(Ll.8 to 10) having worshipped at the beautiful flower-like feet of god *Īśa* at the fertile Kuṇḍalai, who is adored by the tall Viṣṇu, god Brahmā and the lord of the celestials (*Indra*), built this *gōpura*.

Those that adore (*it*) will become immortal.

APPENDIX

SAMBUVARĀYA CHIEFS KNOWN SO FAR

For the sake of brevity the following abbreviations are used in the list given below.—S.—for Sambuvārāya, N.—for Nālayarāya, Am.—for Ammayarāya, Seng.—for Sengai and Atti.—for Astimallan.

In the last column, references are to numbers and years of the *Madras Epigraphical Report*; thus 422/1922 refers to inscription No. 422 given in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for the year 1922.

For possible identification and study, different names adopted by chiefs are grouped together and shown below in sub-numbers a, b, c, etc., under each main number.

No.	Name of Chief.	Overlord.	Reign Year.	Equivalent A. D. date.	Place.	Reference and Remarks.
1	Am. S.	Vikrama-Chōla . .	5	1123	Tiruvallam . . .	232/1921.
a	Seng. B. N. Am. alias Rajendra- Sōla-S. of Muñṇirappalli in Oyml-aiḍḍu.	Ditto	11	1129	Vāyalur	422/1922. Begins with the introduction 'po-mādu paṇara'. The chief con- structed tanks, built temples and protected people from occasional dangers and thus won popular support.
b	Seng. N. Am.	Ditto	15	1132-33	Madhurāntalam .	400/1922. Begins with the introduction 'po-mādu paṇara'.
c	Seng. N. Am. alias Rajendrasōla- S.	Ditto	15	1133	Styamanagalam .	63/1000.
	Ditto	Kolōtunga-Chōla II .	5	1138	Madam	234/1919.
	Ditto	Ditto	9	1141	Dēvagr	268/1929.
	Ditto	Ditto	14	1146	Ditto	302/1929.
4	Seng. Am. Atti. alias Rajen- drasōla-S.	Rajarāja II	4	1150	Madam	228/1919. Title N. omitted and Atti. used.
e	Seng. Atti. alias Rajendrasōla-S.	Rajadhirāja II . . .	11	1174	Ditto	232/1919 and 100/1939-40. (Fide 3c below.)
7	Edimāḍa-S.	Kulōtunga-Chōla II .	6	1139	Tirukkalukuppam .	103/1932-33.
8	Am. Seng. Pallavarādān alias Rajendrasōla-S.	Rajarāja II	10	1156	Munṇur	52/1919.
	Ditto	Ditto	13	1161	Anandanagalam .	428/1922. Begins with the introductory 'Pamaruviya'.

APPENDIX—*contd.*

No.	Name of Chief.	Overlord.	Regnal Year.	Epigraphic A. D. date.	Place.	Reference and Remarks.
a	Rājāśrīyaṇa-S. of the Śaṅg- gōḥ family.	Rājāśrīya II	18	1164	Achollanrapakkam	244/1901.
b	Śaṅg. Am. Śrīyaṇ Pallavarāḍaṇ alias Rājāśrīyaṇa-S.	Rājāśrīya II	11	1174	Madam	24/1919.
c	Śaṅg. Mūḍan Śrīyaṇ Pallavarā- ḍaṇ alias S.	Ditto	11	1174	Madam	252/1919. Chief Joine Śaṅg. Att. alias Rājāśrīya-S. and Oḍuvāṇ alias Rājā- śrīyaḍiṇa-S. against Attiyāḍaṇ alias Vikramaditya-S. <i>Yāze</i> 169/1939-40 and No. 5a below.
d	Śaṅg. Mūḍan Śrīyaṇ Att. S.	Kaḷṭṭuṇṇa-Chōḷa II (?)	8	1141	Tiruvallam	S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 121. His connection with 3a is not clear.
e	Mūḍan Śrīyaṇ. Am. alias Pāṇḍiāḷa-S.	Rājāśrīya II	16	1161	Vāyalar	421/1923.
b	Śaṅg. Am. S.	Rājāśrīya II	4	1166	Tirupallivanam	393/1923. Identification not clear.
c	Edirāḷaḷa-S.	Ditto	5	1166	Ārpaḷkam	25/1899.
d	Śaṅg. Mūḍan Śrīyaṇ Am. alias S.	Ditto	8	1171	Araṅgaḍaṇḍūr	179/1935.
e	Śaṅg. Mūḍan Att. S.	Kaḷṭṭuṇṇa III	8	1189	Tiruvallam	301/1897; 8, I. I., Vol. III, No. 60.
3	Attiyāḍaṇ, son of Śaṅg. Vīra- ḍaṇ.	Rājāśrīya II	4	1167	Tiruvottiyor	70/1900; 8, I. I., Vol. VII, No. 84.
a	Attiyāḍaṇ alias Vikramaditya- S.	Ditto	11	1174	Madam	Compact formed against the chief by (1) Śaṅg. Mūḍan Śrīyaṇ Pallavarāḍaṇ alias 8. (2) Śaṅg. Att. alias Rājāśrīya-S. and (3) Oḍuvāṇ alias Rājāśrīya-S. (vide 3 a above).

d	Am. Pāṇḍinadu-kondān alias Kaṇḍar Sūriyaṅ-S.	Ditto . . .	7	1170	Tiruvakkaraḷ . . .	196/1904.
e	Śaṅg. Am. Pāṇḍi alias Rājārāja-S.	Rājākāṁari Rājārāja II.	13	1176	Mūṇḍevār . . .	222/1904. Mentions S.'s <i>prashasthi</i> Am. Kulamāyikkam who claims to have 'conquered the Pāṇḍya Country'.
f	Śaṅg. Attā. Am. . . .	Vīraśāradra-śāradra	2	1179	Tiruvattiyār . . .	49/1900 (S. I. I., Vol. VII, No. 88. Identification not clear).
g	Am. Gaṇḍar Sūriyaṅ-S. 'who took the Pāṇḍya Country'.	Kulōttunga-Chōla III	2	1179	Tiruvakkaraḷ . . .	199/1904.
h	Am. Pāṇḍi alias Rājārāja-S.	Parākāṁari Kulōttunga-Chōla.	10	1184	Ditto . . .	194/1904.
i	Am. Pāṇḍinadu-kondān alias Rājārāja-S.	Ditto . . .	4	1182	Brahmaśālam . . .	167/1918.
j	Am. Pāṇḍinadu-kondān Kaṇḍar Sūriyaṅ alias Rājārāja-S.	Vīraśāradra-Chōla	4	1182	Ditto . . .	176/1918. Asterisk 'A' others given for the chief.
k	Am. Pāṇḍinadu-kondān Kaṇḍar Sūriyaṅ alias Rājārāja-S.	Ditto . . .	6	1184	Eṇḍiyāram . . .	345/1917.
l	Śaṅg. Am. Pāṇḍinadu-kondān Gaṇḍar Sūriyaṅ alias Rājārāja-S.	Kulōttunga-Chōla III	12	1190	Aśokaśaravāḷkam . . .	220/1901, S. I. I., Vol. VII, No. 453.
m	Śaṅg. Am. Rājārāja-S. 'who took the Pāṇḍya Country'.	Ditto . . .	13	1191	Mūṇḍevār . . .	222/1904. Two chiefs pledged themselves to be loyal to this chief.
n	Rājārāja-S. alias Gaṇḍar Sūriyaṅ.	Ditto . . .	14	1192	Pennampūr . . .	219/1902 (S. I. I., Vol. VII, No. 446).
o	Am. Gaṇḍar Sūriyaṅ alias S.	Ditto . . .	14	1196	Brahmaśālam . . .	183/1918; chief constructed the gopura.
p	Pāṇḍinadu-kondān alias S.	Ditto . . .	27	1205	Tiruvannamalai . . .	310/1902 (S. I. I., Vol. VIII, No. 196). Chief entered into a pact with Śaṅg. Attā. Vīraśāradra alias Eḍirīśāradra-S. and Attā. Pallavaṇḍan alias Kulōttunga-śāradra-S. and seven others against three chiefs (See No. 80 below).
q	Śaṅg. Am. Rājārāja-S. . . .	Rājārāja III	13	1229	Mūṇḍevār . . .	57/1919: This record extends the title of the chief to over 60 years, if he is taken as identical with No. 6. The inclusion of the title 'Pāṇḍinadu-kondān' must be noted.

APPENDIX—contd.

No.	Name of Chief.	Overlord.	Regnal Year.	Epit. valent A. D. date.	Place.	Reference and Remarks.
7	Śaṅg. Am. alias Kaṇḍaśaṅga-Perumāl alias Viṛamaśōla-S.	Kulstunga-Chōla III.	10	1188	Ammundi near Viñch-chipuram.	<i>S. I. I.</i> , Vol. I, p. 130.
a	Ditto	Ditto	10	1188	Śōlapuram	343/1012, vide also <i>S. I. I.</i> , Vol. III, p. 206.
	Ditto	Ditto	11	1189	Tiruvallam	<i>S. I. I.</i> , Vol. III, No. 61.
	Ditto	Ditto	13	1191	Tiruveṇṇimalai	533/1002.
	Ditto	Ditto	13	1191	Tiruveṇṇallūr	422/1021.
	Ditto	Ditto	13	1191	Kāñchīpuram	620/1019.
b	Śaṅg. Am. Viṛamaśōla-S.	Ditto	12	1190	Kāvērippakkam	403/1005. Chief probably same as Viṛamaśōla-S. against whom a pact was formed, by Śaṅgēl Mōḍḍan Śyaṅ in 3-a above; 252/1019.
c	Śaṅg. Am. Atti. alias Viṛamaśōla-S.	Ditto	20	1198	Chengam	115/1000; <i>S. I. I.</i> , Vol. VII, No. 127. Chief enters into a compact with Karikālāśōla Adaiyār Nāḍāivān mentioned below for conducted action, either friendly or otherwise, towards Viṇḍa-Perumāl alias Kājarāja Adigaimān.
	Ditto	[No king]	20	..	Ditto	107/1000; <i>S. I. I.</i> , Vol. VII, No. 119. Compact between (1) Viṛamaśōla-S., (2) Karikālāśōla-Adaiyār Nāḍāivān and (3) Viṇḍaśōla-Perumāl alias Kājarāja Adigaimān against (1) Viḍa-vaṇḍar (2) Śyaṅ Gaḍagar and (3) sons of Kulōttuṅgaśōla-S. One condition of the compact was all to recognise the territorial boundary of each as it stood in the time of Kājarājādēva.
8	Śaṅg. Viṇḍōlan Atti. alias Kulōttuṅgaśōla-S.	Kulstunga-Chōla III.	11	1199	Madam	254/1016. Compact with Kūḍal Andan-ūḍāyāṇan Alappaiṇḍān alias Kāḍa-vaṇḍa agamaṇ Alappaiṇḍān Ellai.

a	Att. Kārttiṅgaśāḥ S.	Ditto	I[5]	1193	Aobharapāḥkum	240/1901; S. I. I., Vol. VII, No. 454.
b	Pillaiṭṭar Kūṭṭiṅgaśāḥ S.	Ditto	20	1198	Syamaṅgaḥam	41/1900; S. I. I., Vol. VII, No. 65.
	Ditto	Ditto	24	1202	Ditto	62/1900; S. I. I., Vol. VII, No. 66.
c	Att. Pallavaṅḍaṅ alias Kūṭṭiṅgaśāḥ S.	Kūṭṭiṅga-Chōḷa	27	1203	Tiruvappamalai	516/1902; S. I. I., Vol. VIII, No. 100. Compact with (1) Pādaiṇḍa-Kōṭṭiṅgaśāḥ S. (2) Seng. Att. Vīṇḍaiṇḍa alias Kūṭṭiṅgaśāḥ S. and 7 others signed (1) Maṇḍai-Nāḍiṇḍaśāḥ alias Vāṇa-kōṭṭiṅgaśāḥ S. (2) Kūṭṭiṅgaśāḥ Vāṇa-kōṭṭiṅgaśāḥ S. and (3) Bājaraśāḥ-Kāḍi-vaiṇḍa (see No. 61 above). The chief is probably related to No. 3 above, judging from the title 'Pallavaṅḍaśāḥ'.
d	Seng. Maṅgaḥamattāṇ. Am. Mūṇḍaṅ. Appan alias Chōṭṭiṅgaśāḥ S.	Ditto	16	1194	Brahmaṇḍam	189/1918.
10	Seng. Vīṇḍaiṇḍaśāḥ S. (Calla himself a Pallava).	Kūṭṭiṅga-Chōḷa III	17	1195	Valvēr	58/98. See No. 18 below.
11	Sēṇapillai alias Alagiyasāḥ S. son of Ammaiyappan.	Ditto	27	1203	Kaṇḍa Kaṇḍa	30/1893; S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 849.
a	Seng. Att. Vīṇḍaiṇḍa alias Kūṭṭiṅgaśāḥ S.	Ditto	27	1205	Tiruvappamalai	516/1902; S. I. I., Vol. VIII, No. 100. Kūṭṭiṅga compact. See Nos. 61 and 66 above.
b	Seng. Am. Alagiyasāḥ alias Kūṭṭiṅgaśāḥ S.	Ditto	33	1211	Tiruvottiyūr	94/1900; S. I. I., Vol. VII, No. 103. Mentions his grand-father.
	Ditto	Ditto	30	1213	Arugaḥ	435/1913. Compact between (1) Poṇṇa-pṇa Vāṇakōṭṭiṅgaśāḥ S. (2) Kūṭṭiṅgaśāḥ Vāṇakōṭṭiṅgaśāḥ S. and brother-in-law Kūṭṭiṅgaśāḥ S. The latter three chiefs pledged themselves not to be enemies of Sambavaraya and give no shelter to offenders against him and he in turn vows to do the same. This compact is compact in No. 516/1902. See Nos. 61 and 66 above.
c	Seng. Att. S. alias Kūṭṭiṅgaśāḥ S.	Bājaraśāḥ III	16	1232	Tiruvottiyūr	59/1900.

No.	S. Virañan	Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla	16	1200	Tirupputkall	100/1010
17	Atti. Sambutula-Porunai) attas Bāharambhūta-S.	Rājārāja III	20	1236	Tirumalai	S. I. I., Vol. I, pp. 105, 108, Founded Sambutula-chaturvīdīnāgaram.
18	Viraṇḍarūnā) Edirēlāḍḍa Aḷappirandāyān attas Rājārāja-S., grandson of Sengol Virāṇḍarū Am.	Rājārāja	29	1240	Little Kāñāḷ	500/1919. Probably grandson of No. 19 above.
19	Pillārār Rājārāja-S.	Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla	8	1259	Atti	302/1012.
20	Aḷappirandāy attas Rājārāja-S.	Ditto	18	1268	Ditto	302/1012.
21	Aḷappirandāy attas S.	{No king}	..	..	Perunagar	302/1923. Chief revives festival instituted by Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla.
22	Seng. Att. Am.	Vira. Rājārāja-Chola	2	1247	Tiravattiyār	80/1000) S. I. I., Vol. VII, No. 88.
23	Aḷagōya Pallavarū Edirēlāḍḍa-S.	Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla	2	1253	Tiruvallan	S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 123.
24	Sambutulaṭṭa-S. Vira- Champān.	Sambutulaṭṭa-S. Vira- Champān.	8	1257	Tirupputkall	52/1000) 183/1916. Instituted 'Vira Champān-Saṇḍi', S's. see 'Aḷiyam'.
25	Sundara-Pādya-S.	Att. Sundara-Pādya	17	1268(?)	Kāṭayal	222/1901. Inscription begins with 'Sa- maṭa-jagadadhārā'.
26	Kāṭṭaṇḍagōpāla-S. attas Aḷa- gōpāla.	Tribh. Vijaya-Gaṇḍagō- pāla.	19	1269	Tambayān-kōttir	230/1910.
27	Sāṇḍipāḷi attas S. of Vīṭṭal- kōṇḍi in Maḷai, a district of Maṇḍatānāḍḍam.	Jatavarman Vira-Viṇ- dya.	21	1274	Kōṭṭayār	194/1018. Probably the Pādya king in the same who ruled from A. D. 1253 to 1278; Vide No. 11 above.
28	Kāṭṭikāra-S.	Vira-Pādya	10 11 12 + 14	..	Paṭṭikonda Ditto Ditto Ditto	458/1925. 459/1925; 462/1925. 460/1925. 460/1925.
29	..	Vira-Pādya	20 + 10	..	Tiravattiyār	92/1900.
30	..	..	22 + 14	1303	Paṭṭikonda	400/1925.
31	..	..	25 (with astro- nomical details).	..	Vōṭṭi	77/1908. Gives the 25th regnal year of Kulaśekhara-S. Beglams gift for a festival called 'Seyyarṭṭi-veṭṭāṇḍu'.

APPENDIX—*contd.*

No.	Name of Chief	Overlord	Regnal Year	Equi- valent A. D. date	Place	References and Remarks
25	* Ekambaramūṭṭan, Kulaiśākhara- S.	Vira-Pādya Māra-varman Pādya	23 21st year and Śaka 1230 (with astro- nomi- cal de- cimal de- tails).	1314	Chithamēdūr Virūdhupuram	199/1923. 177/1046. Māra-varman is a mistake for Jatavarman.
26	Vira Champā cōla S.	Māra-Tēlha. Pādya	12 Śaka 1236	1314	Tiruvontiyūr	97/1000. The Pādya king was evidently Jat. Simlana-Pādya II.
27	Vēṅṅamukōṇḍa-S. called Eṭam- mūṭṭhan (<i>Ep. Dep.</i> for 1923-24, p. 36).	[Quoted his own years]	Latent year 14	1322 to 1370	Kāñchi and other places.	Initial date fixed by 26/1023-24. Last year 14 (46/1909 and 46/1021).
28	Mallināthan Rājagōpāla-S.	Ditto	0, 16, 18 and 10 years known.	1327 to 1362- 63	Gudunadūr, Pūṭal- pellaiyūm, Kōvām, Tiruthidūr Kōṭṭuṇḍiṇṇūr.	399/1908 of Kampan from Rājap- pāṭṭam refers to Mallinātha. 424/1901 : 86/1921 : 434/1925 and 136/1924. Elder brother of No. 29 below. <i>Ep. Dep.</i> for 1934, p. 36. Patron of the Tamil poem, <i>Iṭṭaiyār</i> .
29	Rājagōpāla-S.	[Own years]	Latent 24 and possibly 26 (162/1940)	1327 to 1362- 63	Tiruvallūr	Initial year fixed by 30/1806 and 42/1080. Younger brother of No. 28 above. Ref- ers to Mahamādhān in his re- cords (205/1012). Called also Pāṇḍi- Tambirān (33/1923-24).
30	Pōṇḍiyan Uṭṭaragōpāla-S.	Ditto	5	1327 to 1362- 63	Tiruvallūr	424/1925. This is a record of Rājagōpāla- Mallinātha-S. wherein the fifth year of the chief is quoted.

No. 29—A NOTE ON THE PONNUTURU PLATES OF GANGA SAMANTAVARMAN

V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

In the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 236 f. I have examined in detail several early Gāṅga dates and showed that the Gāṅga era commenced on *amānta* Chaitra śu. di. 1 in the expired Śaka year 420 (the 14th March A. D. 498).¹ Since my article was sent for publication, Mr. Somasekhara Sarma also has examined that question. According to him the era commenced in the Śaka year 426-27 or A. D. 504-05 some time between June and January. He did not fix the exact starting point of the era, but tried to prove that the months of the Gāṅga year were *pūrṇimānta*.² Recently Mr. Sarma has published the Ponnūtūru plates of the Gāṅga king Sāmāntavarman, dated Gn. 64. As these plates contain some data for calculation, one would have expected Mr. Sarma to calculate their date in the light of the epoch fixed by him, and to give its equivalent in the Śaka or the Christian era. He has not, however, done so. I therefore propose to examine this date to see how far it agrees with the epoch of the era fixed by me.

The Ponnūtūru plates³ record a grant by the Gāṅga king Sāmāntavarman in the year 64, on the occasion of the Uttarāyana or Makara-saṅkrānti. The date on which the plates were actually issued is given at the end as the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Pushya. According to the epoch fixed by me, the expired Gāṅga year should correspond to Ś. 484 (A. D. 562-63). Now, the Makara-saṅkrānti in Ś. 484 occurred 1 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise on the 20th December A. D. 562. The *tithi*, Pushya śu. di. 13, in the same year ended 10 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on the 24th December A. D. 562. The plates were thus issued 4 days after the grant was made. This appears quite likely. The date of the Ponnūtūru plates thus corroborates the epoch of the Gāṅga era fixed by me.

On the other hand, this date disproves the other epochs proposed for the era, viz. A. D. 494 by Mr. Subba Rao, A. D. 496 by the late Mr. J. C. Ghosh, A. D. 497 by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao and A. D. 504-05 by Mr. Somasekhara Sarma. I state below in a tabular form the date of the Uttarāyana and that corresponding to Pushya śu. di. 13 in the Gāṅga year 64.⁴

In all these cases the Uttarāyana or Makara-saṅkrānti occurred some days after Pushya śukla trayodāśī and so the grant made on the occasion of the saṅkrānti could not have been recorded on that *tithi* in any of these years.

In his article on the Gāṅga era as well as in that on the Ponnūtūru plates Mr. Sarma has drawn attention to certain dates of the era which, according to him, are recorded in *pūrṇimānta* months. On the other hand I have shown in my article on the epoch of the era that the following three dates are recorded in *amānta* months—

Gāṅga Year 64

Proposed Epoch of the Era	Date of Uttarāyana	Date corresponding to Pushya śu. di. 13.
A. D. 494	20th December A. D. 558	9th December A. D. 558
A. D. 496	19th December A. D. 560	16th December A. D. 560
A. D. 497	19th December A. D. 561	5th December A. D. 561
A. D. 504	19th December A. D. 568	18th December A. D. 568

¹ Subsequently I showed that the date of the Tekkal plates of Anantavarman (above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 174 f.) also corroborates that epoch. See above, Vol. XXVII, p. 192.

² *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, pp. 141 f.

³ Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 216 f.

⁴ I have calculated these dates according to the Ārya Siddhānta with the help of the tables in S. K. Filley's *India Epimeris*.

(1) Santa-Bommali plates of Nandavarman, son of Anantavarman I—Gn. 221, Āshāḍha dina pañchamī, with a solar eclipse in an unspecified month. There was a solar eclipse in amānta Jyēṣṭha in Ś. 641 (corresponding to the expired Gn. year 221). The wording of the date shows that the month Āshāḍha was amānta.

(2) Indian Museum plates of Dhvāndravarman¹—Gn. 308, with a solar eclipse in Māgha. There was a solar eclipse in amānta Māgha in Ś. 728 (corresponding to the expired Gn. 308).

(3) Poṇḍūr plates of Vajrahasta, son of Kāmārgava²—Gn. 500, Āshāḍha-māsa dina 5, Ādityavāra. This date regularly corresponds to Śaka 949, Sunday, the 13th June A. D. 997 which was Āshāḍha eu. di. 5. The wording of this date shows that the month Āshāḍha had commenced only four days before, with the bright fortnight, i.e., it was amānta.

These three dates clearly indicate that the months of the Gāṅga year were amānta. On the other hand, Mr. Sarma has drawn attention to some other dates which in his opinion are recorded in pūrṇimānta months. It is, therefore, necessary to discuss this question at some length to determine whether the months of the Gāṅga year were generally amānta or pūrṇimānta.

The only dates of the Gāṅga year which we need consider in this connection are those which mention a *tithi* in the dark fortnight of a month in connection with a solar eclipse, the autumnal or the vernal equinox or a week-day. Some other dates, whether of the bright or the dark fortnight, in which the *tithi* first mentioned in words is again expressed in the number of days at the end may also throw light on this question. On the other hand, if the *tithi* is not connected with a solar eclipse, an equinox or a week-day, but is mentioned at the end as denoting the date of the issue of the plates, it will be of no avail; for, plates were often issued several days, if not months, after the grants recorded in them were made.³ With these preliminary observations, we shall proceed to consider the relevant dates of the Gāṅga era—

Mr. Somaśekhara Sarma has drawn attention to the following dates which according to him are in pūrṇimānta months—

(1) Ponnūr plates of Sāmāntavarman⁴—Gn. 64. In this record the *tithi* when the plates were issued is given first in words as *Pushya-śukla-pakṣa-trayodāśī-dinam* in l. 26 and again in figures in line 29 as *Pushya-dina 28*. This shows that the month Pushya was pūrṇimānta.

(2) Uṛlam plates of Hastivarman⁵—Gn. 87. In this record the *tithi* when the grant was made is given in words in l. 13 as *Kārttika-kṛṣṇa-āṣṭamī* and the same date is expressed in figures in l. 23 as *Kārttika-dina 8*. This indicates that the month of Kārttika commenced with a dark fortnight.

These two dates are undoubtedly in pūrṇimānta months as stated by Mr. Sarma; but the same cannot be said of the other two dates cited by him.

(3) Tekkali plates of Dhvāndravarman⁶—Gn. 192. These plates record a grant made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The date when the plates were issued is given at the end as *Māgha-*

¹ J. A. H. R. S., Vol. II, pp. 185 ff.

² Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 73 f. and Vol. XXVI, p. 329.

³ J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI, pp. 12 and 147.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 217 f.

⁵ See, e.g., the dates of the Chinnole plates of Indravarman (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 119 f.), the Furlong plates of Indravarman (above, Vol. XIV, pp. 361 f.) and Chinnole plates of Dhvāndravarman (*ibid.* Vol. III., pp. 130 f.)

⁶ Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 216 f.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 232 f.

⁸ *Ind. Hist. Quater.*, Vol. XI, pp. 261 f.

māsa-dīpavāś triśatitimaḥ, i.e., the 30th day of Māgha. Mr. Sarma supposes that the eclipse occurred on the day mentioned at the end, but of this there is no indication in the plates. As Mr. Sarma has himself observed, 'the charters in some cases at least were issued long after the actual date of the grant. This shows that the donee was in possession of the land or *agrahāra* given to him from the date of the actual grant and the royal charter recording the gift was given him some time later—after a lapse of some months (or even years)'.¹ The same seems to have happened in the case of the Tekkali plates of Dēvōndravarmān. According to the epoch of A. D. 498, about the general correctness of which there should now be no doubt, the Gn. year 192 should correspond to A. D. 690. In that year there were two lunar eclipses—one in Jyēsthā and the other in Mārgaśīrṣa, but none in Māgha. The expression *Māgha-triśatitimaḥ* need not therefore signify Māgha *pūrṇimā*; it may as well denote Māgha *amāntya*. This date does not therefore indicate that the month of Māgha mentioned in the Tekkali plates was *pūrṇimānta*.

(4) Siddhāntam plates of Dēvōndravarmān—Gn. 195. These plates record in line 14 a grant made on the occasion of the Dakṣiṇāyana or Karkāṭaka-sukrāntī. No *tithi* is mentioned in connection with it; but at the end in l. 29 is mentioned *Śrāvāṇa-kṛishṇa-dīpa-paūchamī* as the date on which the charter was made over to the donee. There is no indication in the record that this was also the date of the Dakṣiṇāyana. There is thus no basis for Mr. Sarma's statement that 'the Dakṣiṇāyana referred to in the text of the grant must have occurred on the 5th day of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Śrāvāṇa in 193 G. E.'. As in the case of the Ponnur plates of Sāmāntavarman dated Gn. 64 and the Achyutapuram plates² of Indravarmān II, dated Gn. 87, the Siddhāntam plates of Dēvōndravarmān dated Gn. 195 may have been issued some days after the grant was made. According to my epoch of the Gāṅga era, the Dakṣiṇāyana in the expired Gn. Year 195 occurred 3 h. 29 m. on the 22nd June A. D. 693 and the *amānta* Śrāvāṇa *kṛishṇa* 5 ended on the 28th July A. D. 693. This date does not therefore go against the epoch fixed above; nor does it indicate that the month Śrāvāṇa mentioned in it was *pūrṇimānta*.

There are thus only two dates of the Gāṅga era which are recorded in the *pūrṇimānta* months. As against this, in three dates cited before, the *amānta* reckoning is unmistakably noticed. This mixture of *amānta* and *pūrṇimānta* months in the dates of the Gāṅga era is not surprising; for the same thing is noticed in the case of other eras also. Kielhorn has, for instance, observed after examining several dates of the Vikrama era that the southern (*Kārtikādi*) year of that era was joined with the *pūrṇimānta* as often as with the *amānta* scheme. The dates of the Śaka era are generally in *amānta* months, but Kielhorn noticed that in the case of one date, (viz., the Hyderabad plates of Pulakṣin II), the *pūrṇimānta* scheme had been used.³ I have shown elsewhere that the months of the Kalachuri year were generally *amānta* in Mahārāṣṭra and Gujaraṭ and *pūrṇimānta* in Central India and Chhattisgarh, but in exceptional cases the other scheme also is seen to have been used.⁴ The same seems to have occurred in the case of the Gāṅga era also.

It will be noticed that the *pūrṇimānta* scheme has been used in two of the earliest grants of the Gāṅga era, while the *amānta* scheme has been adopted in some later ones. The reason for this is

¹ *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, p. 148, n. 1.

² Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 213 f.

³ *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, p. 147. If the Dakṣiṇāyana occurred on the *pūrṇimānta* Śrāvāṇa *va. di. 5* in A. D. 699, it was a mere coincidence. The *pūrṇimānta* scheme is wholly inapplicable in the case of the dates cited above, on p. 172.

⁴ These plates were granted on the Udgayana, but were issued on Chaitra *amāntya*. The Udgayana or Utiśayana could not have occurred in Chaitra.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 272.

⁶ *A. B. O. R. I.* Vol. XXVII, pp. 22 f.

not hard to find. According to some scholars the Gāṅga of Kaliṅga hailed from Karpātaka where the Śaka era was in vogue. As Kielhorn has shown, the months of the Śaka era were generally *amānta* and very rarely *pārvāṇānta*. Besides, the prevailing custom in Karpātaka in the early centuries of the Christian era seems to have been to use the *amānta* scheme. Very few early inscriptions from Karpātaka contain any data necessary for the verification of the dates mentioned in them, but there is one record which affords a clue. The Saṅgōḷī plates¹ of Harivarman record a grant made on the occasion of the Viśvava on the new-moon day of Āvina. The mention of Viśvava or Tulā-sākrānti in the dark fortnight of Āvina shows that the month was *amānta*. Harivarman flourished in A. D. 526 or 545. So the Saṅgōḷī plates belong to about the same period as the commencement of the Gāṅga era and may be taken to indicate the custom of reckoning of lunar months prevailing in Karpātaka. If the Gāṅgas originally hailed from Karpātaka, they may have commenced their era on *amānta* Chaitra śu. di. 1. The custom prevailing in Kaliṅga may have been to use the *pārvāṇānta* scheme as it certainly was in the neighbouring country of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala.² The Gāṅgas following this custom seem to have dated some of their early records according to the *pārvāṇānta* scheme. Later on, however, they adopted the *amānta* scheme with which they were familiar in their home province.³ Hence we find that in all later records of the Gāṅga era, the months are reckoned according to the *amānta* scheme.

No. 30—INTWA CLAY SEALING

(2. Plate)

B. CH. CHURRA, OOTACANUND

The ancient site of Intwā is situated on a hill, in the midst of a thick jungle, about three miles from the famous rock at Jūnāgaḥ in Saurāṣṭra, that contains inscriptions of Aśoka, Rudradāman and Skandagupta. The name Intwā owes its origin to the fact that the site has since long been yielding bricks (*in/s*) in abundance.

During the winter of 1949, the Government of Saurāṣṭra had a small-scale excavation conducted here under the direction and supervision of Mr. G. V. Acharya, once the Curator of the Archaeological Section of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. He has laid bare remains of a couple of Buddhist monasteries. One finds that their pavements, walls, drains and platforms were all made of bricks of extra large size. In plan, they closely resemble those exposed at Taxila. Further diggings at Intwā must yield many more antiquities.

Mr. Acharya has collected an assortment of relics from this site in the shape of tiles, terracotta, pottery, beads and the like, but no inscription. The only inscribed object found there is a baked clay sealing. It is now housed in the local museum at Jūnāgaḥ along with the other Intwā antiquities.

In November 1960, I happened to visit Jūnāgaḥ in the course of my official tour that side. I then had an opportunity of examining the sealing in question. Similar clay sealings have been

¹ Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 163 f.

² See, e.g., the date of the Lōḍhī plates of Mahā-Sivagupta Bālārjuna, *Journal of the Kailasa Historical Research Society*, Vol. II, p. 121. The *śu* *Kārtika-pūrṇimānta* is again expressed as *Kārtika śu* 30, which shows that the month was *pārvāṇānta*. Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 323, last line 22.

³ In the same way the Early Chālukyas of Bādāmi continued to use the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era, which was previously current in Mahārāṣṭra, for some years after they conquered the country from the Kalachuris, but later on they gradually introduced there the Śaka era with which they had been familiar in their home province: *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXVII p. 43.

INTWA CLAY SEALING



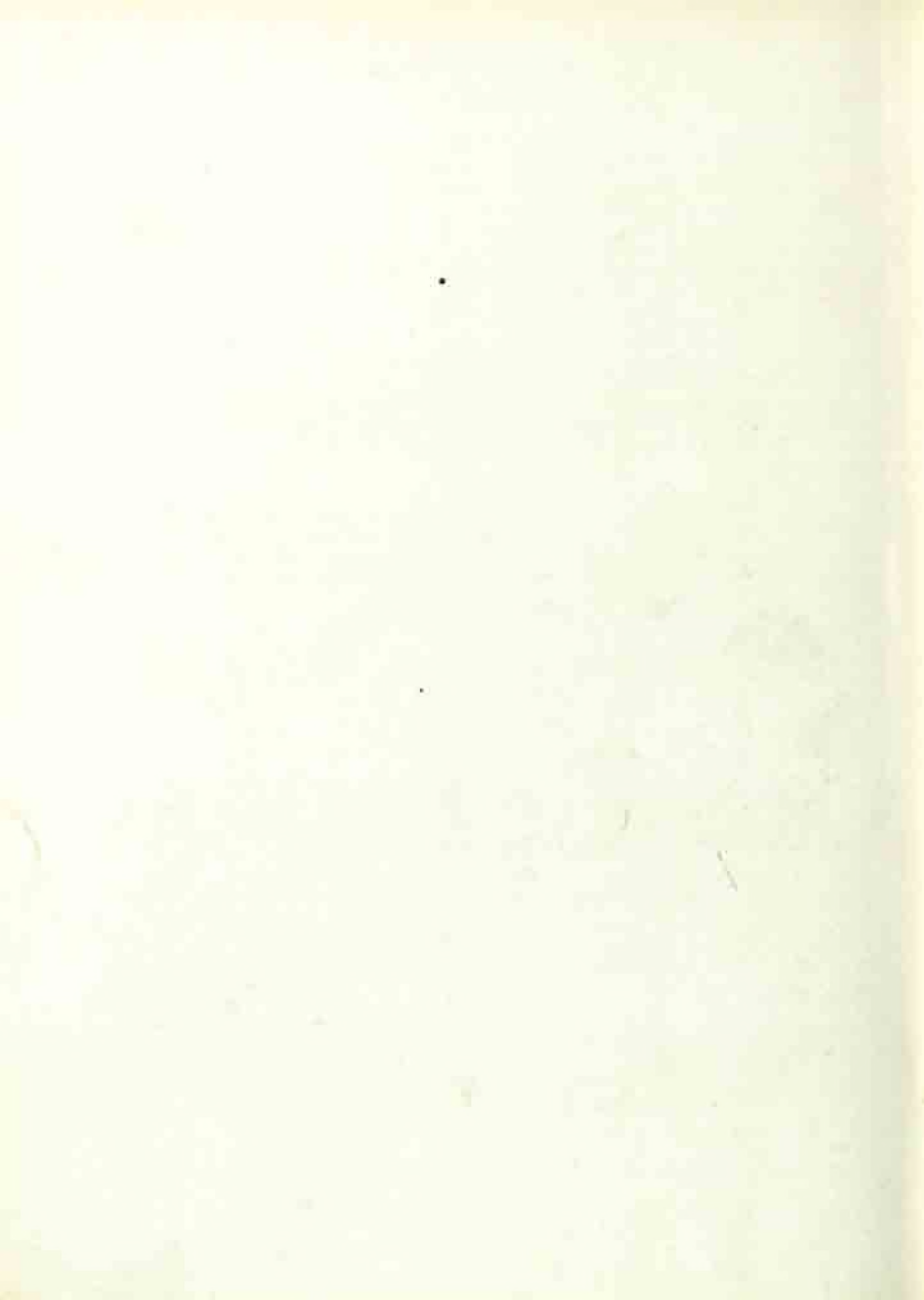
Enlarged Photograph



Pencil Rubbing



Photograph



found in their hundreds at various ancient sites in the Uttar Pradesh such as Rājghāṭ near Banāras.

The Intwā sealing is almost round in shape and about an inch in diameter. In the centre it has what is commonly called the *chaitya* symbol. Along the margin it has a legend in Brāhmī characters, running the entire course. It begins at 3 O'clock. The raised letters are a little worn out. Mr. Acharya had succeeded in reading a part of the legend; but it still remained a riddle. Luckily it yielded to my examination and revealed its full text to me, which is:

Mahārāja Rudrasēna-vihāre bhikkhu-saṅghasya

It means that the seal 'belongs to the congregation of friars at the Mahārāja Rudrasēna Monastery.'

This short record on the sealing is of great historical importance. The Mahārāja Rudrasēna spoken of herein is obviously one of those Kahatrapas who were descendants of Chastana and who ruled in Saurāshtra and in the neighbouring regions from the 2nd to the 4th century A. C. There were four rulers of the name of Rudrasēna in this dynasty, and it is not possible at this stage to say definitely as to which one is meant here, though the palaeography of the legend would make him Rudrasēna I, who was a son of Rudrasinha I and whose reign-period is known to be 199-222 A. C.¹

The present sealing is the only record so far discovered that shows that this Rudrasēna built a monastery for Buddhist monks at Jūnāgadh—a natural inference from the name it bore: *Mahārāja-Rudrasēna-Vihāra*. Further light is expected to be thrown on his activities as a patron of Buddhism when more relics will come to light from the Intwā site.

Recently Prof. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel has published an interesting paper on the Seals of Buddhist Monasteries in Ancient India, in which he has discussed similar *bhikkhu-saṅgha* seals from Kasi, Sāmāth, etc.² To that list we may now add the Intwā sealing. And this one would be the earliest of the lot.³

No. 31—ANDHAVARAM PLATES OF ANANTASAKTIVARMAN

(1 Plate)

R. Subrahmanyam, Viśakhapatnam

On receipt of a report from the village officers of Andhavaram, that an urn, containing four sets of copper plates with inscriptions, was accidentally exposed by some cowherds of that village while playing, I visited the village on 27th February 1951. Messrs. Ramachandramurty and Rajarao, the village officers, took me to the findspot, and were kind enough to permit me to carry the plates to Viśakhapatnam, for study and publication. Andhavaram is a small village in the Nannapeta taluk of the Srikakulam District, Madras State. It is situated on the left bank of the Varuadhārā river. It is about twelve miles from Chinnole Road Railway Station. There are two

¹ See E. J. Rapson's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kahatrapas, etc., in Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum*, London, 1908, p. 89.

² *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Centenary Volume (1945-1946), New Series Vol. I, pp. 27-32.

³ [As this paper was going through the press, information was received of the discovery of two more similar clay sealings of Buddhist monasteries, one from Kosam, ancient Kausambi, and the other from Kumbhār, ancient Pataliputra. The former belongs to the congregation of friars at the Ghāṭika dharma, while the latter pertains to the congregation of friars at Ārāya vihāra.—Ed.]

mounds in the south-east part of the village, on one of which there is a big banyan tree. The urn containing the plates was discovered just at the foot of this tree. The plates were suspended by means of an iron rod inserted across the deliberately broken rim of the urn and are in a good state of preservation.¹ The urn itself is of red earthenware and has a wide circular mouth. It had a hemispherical lid. The copper plates were preserved inside the urn in paddy-husk. This method of preserving copper-plate grants is known from some other cases as well.² There were, in all, four sets of copper plates. Each set consists of three plates held together by means of a thick ring, the two ends of which are securely soldered under a seal bearing the *lācchana* of the respective royal donor.

The earliest of the four records is edited here. Each of its three plates measure $6\frac{7}{8}'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}'' \times \frac{1}{8}''$. Its copper ring is circular, 4'' in diameter, and seal elliptical ($3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$). The legend on it is badly worn out, though four lines of writing are traceable. The writing is enclosed within straight lines of which there are four running across the breadth of the oval surface. Above the legend, at the top, are figured a dot and a crescent which stand respectively for a star (or sun) and the moon.

The plates do not have raised rims, but still the writing on them is in a fair state of preservation. The first side of the first plate alone is left blank. The ring had to be cut by me for taking impressions. The plates together with the ring weigh 102 *tolas*, the ring alone weighing 67 *tolas*.

The script of the inscription is Brāhmī of the southern type and bears close resemblance to the archaic characters adopted in the grants³ of the kings of Kalinga of the 5th and 6th centuries. Attention may be drawn to the peculiar type of the serif of the letters which is indicated by a dot or dots as the case may be. In this feature it closely resembles the script of the Rāgōla plates of Śaktivarman.⁴ The language is Sanskrit and except for the two benedictory verses quoted from Manu and Vyāsa, at the end (lines 14-17), the inscription is in prose. The final *m* is smaller in size and is often engraved below the line: e.g., *karṭavyam* in line 12; consonants are doubled in conjunction with a superscript *r* as in *varoma* in line 5, etc. Except for one or two mistakes of the engraver, the inscription reads all right. The numeral symbols for 10, 5 and 4 are given in the date portion of the grant. The name of the lunar month and the day are also given. Of the two place-names given in the inscription—Vijayapura and Āndōreppa,⁵ the latter appears to be the ancient name of Andhavaram, the Rudrapur of the inscription. I am not able to identify the other place, Vijayapura.

The inscription belongs to the king Mahārāja Ananta-Śaktivarman of the Mādhara family (line 5) and is issued from Vijayapura, where the king was camping with his army (*hasty-śrīra-kāndhārcāt*). It records the donation made by the king of the village of Āndōreppa converted into an *agrīhāra*, free of all taxes, to the very *brāhmaṇa* families belonging to various *gōtras* and *charaṇas* to whom, earlier, the village had been granted by Aryyaka-Śaktibhaṭṭarāka-pāda who had conquered the celestial beings by the incessant practice of *Dharma* as ordained.

¹ A photograph of the urn with the four sets of plates suspended from the rod in their original position was published in some of the English dailies, announcing the discovery. See, for instance, the *Mail* and the *Hindu* (both of Madras), respectively, of the 11th and the 14th April 1931.

² For instance, see above, Vol. XXVII, p. 268 and n. 2.

³ Rāgōla plates of Śaktivarman, above, Vol. XII, pages 1 ff. and plate 1. Rāṣṭraprāsthā grant of Cuvuvaman, above, Vol. XII, pp. 4 ff. and plate 1; *J. A. B. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 53; Sakayaka grant of Ananta-Śaktivarman, C. P. No. 71 of 1934-35. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, was kind enough to send me a set of estampages of this last mentioned inscription, the facsimiles of which have not yet been published, for purposes of comparison, for which I am highly obliged to him.

⁴ Above, XII, p. 2.

⁵ Cf. Kipōreppa of the Śrīnagarapukhā plates of Anantavarman (above, Vol. XIII, p. 57).

The king is described as a devout worshipper of the lotus-fee of the god Nārāyaṇa whose chest was embraced by Kamalanīlayā (i.e., Lakṣmī), as an ornament to Māthara-kula, and as the inheritor of the body, kingdom prosperity and prowess through the devotion to the feet of the venerable Lord, the father (*Bappa-bhātāraka-pāda-prasād-ācārya-larira-rājya-vibhava-pratāpa*). The executor or *Īṇāpti* of the grant was one Mahādandanāyaka (Commander-in-chief) and the record was written by Mātivrata who was both *Dandanāyaka* and *Dvālokaḥapatālādhipāta* (Record-keeper of the *dēśa* or District!).

Ananta-Śaktivarman is already known to us by a record¹ issued by him from his capital *Śiṭṭhapura* which registers the grant of the village Sakunaka in the Varāhavartani *vichaya* to the *brāhmaṇa* brothers Nāgakarman and Duggakarman in the 29th year of his reign, but no complete account of the Māthara family and the part played by them in the history of Kalinga is available. During the confusion that followed the invasion of Samudragupta, many new dynasties rose into prominence in Kalinga and of these the Māthara family appears to have acquired paramount sway over the whole of Kalinga. Śaktivarman, the founder of the dynasty, seems to have annexed the kingdom of Pishtapura, supplanting Mahendra² or one of his successors.

The Rāgōlu³ charter describes Śaktivarman as an ornament of Māgadha (Māthara⁴)-kula and Lord of Kalinga. He had also the matronymic name Vāsishṭhīputra, perhaps copied from the Śātavāhanas or Ikshvākus. But no definite information is available about the successors of Śaktivarman. But it can be presumed from the Sakunaka grant of Ananta-Śaktivarman that the Māthara family lost its hold in the Gōḍāvari region where Pishtapura (i.e., Piṭhāpuram) was situated and its sway was confined to North Kalinga with Śiṭṭhapura as its capital. About 7 records (excluding the plates under review) pertaining to the successors of Śaktivarman of Rāgōlu plates have so far been discovered. They are: Sakunaka grant⁵ of Mahārāja of Ananta-Śaktivarman, the Tiritthāna⁶ grant (Bobbili plates) and the Kōmarti⁷ plates of Chagḍavarman, the Dhavalapēṭa plates,⁸ the Brihatprāsthā⁹ and the Astihavēra¹⁰ grants of Mahārāja Umavarman and the Koroshandā¹¹ plates of Mahārāja Viśākhavarman. In view of the close resemblances of styles adopted in the *prastā* portion of these grants and the invariable appearance of the title *pitrībhaktā* or 'devout worshipper of the father' in some form or other in all these grants, in spite of no specific reference being made to Māthara-kula in a few among them, it has been surmised that all the kings figuring in these charters belonged to one and the same family,¹² though it is difficult to establish a definite chronological relationship.

By inference it has been established that Śaktivarman of the Rāgōlu plates was the ancestor of Ananta-Śaktivarman and on grounds of palaeography a time-lapse of a hundred years has been allowed between the records of these two kings. The Government Epigraphist for India, tentatively suggested in his report for the year 1934-35 that Ananta-Śaktivarman was the grandson of

¹ C. P. No. 24 of 1934-35; also see *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy*, 1934-35, p. 53. This record is under publication in this journal.

² Mahendra is mentioned as the ruler of Pishtapura in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta—Jayanval: *History of India* (1933), pages 134 ff.; Fleet: *Gupta Inscriptions* (C. I. I. Vol. III) No. 1, lines 19-20. The Rāgōlu plates of Śaktivarman of Māgadha (Māthara)-kula was issued from Pishtapura, the capital of Mahendra mentioned in the Allahabad inscription.

³ Above, Vol. XII, p. 2.

⁴ C. P. No. 24 of 1934-35, *A. S. I.*, 1934-35, page 53 and *A. R. S. I. E.*, 1935, page 53.

⁵ C. P. No. 12 of 1934-35, Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 35 and plate.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV, pages 142 ff. and plates.

⁷ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. X, pages 143-44 and plate; above, Vol. XXVI, pages 152 ff. and plates.

⁸ Above, Vol. XII, pages 4 f. and plate.

⁹ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, pages 53-54; C. P. No. 13 of 1934-35. This record is under publication in this journal.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. XXI, page 23 f. and plates; *J. E. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, pages 222 ff. and plate.

¹¹ *A. R. S. I. E.*, 1934-35, page 53. *Early Dynasties of Andhra Deso*, pages 387 ff.

Śaktivarman with the possibility of Anantavarman intervening between them who might have been the father of our present Śaktivarman. The latter's name is perhaps indicated by the double form Ananta-Śaktivarman to distinguish him from the earlier Śaktivarman. If this suggestion be accepted, then we may place Mahārāja Ananta-Śaktivarman, the donor of the present charter, in the first half of the 5th century A. D.

Since the grant was issued from a military camp at Vijayapura and not from Simhapura¹ which is mentioned as the capital in the records dated later one is tempted to presume that Ananta-Śaktivarman was just then engaged in some battle. No information is available as to the king with whom he was fighting. Presumably he was compelled in his 14th year to leave Pishapura, his ancestral capital, by the rising power of the Śālaśākya rulers of Vēṅgi to find a capital in the northern regions of Kalinga, i.e., Vijaya-Simhapura or Simhapura, from where members of his dynasty ruled subsequently till they were overthrown by the Vāśiṣṭhas.

TEXT²

First Plate

- 1 Svasti [i*] mahāhasty-aiśva-akandhāvārād-Vijayapurād-Bhagavataḥ-Ka-
- 2 malanilay-ākīrānta-vakhasō Nārāyaṇa-svānnuṣṭh-pāda-bhaktah
- 3 parama-daivata³-bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-prasād-āvāpta-śarīra-
- 4 rājya-vihhava-pratāpō Māthara-kul-ālakarishgub-Kaliḡgādhiḡa-

Second Plate : First Side

- 5 tiā-Śrīman-Mahārāj-Ananta-Śaktivarmanma(mnā)*[Ā]ndāreppa-grāmō sa(r)vva sa-
- 6 manvāgatān-kṛtumbina-samājñāpayati [i*] asty-avan[pa]-yathākta-
- 7 dharm-āvaśthāna-vijita-ttrivishṭapūr-Āryyaka-Śakti-bhaṭṭāraka-pā
- 8 daiḡ nānā-gōtra-nānā-charaḡḡbhyaḡ brāhmanḡbhyaḡ-pūrvva-datta ity-asmā-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 9 bhīr-āpi sva-puṇy-āyur-yyasō-bhivṛddhayaḡ ā sulastrāḡḡḡ-śasi-tāra-
- 10 kād-agrahāraḡ-kṛtvā sarva-parihāraḡ-cha parihṛity-aiḡhyō brāhmaṇa-ku-
- 11 lbbhyō-tiṛish[ah] [i*] tad-ēvaḡ jñātvā yuṣmābhīr-ābit-āvaśthānaḡ-ka-
- 12 rtiavyam[i*]bhaviṣhyad-rājāḡḡ-cha vijñāpayati yuṣmābhīr-āpi pravṛttakam

¹ C. P. No. 4 1934-35 : Simhapura has been identified by Dr. Holtzsch (above, Vol. IV, page 142) with the modern Singapuram or Singapuram in the Narasimhapeta taluk of the present Srikalahasti District.

² From original plates.

³ May be corrected as parama-daivata[i*] in which case the epithet becomes applicable to the royal donor.

⁴ [The writer may have purposely used the a-ending form and not u-ending, thus 'varmanā' and not 'varmanu', in which case no correction is necessary, the hiatus in 'parama-āda' being perfectly regular according to the sandhi rules. That the a-ending form is not incorrect, but ought to be taken as a less common form, may be inferred from its use in certain other early inscriptions. Compare, for example, *Sarvasamantana* in the Nirmad plate of Samudragupta (*CII*, Vol. III, p. 239, text line 9) : *pūtrō-śarvarmanō vikkpātāḡ* (the *papa* inscription A of King Māhevarman, Barmou, *Hydrunt tot de Toul-Land-aa Folkstunde van Nederlandisch-India*, Vol. 74, 1918, c. 213) : and *Vikramasamanta* of the Purah and (*J. A. S. B., Letters*, Vol. I, 1935, p. 26). If the above surmise is correct, the writer of the present charter has done well in employing the less common form, for, in doing so, he has avoided the ambiguity which would otherwise have resulted as to the proper name of the village, beginning an ā. The easiness would have passed unnoticed, or, if detected, one would have been left wondering whether the name of the village began with an ā or with an a. — Ed.]

⁵ The ā seems to have been written on an erasure. Its form is slightly different from the ā in line 9, which perfectly formed.

1.
 2
 4

ii, a.

6
 8

ii, b.

10
 12

iii, a.

14 14
16 16

iii, b.

18 18
20 20

present Jaipur, as an important place of pilgrimage. Jaipur was thus one of the earliest *śrīthas* in the east coast country.

The present name of the town of Jaipur seems to be a corruption of *Yayātipura*. It appears that the Sōmavamśās (from the tenth to the thirteenth century) who had their headquarters at Yayātinagara in Northern Orissa, built by and named after Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti, made Yayātipura or Jajpur their secondary capital after extending their power in Southern Orissa. The fact that Jaipur was probably also called Yayātinagara is suggested by the early Muslim chroniclers as they mentioned the Orissa kingdom of the Gaṅgas, who supplanted the Sōmavamśās from Southern Orissa and may have had their secondary headquarters at Jajpur, as Jājnagar.¹ During the medieval period Jaipur became a great centre of Tantrik worship and of the Mother-goddess cult.² Whether this was primarily due to the patronage of the Sōmavamśā kings, who were Śaivas, cannot be determined. But Jaipur enjoyed a glorious position, even before the age of the Sōmavamśās, during the days of the Bhauma-Karas (from the seventh to the ninth century), who had their capital at or near the site of Jaipur. Most of the charters of the Bhauma-Kara kings were issued from the city of Guhādēvapātaka or Guhāśvarapātaka; but in an endorsement to a charter³ of the Gaṅga king Jayavarman of Śvētaka, Unmattakōśarin ('aimha) *alias* Śivakara I, who was the founder of the greatness of the family and possibly ruled about the middle of the seventh century, is said to have had his residence at Virajas, i.e., Jaipur, and it appears that Guhādēvapātaka or Guhāśvarapātaka was the name applied by the Bhauma-Karas either to Virajas (Jaipur) itself or to a new city built by them in its vicinity.⁴ It is not known whether the name Guhādēvapātaka or Guhāśvarapātaka was derived from a deity or a king or from a deity named after a king. There is no evidence regarding the existence of a king having a name or surname like Guha in the family. The dynasty is called Bhauma⁵ in earlier records but Kara⁶ in later documents. The latter name was actually the stereotyped ending of the names of the kings of the family, although, strictly speaking, it was *kara* in most cases (cf. the names Lakṣmi-kara, Kṣēma-kara, Śiva-kara and Śānti-kara) but *śānta* in one at least (cf. the name Śubhā-kara). The earlier kings of the family were Buddhists while the later rulers were followers either of Śaivism or of Vaiṣṇavism.

Although Jaipur was certainly the residence of one of the early Bhauma-Kara kings and it is probable that all the rulers of this family had their headquarters at this place or its neighbourhood, it is rather curious that so long no inscription of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty came from the town. In January 1950, I visited Jaipur especially with the idea of seeing whether any record of the Bhauma-Karas could be traced. I am very glad to note that my effort did not prove entirely fruitless as I discovered an interesting lithic record (A) of the time of an early Bhauma-Kara ruler and another (B) that may be tentatively assigned to the early days of the family's rule. These two inscriptions are edited here.

A. Harmaśvara Temple Inscription of the time of the Bhauma-Kara Dynasty.

On the 3rd of January 1950, while I was staying at the Inspection Bungalow at Jaipur, I received information about the existence of a stone inscription in the ruins of the Harmaśvara temple from

¹ See *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XXII, p. 307.

² Vide *The Śakta Pīthas* (J. R. A. S. B., Vol. XIV), pp. 33, 43; cf. also references under Yayātipura, Yayātipura, Virajā, Nābhigayā, etc., in Appendix V, pp. 30-100. Jaipur is written in Oriya as *Pājapuri* and pronounced as *Jajpur* or *Jajpur*.

³ *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XII, pp. 492-93.

⁴ Cf. *J. R. A. S. B.*, Vol. II, p. 103; B. Mitra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 97.

⁵ Mitra, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 8, 14, etc.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 23, 34, etc. The recently discovered Ternodā plate of Śubhākara II (son of Śivakara II from Mahāśivadevī), dated year 100, mentions the family both as Bhauma and Kara. This is the earliest mention of the family as Kara.

an old Oriya gentleman named Chandrasekhar Das who is a poet and an inhabitant of Śivadāsa-pura forming a part of the Jajpur town. Mr. Das kindly led me to the site which was found to be not far from the Virajā and Trilōchana temples at Jajpur. Of the Harasēśvara temple only the plinth and the floor and the lower part of the side and back walls could be seen. There was no trace of the front wall, the upper parts of the other walls and the roof. A rectangular piece of black stone, bearing an inscription, was found embedded in the inner side of the existing lower part of the back wall. It appeared to me that the stone actually belonged to an earlier temple whose materials were utilised in the construction of the Harasēśvara temple possibly on the same site after the former had become dilapidated owing to the ravages of time. The ruins of the Harasēśvara temple lie on the bank of an old tank now almost dried up. Mr. Das informed me that the whole area had been formerly covered with a dense jungle which was cleared some 20 years ago.

The inscribed stone is rectangular in shape. There is a margin of several inches to the left of the writing; but the right side of the stone is broken and there is no margin to the right of the inscription. The lower end of the stone seems also to be broken off; but it is difficult to say anything definitely on this point. The inscription is thus fragmentary with portions lost at the end of all the extant lines, and possibly some lines of writing now missing totally. The inscribed face of the stone, as it now stands, contains altogether eleven lines, each measuring 11·5". An examination of the verses inscribed on the stone shows that an equal number of *akṣaras* have been broken away from the end of all these lines. Thus the inscribed stone seems to have been originally at least double its present length. Single letters are about ·5" in height.

The characters employed in the inscription belong to the East Indian type of the Northern Alphabet and may be ascribed on palaeographical grounds to the seventh or eighth century A.D. Some of their characteristics are the same as those of the early records of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Orissa. Of initial vowels, the inscription employs *a* (line 10), *ā* (line 2), *i* (lines 3, 5, 6), *ī* (line 6) and *u* (line 1). Medial *u* has two different forms. In many cases it resembles its late Dēvanāgarī form (cf. **r=acata* in line 1, **m=bhūvi* in line 5, **d=bhutava* in line 8, etc.); but in a few cases (cf. *kul-ādbhūt=ē* in line 2) it looks almost like medial *ū* (cf. **vy=abhūt=a* in line 4 and **d=bhūṣhitam* in line 7). The form of medial *au* in **d=Bhauma* in line 2 is interesting to note as it has an ornamental *śiro-mātrā* besides the two *prishṭha-mātrās*. Of final consonants we have only *m* (cf. lines 7, 8). The lower part of subscript *y* is ornamental and considerably long and it covers the space below several preceding *akṣaras*. In the passage *śrīman-Mādhavadēy=a* in line 4, the subscript *y* in *vyā* covers the space below the five preceding *akṣaras*. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is composed entirely in verse. Interesting from the orthographical point of view is the wrong spelling in *vidhvaṃsanah* for *vidhvāṃsanah* in line 2. Final *m* has usually been changed to the nasal of the class of the following consonants (cf. **tulān=Kam* in line 7, *nīcānan=tēna* and to the nasal of the class of the following consonants (cf. **tulān=Kam* in line 7, *nīcānan=tēna* and *dēyān=gatā* in line 10). Consonants like *m* and *ṅ* have been reduplicated in conjunction with *r* preceding them.

The existing portion of the fragmentary inscription contains no date. But as will be shown below, it refers to king Śubhākara I of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty, who may be assigned roughly to the third quarter of the seventh century.¹ The date quoted in the Naulpur plate² issued by this king cannot be definitely deciphered; but the Dhauḥ cave inscription of his second son Śāntikara I is clearly dated in the year 93 of an unspecified era.³ The era used by the Bhauma-Karas is now usually identified with the Harsha era of 606 A. D. and consequently the date of the Dhauḥ cave inscription would correspond to 699 A. D. As Śubhākara I was succeeded first by his elder son

¹ J. K. H. E. S., Vol. II, p. 103.

² Above, Vol. XV, pp. 1-8, and plate; Miera, op. cit., pp. 1-7.

³ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 263-64; Miera, op. cit., p. 11.

Śivakara II and then by his younger son Śāntikara I, he seems to have flourished considerably before the end of the seventh century. It, however, seems that our record was incised when Śubhākara I may not have been on the throne. The inscription under discussion may thus roughly be assigned to the third or fourth quarter of the seventh century.

The inscription begins with the usual symbol for *siddham* or *siddhi*—*astu*. Line 1 of the epigraph seems to have contained a complete verse in the *Āryā* metre. This is suggested by the fact that line 2 begins with a different verse in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. Of the verse in line 1, only the first foot and nine syllables as well as traces of four more *akṣaras* of the second foot are found. That the right part of this line, that has been broken away and lost, contained a little above twenty *akṣaras* appears to be suggested quite clearly by lines 9-11 of the inscription. Line 9 begins with a verse in the *Indravajrā* or *Upajitā* metre which ends with the word *hantāś* followed by two *daṇḍas* at the commencement of the next line. Then follows a verse in the *Mālinī* metre ending with the word *yasya* followed by two *daṇḍas* and the expression *ten=aita*¹ forming the beginning of another verse in a metre other than the *Mālinī*. This analysis shows that no less than twenty-one syllables are lost at the end of line 9 and twenty-three at the end of the following line.

The extant portion of verse 1 containing the words "*alir=astu*, "let the bee protect [us]"; is apparently in adoration of some deity. The reference to the god as a bee reminds us of the mention of Viṣṇu as "the mighty bee on the lotus which is the face of Jāmbavatī" in the Tūṣham rock inscription.² But the god adored in the first verse of our epigraph is probably Śiva as the construction of a temple of that god is the main subject recorded in the inscription.

Verse 2 says that there was a mighty king in the **Bhauma** family whose name was [Śu*]-**bhākara**. The past tense in the verb *āsit* may suggest that the inscription was engraved after the death of the king. As we know, there were no less than four kings of this name in the Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Orissa, although the reference to the family as Bhauma in the present record and not as Kara no doubt points to an earlier ruler of the family. The identity of Śubhākara mentioned here is, however, made clear by the following verse (verse 3) which speaks of queen **Mādhavadēvī** apparently as the wife of the king referred to in the previous verse. As known from the Chaurasi plate³ of Śivakara II, son of Śubhākara I, queen Mādhavadēvī, whose name is often wrongly supposed to be *Mādhavādēvī*, was the wife of king Śubhākara I and the mother of Śivakara II. The second half of verse 3 says how a temple of the god Bhaya (i.e., Śiva), entitled Mādhavāśvara, was built. There is no doubt that the temple was built and the deity was installed on behalf of the queen Mādhavadēvī and that the god (probably in the form of a *liṅga*) was styled *Mādhavāśvara* after her name in accordance with an old practice followed in different parts of India.⁴ Verse 4 seems to compare the temple with Śiva's residence on Mount Kailāsa and also to record the appointment of a Śaiva *ācārya* for conducting the worship of the deity installed. Verse 5 refers to a *nīpī* or tank that must have been excavated near the temple in question. The old tank, on the bank of which the ruins of the Harṣeśvara temple at Jajpur stand, is possibly no other than the *nīpī* mentioned in this verse. The next verse (verse 6) speaks of a *haṭṭa*, 'a market or a fair,' that seems to have been established or organised in a locality in the vicinity of the temple and the tank. Possibly the income of the *haṭṭa* was assigned to the temple. Verse 7 refers to a person who did

¹ The date of the Chaurasi plate of this king (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 292 ff. and Vol. XV, pp. 372-373 and plates) is doubtful.

² *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 270. [There is no reference to any bee in the present inscription. See note 3 on p. 183 below. Ed.]

³ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 292-306; Misra, op. cit., p. 8.

⁴ Cf. the case of Prithivīvata named after Prithivībāpa (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 283), *Mihirāśvara* evidently named after Mihiralakṣmi (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 288-89), and numerous other later instances recorded in inscriptions. Fleet's interpretation of the name *Mihirāśvara* as a "form of the god Śiva combined with the Son" is no doubt wrong.

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A. Hamsesvara Temple Inscription
of the time of the Bhauma - Kara Dynasty



Scale: Two-fifths

B. Chamunda Image Inscription of Vatsadevi



Scale: One-fifth

something in relation to the above establishments after the queen, no doubt Mādhavadēvi, had gone to the city of the gods, that is to say, after the queen's death. The next verse, only the first two words of which are extant, apparently also speaks of the same person and of some of his activities.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the only Bhauma-Kara record that comes from Jaipur proper which, as we have seen, was probably the capital of the rulers of the Bhauma-Kara family. Another fact not known from any other source is that Mādhavadēvi, queen of Śubhākara I, was a devotee of the god Śiva, although her husband is known, from his own Naulpur plate as well as the records of his successors, to have been a Buddhist. That the husband and wife often belonged to different religious persuasions in ancient India is indicated not only by this instance, but also by several other similar cases known from the history of other ruling families.

The inscription does not mention any geographical names with the exception of Mount Kailāsa and the mythical Udayagiri (or the Sun-rise Mountain) and Amarapura (i.e., Indra's capital in heaven).

TEXT¹

- 1 Siddham* [||*] Udayagiri-chāru-chūḍā-[viśā]m-alir²-avatu XXXX*-[|*].....
- 2 [|||*]³
- 2 Āśid-Bhauma-kul-ādbhut-āndar-ahita-dhānt-ātividhvaṇsa(dhvaṇsa)naḥ.....
- 3 bhākara iti jyōtmāyamānaḥ yaśo yasy-āsmiṇ-ripu-kā[mī[ni*]].....
- 4 rājā jagat-svāmīnī Śrīman-Mādhavadēvy-abbhūt-abbhimatā.....
- 5 na[||*] khyātō-yam-bhuyi Mādhavēvatu iti Śrīman-Bhavasy-ālaya[||3||*].....
- 6 kb āchārya iti vyatishṭhata chiram-prajāvatām-agraṇ[||*] āś[ā=ā].....
- 7 tula[ā=Kul]lāsavad-bhūahitam [||1||*] Yēn-aitat-sukat-āvaśchana-su.....
- 8 m-atyadbhutam [||śhā ch||-ānupam-āni-nirmala-jalā vāpi.....
- 9 Śrīman-mahābhāgi-vaṇ[|| k-pa jkīrṇas-|| tāṇṇan-tv-anēkaṇ] kīrṇ-ōjvalā⁴-[|*].....
- 10 haṇaḥ || [6*]⁵ Amarapura-nivāsan-tēna dēvyāś-gatāyām-īha hi ku.....
- 11 prāṇitih suvipula-jana[śā]rthās-tōsha[ya*]nt-iva yasya || [7*]⁶ Tēn-aita[ā*]⁷

* From impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ The akṣaras *malī* are quite clear. [The correct reading appears to be *chintāmanir-matā*.—Ed.]

⁴ Traces of four akṣaras can be seen after *amā*.

⁵ The metre of the verse appears to be *Arjā*.

⁶ Metre of this verse and of the next three verses: *Śardūlanāḍṛḍita*.

⁷ Either *ōjvalāś* or *ōjvalāś-yam* is intended.

⁸ Metre: *Indramajrā* or *Upajāṭh*.

⁹ Metre: *Māḍalī*.

¹⁰ The rest of the inscription is lost.

B. Chāmundā Image Inscription of Vatsadēvi

Jajpur, a famous centre of Tantrik worship and the Mother-goddess cult, abounds in the images of the Mātrikās. There is a small temple where the Mātrikās are in actual worship. A number of huge Mātrikā images are preserved in shades within the compound of the S. D. O.'s Bungalow. Of the Mātrikās, Chāmundā appears to have been in special favour at Jajpur and her images are very often met with scattered here and there. One such image of the goddess Chāmundā was found by me on the main road in the neighbourhood of the Trilōchana temple. The image is not under regular worship, although its mutilated face, dabbed with vermilion, shows that it commands at least some respect from the womenfolk of the locality. Most of the images examined by me at Jajpur were found to be uninscribed; but the image of Chāmundā noticed above has one line of writing on its base. The inscription covers a space of $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length. A single letter is about 1.5" in height; but a conjunct and a consonant with vowel marks are in some cases about 4" high.

The characters belong to the Northern class of alphabet of about the seventh century A. D. The ornamental vowel mark in *rā* reminds us of epigraphs like the Banakhera plate of Harshavardhana dated [Harsha] Samvat 22 (=628 A. D.),¹ and the Udaypur inscription of Aparājita dated V. S. 718 (=661 A. D.).² Medial *i* is still short; but medial *i* is long enough to reach the bottom line of the letters. Subscript *y* has its lower part lengthened towards the left; but it is shorter than in the case of the record of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty edited above (A). Although some of the palaeographical features of that inscription are present in the epigraph under discussion, this record seems to belong to an earlier date. The forms of *s* and *d* are slightly earlier. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, although there is Prakrit influence in the form **dēyāyāh* for *dēyāh*. As regards orthography the reduplication of *t* in conjunction with the preceding *r* may be noticed.

The inscription simply refers to the *kīrti* of queen Vatsadēvi. The *kīrti* (literally meaning 'fame') referred to is undoubtedly the image of the goddess Chāmundā on which the epigraph is incised. Bhagawanlal Indraji and K. T. Telang pointed out that in certain connections the word *kīrtana* means a temple.³ R. G. Bhandarkar supported the suggestion by quoting passages from the *Agni Purāṇa*, Bāṇa's *Kūḍambari* and Sōmēśvara's *Kīrti-kāumudī*.⁴ J. F. Fleet referred to the Mandar rock inscriptions of the time of Adityasēna mentioning one's *pushkariṇi-kīrti* which he rendered as the "famous work of a tank" and pointed out that the same meaning may be applied in many other cases to the word *kīrti*.⁵ But he further suggested on the authority of R. G. Bhandarkar that "*kīrti* and *kīrtana* are hardly to be actually translated by the word 'temple' or by any other specific term, but denote generally 'any work of public utility, calculated to render famous the name of the constructor of it... And the particular work referred to may be a temple, as in the instances quoted above' or a tank as in the present inscriptions' or anything else of a suitable nature". The inscription under discussion referring to an image of a goddess as the *kīrti* of a queen perfectly bears out the above suggestion of Bhandarkar and Fleet.⁶

Queen Vatsadēvi of ancient Orissa, who installed the image of Chāmundā in question apparently in a temple at Jajpur, is not known from any other source. She was probably the wife of one of

¹ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 310 ff. and plate.

² *Ibid.*, p. 31 and plate.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 38, note 12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 228 f.

⁵ *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 212, note 6.

⁶ This is in reference to *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 38; XII, pp. 228, 239; XIII, p. 185. See also above, Vol. XXIV, p. 240 and s.

⁷ These are the Mandar rock inscriptions of the time of Adityasēna.

⁸ See an article on *Kīrti: its connotation* in the *Siddha-Bhārat* (Dr. Siddhachar Varma Presentation Volume), pp. 33-42.

the early Bhauma-Kara kings. The earliest member of the family is mentioned in some records as Kshēmaṅkara and in others as Lakshmīkara and often the latter is regarded as the father of the former.¹ I have elsewhere suggested that the two names may actually indicate the same person.² The son and successor of the *Param-āpāṅka Mahārāja* Kshēmaṅkara was the *Parama-āthāgata Mahārāja* Śivakara I Unmattasirīha (also called Bharmasaha) who married Jayāvalitīdevī, daughter of a ruler of Rāḍhā in the valley of the river Ajay in South-west Bengal, according to the *rākshasa* form of wedding.

The issue of this union was the *Paramataigata Mahārāja*³ Subhākara I who is the king mentioned in the record edited above and whose queen was Mādhavādēvī. It is tempting to suggest that Vatsadēvī of our inscription was one of the wives of one of the two predecessors of Subhākara I.

TEXT⁴

Siddham⁵ [||*] rājñī-Vatsadāvyāyāḥ⁶ kīrttiḥ [||*]

TRANSLATION

Let there be success! (*This image of the goddess Chāmuvāḍā is*) the fame (i. e. the fame-producing work) of the queen Vatsadēvī.

No. 33—KENDUPATNA PLATES OF NARASIMHA II; SETS II AND III

(2 Plates)

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, CUTTACKMUND.

When the Kēndrāpaḍā canal in the Cuttack District, Orissa, was being excavated more than sixty years ago, a stone box measuring 3' x 3' x 2' was found about 20' below the surface of the earth in the village of Kēndupāṭnā in the Kēndrāpaḍā subdivision. The box contained three copper-plate grants issued by the imperial Eastern Ganga monarch Narasimha II (circa A.D. 1278-1305) in favour of one of his officials. Each of the grants is said to have consisted of seven plates. The box together with the copper plates was preserved in the local temple of Lakshmīnārāyaṇa. Sometime about the year 1892, the late Mr. N. N. Vasi secured the inscriptions for examination. Vasi edited the first of the three sets of the Kēndupāṭnā records in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXV, Part I, 1896, pp. 229-71 with plates. The third set of these inscriptions was transcribed by the same scholar in the Bengali encyclopaedia entitled *Vibandhāḥ*, Vol. V, 1893, s.v. *pāṇḍya* (appendix between pp. 320 and 321), where the second set of the plates was barely noticed. Unfortunately Vasi's transcripts and interpretations of the inscriptions are far from satisfactory. Even his description of the three sets of plates is not free from errors. The *Vibandhā* containing his transcript of one of the grants is, moreover, not easily available to scholars,

¹ Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

² J. K. H. R. S., Vol. II, p. 103.

³ He is called simply *Mahārāja* in his own Naulpur plate; but in the records of his successors he is endowed with the imperial title *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājadhīrāja-Paramāvara*. Subhākara I was the first imperial ruler of the family while his father and grandfather possibly owed allegiance to Harshavardhana who is known to have led an expedition in Orissa about A. D. 643; cf. J. K. H. R. S., Vol. II, p. 102-04.

⁴ From impressions.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Read **Māyāḥ*.

while one of the three inscriptions has never been published. For these reasons, a re-edition of these records was desirable. As all the three sets of the plates are now the property of the Orissa Museum at Bhubaneswar, I approached Mr. P. Acharya, Superintendent of Research and Museums, Government of Orissa, and Mr. K. C. Panigrahi, Curator, Orissa Museum, for a loan of the plates. They were kind enough to send me for examination the first set of the Kāndupāṭṇā plates in July 1950. My paper on that inscription was soon completed and I contributed it to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*,¹ Calcutta. In August 1950, I received the second and third sets of the plates. These are edited here. My thanks are due to Messrs. Acharya and Panigrahi for the kindness they have shown to me.

It is now well known that the 105 verses, containing some stray names between verses 6 and 7, form the introductory part of the charters of Narasimha II and are the same in the different charters of the king. As the later Imperial Gaṅga monarchs used to copy the genealogy of the family from the introductory portion of the grants of their predecessors, the above verses, sometimes with slight modifications, are also found in some other Gaṅga charters.² Since the historical value of these verses has been dealt with by us in detail in connection with the Nagari, Asankhali and Alampur plates, there is hardly any necessity of discussing the introductory part of the two inscriptions now under review. I am therefore editing here only the charters of Narasimha II forming the concluding portions of the inscriptions engraved on the second and third sets of the Kāndupāṭṇā plates. As a matter of fact, the grants of the king have really nothing to do with the introductory part which deals with the genealogy of the imperial Gaṅgas down to the reigning monarch as well as the achievements of some of the kings.

A.—Set II : Śaka 1217 ; Aṅka year 22.

The record is inscribed on seven plates of which the first and seventh plates are inscribed only on the inner sides. The plates are about 13 inches long and about 9 inches high. They are not numbered as in the case of the first and third sets, although the first plate seems to bear traces of the figure 7 without any preceding letter. The plates have raised rims. The hole for the ring to pass through has a diameter of 1". The diameter of the ring is $4\frac{1}{2}$ " while its thickness is a little above $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The space between the left border of the plates and the ring-hole measures 1". The seal soldered to the ring is the same as that attached to other charters of king Narasimha II and closely resembles the seal of other imperial Gaṅga grants. It is of the shape of an expanded lotus about 5" in diameter, its border containing the petals slightly bent upwards. The principal emblem on the seal is a bull,³ about $4\frac{1}{2}$ " in length and 3" in height, in an inclined posture. The size of the seal and of the bull emblem is bigger than that of the seal and the emblem of the first set of the Kāndupāṭṇā plates. There are also the emblems of the triśūla, damru, crescent and solar orb; but the *aśvata* found on the seal of the Nagari plates is absent. The writing on the plates is neat and clear; but its preservation is not quite satisfactory. Some of the plates are damaged here and there, especially about the borders, owing to corrosion. There are altogether 117 lines of writing on the plates. The inner side of the first plate and the reverse of the second have 10 lines each, while the reverse of the sixth plate and the inner side of the seventh have respectively 18 lines and 1 line. The rest of the

¹ See now op. cit., Letters, Vol. XVII, 1951, pp. 23-29.

² See the Nagari plates of Anangabhadra III (c. 1211-38) to be published in this journal; the Pari plates of Bhāsa II (c. 1205-27), son of Narasimha II, which have been discussed by me in the *JRASB*, I, Vol. XVII, pp. 19-26; the Pari plates of Narasimha IV, *JASB*, Vol. LXIV, Part I, 1905, pp. 153 ff.; the Asankhali and Alampur plates of Narasimha II to be published in this journal.

³ The Gaṅgas were originally Śaivas but became Vaiṣṇavas from the time of Anantavarman Chōḍagaḍga. The Śaivite emblem on their seal, however, was not modified.

inscribed sides of the plates have each 20 lines of writing. The weight of the plates is 955 *tolas*, while the seal and the ring weigh 253 *tolas*.

The inscription very closely resembles the other records of Narasimha II in respect of **palaeography, language and orthography** and nothing calls for special mention, especially because they have been discussed in details in connection with the Assakhalī and Alalpur plates of the same king to be published in this journal.

The date of the grant is given in words in line 177 as the expired Śaka year 1217 corresponding to the 22nd *Aśka* year (i.e., 18th actual regnal year omitting, according to rule, the first, sixth, sixteenth and twentieth years of the *Aśka* reckoning) of Narasimha II. The precise date of the document as given in line 178 is Saturday the 14th *tithi* of the dark half of the month of Māṣa (solar Vaiśākha) corresponding, if the Śaka year is regarded as current, to Saturday, the 19th April, A.D. 1294. This date, however, seems to be actually earlier than the 18th regnal year of Narasimha II. It is said that the king made a number of grants in his 19th *Aśka* (i.e., 16th regnal year), one of which was being recorded on the plates under discussion. The above date of the document is, however, based on the supposition that the word *abhiśikhyamāṇa*, found in other similar records (cf. the first set of the Kēndupātnā plates, line 176) of the king in association with the Śaka year, has been omitted in the present inscription as in the third set of the plates to be discussed below. But the language of the record as it stands may indicate that the grant had been made when the king was in the *pāṇiye-śekhāyī-maṇḍapa* (possibly a shaded hall cooled by water) at the *kaṭaka* (residence, city or secondary capital) called Rāmuṇḍa (the same as Rāmuṇḍa of several other records of the king) on Saturday, the 14th *tithi* of the dark half of the month of Māṣa in the king's 19th *Aśka* or 16th regnal year, although the charter was issued a few years later in the king's 22nd *Aśka* corresponding to the expired Śaka year 1217. If such was the case, the date of the grant may correspond to Saturday, the 14th April, A.D. 1291, although this date also actually appears to be earlier than the 16th regnal year of the king. It may be pointed out that the date of the first set of the Kēndupātnā plates is Monday, the 6th of the month of Śiṃha (i.e., solar Bhādrapada) in Śaka 1217 and in the 21st *Aśka* (17th regnal year) of Narasimha II. This date is irregular for Śaka 1217 and, for Śaka 1218, corresponds to Monday the 6th August, A.D. 1296. None of these dates tallies with the generally accepted date of the king's accession in A.D. 1273.

King *Vira-śai-Narasimhadēva* (i.e., Narasimha II), who was endowed with much *virāḍa* as *chaturdāin-bhuvan-śāhīpati*, is said to have made the grant of 100 *śūlaka* of land in favour of Bhīmadēvasārman who is also the donor of the other two sets of the Kēndupātnā plates. Bhīmadēvasārman, who was a Brāhmana of the Kāśyapa *gōtra* having the Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra and Naldiruva *puruṣas*, is described as the king's *Kumāra-mahāpātra* in the first set of the plates, while, in the present record as well as in the third set, he is called *Bṛihat-kumāra-mahāpātra*. *Mahāpātra* was no doubt a minister and *Kumāra-mahāpātra*, like *Kumāra-ānāyaka* of the older records, a minister of the rank of a *Kumāra*, i.e., a prince of the royal blood. The word *bṛihat* suggests that Bhīmadēvasārman was a *Kumāra-mahāpātra* of the foremost rank. The *mudala*, which in Telugu means 'an order' and in this context signifies the king's order regarding the execution of the grant, passed through the *Purā-parīkṣaka Pātra* Trilōchana Jēṇā.¹ The word *jēṇā* originally meant 'a prince' and later came to be the cognomen of many noble families of the Orissa region. *Parīkṣaka*, the same as Oriya *parikṣa* or *parīkṣā*, was used to indicate a governor, a superintendent, an inspector, etc. Thus the word *purā* prefixed to *parīkṣaka* may be Sanskrit *pura* and indicate a *Parīkṣaka* attached to the enjūtāl or secondary capital of the Gaṅga monarch, which may, in the present case, have been the *kaṭaka* of Rāmuṇḍa.²

¹ In the records of Narasimha IV and in the *Māḍala Pāṇḍi*, the word *mudala* seems to mean 'an arrangement made or to be made according to an order'.

² If *purā* stands for Sanskrit *pura*, it may indicate a higher officer in the class in question. The word is found as *purā* in the grants of Narasimha IV and as *pura* in the *Māḍala Pāṇḍi*.

The land measuring 100 *vāṭikās* granted to Bhīmadēvaśarma consisted of several plots. The village called Vāhālagrāma situated in the Pūrva-khaṇḍa or eastern subdivision of the Sāṅgaḍā *vishaya* (district) formed the first of the plots. The *nala*, which in Ōriyā means the measurement of area, was done by *Purō-nāyaka Śivadāsa Sēnāpati*. The word *nāyaka* (meaning a superintendent, possibly a superintendent of survey in the present context) in the designation *Purō-nāyaka* (possibly *purō-nāyaka*), indicated a high officer like the *Parīkshaka*. The designation *Sēnāpati* (leader of army) suggests that Śivadāsa held both an executive and a military post possibly at the same time. Vāhālagrāma is said to have been bounded in the east by the junction of two of the boundary lines of Bhāṭṭapāgrāma and in the west by the contiguous part of the boundary line of Jōmarāmagrāma. The southern boundary of the village was the contiguous part of the boundary line of Sunālīḍ-grāma, while its northern limit was the path (*dupḍā*) in front of the *śālmali* tree at Aṇḍiyālagrāma. Within these boundaries, the land measured 60 *vāṭikās* 7 *mānas* and 20 *guṇṭhas*; out of this, an area measuring 20 *vāṭikās* 2 *mānas* and 15 *guṇṭhas* was covered by cattle tracks, pasture lands, *muniḍapas* (public buildings), canals, jungles, palmyra groves and *nīśadhi* land under the enjoyment of gods and Brāhmanas and was subtracted leaving the net remainder (*niravakara*) of 34 *vāṭikās* 5 *mānas* and 5 *guṇṭhas*. The expression *nīśadhi-bhūmi*, used in this connection, no doubt means the same thing as the *nīśadhiḥṛite* land referred to in line 190 of the first set of the Kēndupāpnā plates. The word *nīśadhi* may be a corruption of Sanskrit *nīśādha*. Thus *nīśadhi-bhūmi* may indicate 'forbidden land'. In Kannada inscriptions, the word *nīśadhi* is used to indicate a Jaina burial ground. Whether *nīśadhi* is related to *nīśadhi* cannot be determined. A *māna*, which consists of 25 *guṇṭhas* and 20 of which make a *vāṭikā*, is now regarded as equal to one acre of land in Orissa.

The second plot of the gift land comprised the village of Gadhaigrāma situated in the Kusamāṇḍala *vishaya*. It was bounded in the west by an *aśvattha* tree near the tank at the junction of two boundary lines of the Maṅgalapura *śāna* (gift village) and in the east by the contiguous part of the boundary line of Dāvapura. Its southern limit touched the junction of two boundary lines of Maṅgalapura and its northern limit comprised parts of the canal at Sāṅgapadāgrāma. The area within these boundaries measured 40 *vāṭikās* 17 *mānas* and 1 *guṇṭha*. Out of this, an area of 11 *vāṭikās* and 3 *guṇṭhas*, covered by cattle tracks, pasture lands and tanks under the enjoyment of gods and Brāhmanas from earlier times, was subtracted leaving the net remainder of 29 *vāṭikās* 16 *mānas* and 23 *guṇṭhas*.

The third plot of land comprised the village of Khadiṅgaigrāma situated in the same Kusamāṇḍala *vishaya*. This village was bounded in the east by two boundary lines of Naṛōḍāgrāma and in the west by those of Gadhaigrāma. Its southern limit touched two boundary lines of Maṅgalapura and its northern limit those of another village the name of which is doubtful. The land within these boundaries measured 10 *vāṭikās* 17 *mānas* and 8 *guṇṭhas*. Out of this, an area, which measured 1 *vāṭikā* 16 *mānas* and 23 *guṇṭhas* and was covered by cattle tracks under the enjoyment of gods and Brāhmanas from early times, was subtracted leaving the net remainder of 9 *vāṭikās* and 10 *guṇṭhas*.

The name of the village forming the fourth plot of the gift land was possibly Bhāṭṭapadā. Its southern boundary touched parts of two boundary lines of Khadiṅgaigrāma and its northern boundary ran from parts of the canal up to the village road of Gadhaigrāma. In the east, the village was bounded by parts of two boundary lines of Maṅgalapura and in the west by those of Gadhaigrāma. The area within these boundaries measured 31 *vāṭikās* 15 *mānas* and 6 *guṇṭhas*. Out of this land, an area measuring 4 *vāṭikās* 17 *mānas* and 19 *guṇṭhas* was covered by cattle tracks, pasture lands and tanks under the enjoyment of gods and Brāhmanas from earlier times and was subtracted, leaving the net remainder of 26 *vāṭikās* 17 *mānas* and 12 *guṇṭhas*.

The areas of the four plots of the gift land, viz., 34 *vāṭikās* 5 *mānas* and 5 *guṇṭhas*, 29 *vāṭikās* 16 *mānas* and 23 *guṇṭhas*, 9 *vāṭikās* and 10 *guṇṭhas*, and 26 *vāṭikās* 17 *mānas* and 12 *guṇṭhas*, together

made a total of 100 *vaṭikā*s of land which was granted to the donee Bhīmadēvaśarmaṇ as a permanent rent-free holding together with the right to enjoy it along with land and water as well as fish and tortoise. The *śāsanādāhikāria*¹ (writer and keeper of documents) Allālanātha *Śānāpati*, who is also known from other records of Narasimha II, received two *vaṭikā*s of mixed homestead and water-covered land apparently as his fees or perquisites. The engraver of the document, the copper-smith Pannādi, who was also the writer of the first set of the Kendupātṇā plates, similarly received one *vaṭikā* of mixed homestead and water-covered land. It is specifically said that the copper-smith received his plot of land from the donee, the *Bṛīhat-Kumāra-mahāpātra* Bhīmadēvaśarmaṇ. The absence of the specification of the boundaries, etc., of any extra plot of land suggests that the *śāsanādāhikāria* also received his plot from the donee. This seems to have been the established custom as indicated by the expression *śāsanādāhikāri-vyavasthitā* in line 197 of the first set of the plates.

The following seven rent-paying subjects were allotted to the *śāsana*, which is not endowed with a special name as in other charters :

(1) Kālidāsa who was the son of Anantā, a *śaṅkhakāra* (maker of conch-shell bangles) of the Gōlāśōḍā *haṭṭa* (market); (2) Kēśa *śrēṣṭhika* who was an inhabitant of Kōmatīchehhaṅgula and belonged to the Jayanagara *haṭṭa*; (3) Alālā² who was the grandson of the goldsmith Vāmadēva of the Kivalōḷa *haṭṭa*; (4) Vanamālin who was the grandson of Virjū, an oilman of Ārūlapura³; (5) Anantāi who was the grandson of Raṇāi, a milkman of Vattakōśvara *haṭṭa*; (6) Indū who was the grandson of Sīrū, a potter of the Painnapadā *haṭṭa*; and (7) Vanamālin who was the grandson of the oilman Rāju of Jhaḥhallapura. It has to be pointed out that the words *gōpa* and *gōpara* are prefixed to the names of *tailika*-Virjū and *śūṭi*-Rāju. The same word seems to have been used as *gōpāpa* in the passage *Vāirōḷa-gōpāpa-tailika-Jāguli-śrēṣṭhikasya* in the Asankhali plates and in line 197 of the third set of the Kendupātṇā plates. Whether this refers to a particular community among the oilmen cannot be decided.

Besides Rōmūṇā, a well-known locality near Balasore, the charter mentions a number of districts, villages and market places. The districts mentioned are the Sōṅgaḍā and Kusamaṇḍala *viśaya*s. The villages lying in the Sōṅgaḍā district were Vohāla, Bhāṇḍapaḍā, Jōmatāma, Sunāilō and Aṇḍiyōḷā and those in the Kusamaṇḍala *viśaya* were Gadhaī, Maṅgalapura (styled *śāsana*), Dēvapura, Śāṅgaḍā, Khaṇḍiṅgā, Naērōḷā and Bhāṇḍapaḍā, all situated in the vicinity of one another. The list of rent-paying subjects discloses the names of the following localities : Gōlāśōḍā *haṭṭa*, Kōmatīchehhaṅgula, Jayanagara *haṭṭa*, Kivalōḷa *haṭṭa*, Ārūlapura, Vattakōśvara *haṭṭa*, Painnapadā *haṭṭa* and Jhaḥhallapura. I have not been able to identify them satisfactorily. The name Sunāilō, also known from other records of king Narasimha II, was apparently borne by different villages.

TEXT*

[Lines 1-158 are incised on Plates I, IIa, IIb, IIIa, IIIb, IVa, IVb and Va.]

Fifth Plate : Second Side

Lines 159-175 [Verse 105 of the introductory part ends with line 175].

¹ Cf. *śāsanādāhikāria* in the records, e.g., of the Western Chālukyas. See above, Vol. XII, pp. 115, 244. Alālā is a Tamil name and Allālanātha may have been the descendant of one of the Tamil officials of the ancestors of Narasimha II. See our article on the Alagum inscription to be published in this journal.

² Cf. the name Alālā above.

³ Araḷ is a Tamil name and appears to point to Tamil influence in Orissa. Cf. note 1 above.

⁴ From the original plates and their impressions.

- 176 Svasti [I*] caturdaśa-bhuvan-ādhipat-ity-ādi-virudā-rāji-virājamānaḥ sva-pratāp-ānala-
paripū(plu)ṣṭy-ā(sht-ā)rāti-gaṇaḥ vijaya-[ma*].
177 hūdayi vira-īri-Naras[ih*]hadēvaḥ sva-rājyaśya dvāvīśa(vimā)ty-aṅkē septadaś-ādhi-
kādāśa-śata-mitē gatavati Śaka-vatsarē | Rā(Rō).
178 muḥ-ābhīdhāyē katakē pāṇya-chebhāyā-maṇḍapē Mōsha-kriṣṇa-chaturīdaśyāṁ Sanri-
vātē sv-ānavīśa(vimā)ty-aṅka-samutsāhṣa-bhū-madhyāta(dhyāt)

Sixth Plate : First Side

- 179 t' purō-parikṣaka-pātra-jēnā-T[r]ilōchan-ākhyā-mū(mu)ḍalēna Kāśyapa-sagōtrīya
Kāśyap-Āvataśra-Nāidhrva-pravarāya vṛi(hri)hat-ka(t-ku)māra-mā.
180 hāpāta(tra)-Bhīmadēvaśarmamaḥ vāṭik-aika-śata-pradāśya Sāṅgaḍā-viṣa(sha)ya-pūrvva-
khaṇḍa-madhyā-sthitāḥ Vohāla-grāmaḥ purō-nāyaka-Śi.
181 vadāśa-sēnāpati-mala-[r]amāḍēna | pūrvvataḥ Bhadr[ua]ṇā-grāmīya-dvā(dvi)-śi(śi)ma-da-
[pā]ṭaḥ Jōmarāma-grāmīy-ārdh-ādi-daṇḍā-paśchima-pari-
182 chebhēdam(dam) | dakṣiṇataḥ Sunāilō-grāmīy-ārdh-ādi-daṇḍām-ārābhya Aṇḍiyālā-
grāmīya-Sālmāl-vṛikaka-sammukha-daṇḍā-paryant-ā(ant-ō)ttara- | *
183 [s*]mānam-ōvam chatuḥ-śi(śi)m-āvachēbhīna-viśā(vimā)ti-guṇṭh-ōpēta-sapta-mān-
ādhi-ka-śa[sh]ṭi-vāṭikā-bhū-madhyā-purīṭana-dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-bhōgya-gō-
184 hari-gōpatha-gōprachāra-maṇḍapa-jē-ātavi-tālava[na]-niga(ā)dhī-bh(ū)mi-samēta-paṇ-
chadaśa-guṇṭh-ōttara-māna-dvay-ādhi-ka-śaḍ-viśā(śvimā)- | *
185 ti-vāṭikā-bhū-va(ba)hīrbhūtaḥ nīravakara-paścha-guṇṭh-ōttara-paścha-mān-ādhi-ka-cha-
tutriśā(ntrishā)ḍ-vāṭikā-parimitāḥ(tam) | Kusamaṇḍala-vishaya-ma-
186 dhya-varttināḥ Gadha-grāmaḥ paśchimataḥ Jaṅgalapū(pu)ra-śāsanīya-dvi-śi(śi)ma-
daṇḍā-pū(pu)ṣṭa[r]iṣi-samip-āsvattha-vṛikahāt Dēvapū(pu)ra-ārdh-ādi-
187 daṇḍā-paryanta-pūrvva-parichebhēdam(dam) | dakṣiṇataḥ Maṅgalapū(pu)riya-dvi-śi(śi)-
ma-daṇḍām-ādhi-krītya Sāṅgaḍā-grā- | *
188 mīya-jē-ārdh-ōttara-parichebhēdam-ōvam chatuḥ-śi(śi)m-āvachēbhīna-guṇṭh-aik-
[ō]ttara-saptadaśa-mān-ādhi[ka]-chatv[ā]-
189 viśā(vimā)ḍ-vāṭikā-madhyā-pū(pu)riṭana-dēva-Vrā(Brā)hma[ua]-bhōgya-gōhari-gōpatha-
gō[pra]chā[ra]-pushkariṇī-samēta-gu-
190 ṇṭha-tray-ādhi-ka-śaḍdaśa-vāṭikā-va(ba)hīrbhūta-nīravakara-guṇṭha-trayō-viśā-ā(vimā-ā)-
dhika-śōḍaśa-mān-ō[ttar]-ō-
191 natriśā(triśā)ḍ-vāṭikā-parimitāḥ(tam) | tath-aitad-vishaya-madhy-āśma-Khaḍi[ḍ]gā-
grāmaḥ pūrvvataḥ Nārōā-grāmīya-dvi-śi(śi)ma-daṇḍām-ā[ra]bhya Ga-
192 dha-grāmīya-dvi-śi(śi)ma-daṇḍā-paśchim-āvachēbhēdam dakṣiṇataḥ Maṅgalapūriya-dvi-
śi(śi)ma-ḍa[pā]ṭa[m-a]vullikrītya × × × grāmīya-dvā(dvi)- | *
193 śi(śi)ma-daṇḍā-paryant-ōttara-śi(śi)mānam-ōvam chatuḥ[ḥ]-śi(śi)m-ā[va]chebhī[na]*[naa]-
guṇṭh-āṣṭ-ādhi-ka-saptadaśa-mān-ōttara-da[śa-vā]ṭikā-madhyā-purā-
194 tana-dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-bhōgya-gōhari-gōpatha-trayō-viśā(vimā)ti-guṇṭh-ōttara-
śōḍaśa-mānān-ādhi-ka-aika-vāṭikā-va(ba)hīrbhūta-nīra-
195 vakara-daśa-guṇṭh-ōttara-nava-vāṭikā-parimitāḥ(tam) | tath-aita[d-viśa]ya-madhyā-
varttināḥ [Bhām][ḍa]ḍa[ḍ]grāmaḥ(mam) | dakṣiṇataḥ | Khaḍi[ḍ]gā- | *

* This t is superfluous.

* The daṇḍa is superfluous and is used to cover some space at the end of the line.

* Read mān-dāśi.

E. O.

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164

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100

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178

T.L.G.

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182

184

1270

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114

194

112

180

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1-2

15

1997

14

1997

[illegible]

A dark, heavily textured rectangular object, possibly a book cover or a piece of aged paper, showing significant wear and discoloration. A small, light-colored circular mark is visible on the left side. The object is framed by a white border with the number '217' in the top corners.

vi.b.

162

164

166

168

170

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174

176

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164

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168

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176

178

vi.a.

180

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- 196 [grāmi]ya-[dvi-śi(śi)]ma-daṇḍ-ār[ddham-ā]diśh kṛtvā Gadha[grāmiya-jō]-ārdh-ādi-da-
[n]ā-paryant-ōttara]-śi(śi)mānadh(nam)|| pūrvvataḥ [Majjagala-puri-
197 ya-[dvi-śi(śi)]ma-[daṇḍ]-ārdh[ā]t Gadha[grāmiya-dvi-śi(śi)]ma-daṇḍā-paśchi[m-āvachchhō]-
dam-ēva[m] cha[tuḥ*]-ś[im-āvachchhī*]juna-[chaḥ-gu]ḥh-ōpēta-pañchādāsa-mā- |
198 n-ā[dbik-arka] [triṇsa(triṇsa)d-vā*][ti]kā-madhiya-[purātana-dēva-Yrā(Brā)hmaṇa]-
bhōgya-[gō]llari-gōpatha-gōprachāra-pushkaripī-samēt-ō[na- |¹]

Sixth Plate : Second Side

- 199 viṇsa(viṇsa)ti-guṇṭha-sahita-saptadaśa-men-ādhika-chatuṣṭaya²-vāṭikā-va(ba)hīrhhūta-
niravakara-guṇṭha-dvādaś-ōpēta-[saptada][śa-mā*]-
200 n-ōttara-ahajviṇsa(ōvviṇsa)ti-vāṭikā-parimitam(tam)|| ma(ō)vaṇ si(mi)litvā vāṭikā-
katarā jala-śikula-machchha(taya)-kuchhapa-sahitam-āṇ(m-ā)chaudr-ārka[m-a*]-
201 karikṛitya prādāt|| asmin āsanō āsan-ādhikāri-³ A[llā]lanūtha-sēnāpatayā vāsta-samēta-
jala-[kahiḥ][tra*]-
202 vāṭikā-dvayanī(yam)|| āsana-lēkhaka-tāmvra(nra)kārāya Pannāḍi-nāmnō vāsta(stv-a)-
rddha-samēta-jalakakētra-vāṭik-āikā vṛi(bri)ha[t-ku][mā*]-
203 na-mahāpātra-Bhūmadēvna datt-ētī||⁴ ōtach-ehhāsanasy-āngatayā Gōlāḍḍā-hattiya-
śa[śukha]kāra-[Ara]-
204 ntā-sutō(tah) Kālidās-ākhyab[ō] Jayanagara-hattiya-Kūma[śchchhaṇḍgū(ī)]liyā(ya)-
Kasō-ārē(ārē)chhī[shhī]-nāmā[ō] Kiva(ī)lā-
205 lō-hattiya-suvargakāra-Vāmadēvasya naptā Alālū-nāmā[ō] Ārū(ī)hapara-gōpa-
talika-Virjū-naptā Va-
206 namāli(li)-nāmadhiya[ō] Vattakēvara-hattiya-gōpāla-Rapāi-naptā Apantāi-nāmā
[]*
207 Paimnapadā-hattiya-kumbhakāra-Śūru-naptā Indū-nāmā[ō] Jhaḥhallapō(pu)rara-
gopara⁵.
208 tel(li)-Rāju-naptā Vanumālī(li)-nāmā|| ōtāḥ sapta paraśāḥ prādāta(dāt)[*].....
Lines 209-16 [*Imprecatory verses*]

Seventh Plate : First Side

217

B.—Set III ; Śaka 1218.

The charter is written on six plates, although there is a seventh plate without writing either on the obverse or on the reverse, apparently meant for the protection of the inscription on the second side of the sixth plate. The plates, each measuring about 13" × 9", are very similar to those of the other records of Narasimha II including the second set of the Kāndupātṇā plates described above. The preservation of the writing is not very satisfactory. As in the case of the other set, some letters have suffered from the effects of corrosion on many of the plates. Of the six inscribed

¹ The *daṇḍa* is superfluous and is used to cover some space at the end of the line.

² Read *vāṭikā-chatuṣṭaya*.

³ *Śraddhā* has not been observed here.

⁴ There is the usual flower design between the double *daṇḍas*.

⁵ The intended reading may be *gōpāpa* or *gōpa*. The second *va* of *purara* may either be regarded as redundant or as the Oriya suffix indicating the sixth case-ending.

⁶ There is a flower design between the double *daṇḍas*. These are followed by the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses.

plates, the first has writing on the inner side, while the others are inscribed on both the sides. Five plates are consecutively numbered on the left margin of the reverse and the numerals are preceded by the *akṣara* *bhī* or *bhī* (wrongly written *ḥī* in one case) which appears to be a contraction of the donee's name Bhīmadāśarman. It may be recalled that on the first set of the Kāndupāṭnā plates the numerical figures are similarly preceded by the *akṣaras* *kuma* or *kū* which we have taken to be an abbreviation of the donee's designation *Kumāramahāpātra* as given in that record. There are altogether 208 lines of writing. The second sides of the fifth and sixth plates have respectively 19 and 9 lines, all the other inscribed sides having 20 lines each. The seven plates together weigh 952 *toḷas*, the weight of the uninscribed seventh plate being 127½ *toḷas*. The seal which must have resembled the one described above and the ring on which the plates were originally strung appear to be lost.

The palaeography, language and orthography of the inscription are similar to those of the king's other records and do not call for any special remarks.

The introductory part of the record ends in line 176 and is followed by the word *suasti* and the date which actually begin the charter. The date recorded in lines 176-77 is Thursday, the fifth tithi of the bright half of the month of Mīśha (solar Vaiśākha) in the expired Śaka year 1218. The year of the *Aśka* reckoning is not mentioned. The date is irregular; but if the Śaka year is taken to be current, the date corresponds to Thursday, the 21st April, A.D. 1295.

The king is said to have had previously made, for the increase of his longevity, health, wealth and sovereignty, a number of grants of land, one of which was recorded on the plates under discussion. This particular grant of 50 *vāṭikās* of land was made in favour of the same *Bṛihat-Kumāra-mahāpātra* Bhīmadāśarman who was a Brāhmana of the Kāśyapa *gātra* having the Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra and Naidhrva *pravarus* and was a student of the Kāpva branch of the Yajurveda. The *śulka* or order of the execution of this grant was issued by king *Vira-śri* Narasiṃhaśeṇa (i.e., Narasiṃha II) on the date discussed above, when he was staying at the *kaṭuka* (city, camp or residence) of Chauhattā, to the *Purā-parīkṣaka* Alāla, who was also a *Bṛihat-Sandhivigrahi-Mahāpātra*, in the presence of Kumāra who seems to have been the adopted son (*dulāla*) of the *Rajin* and *Kāśādhyakṣa* Yāgānanda styled *Khadgagrāhi-Mahāpātra*. The expression *mapāhi-samay-āmantari* used in connection with the issue of the king's order is difficult to explain.¹ The executor of the grant, Alāla, was not only a *Purā-parīkṣaka* (possibly *Pura-parīkṣaka*) but also a *Bṛihat-Sandhivigrahi-mahāpātra*, i.e., a minister of the superior rank for war and peace. *Mahāpātra* Yāgānanda, called *Khadga-grāhi* (possibly the same as Oriyā *Khadgāṭa*), has also the official designation *Rajin* (officer in charge of the royal lands) and *Kāśādhyakṣa* (treasurer). He seems to be no other than the *Ghaṭavastīya-Khadgagrāhi-Mahāpātra* Yāgānanda mentioned in the Alāpur plates of Narasiṃha II as the owner of a *śāraṇa* or gift village possibly called Ghaṭavastā.

The 50 *vāṭikās* of land granted by Narasiṃha II to Bhīmadāśarman covered two plots. The first of them comprised the village of *Sirhaḍāmasaḍoi* situated in the *Rāmapā viśaya*. The measurement of the area was done by *Mahāśvara-nāyaka* (*nāyaka* here indicating the caste or family name of Mahāśvara or his official position as a surveyor) who was the representative of the *Purā-nāyaka* Śivadāsa also known from the second set of the Kāndupāṭnā plates edited above. The village was bounded in the west by parts of the boundary line of *Tantiḍḍagrāma* (also called *Tantiandā*) and in the east by the western boundary line of a village, the name of which ended with the letter *ṛga*. Its southern boundary was a sandy waste land and its northern limit was the bridge on the river *Savarparākhā*. Within these boundaries, the land measured 48 *vāṭikās* 12 *mānas* and

¹ *Mapāhi* (but *mapāhi* ?) may be Oriyā *mapāhi* meaning the act of taking food by a king. The word *mapāhi* occurs in the *Madala Pāṭi*, ed. A. B. Mahanti, p. 36.

10 *gunthas*. Out of this, an area which measured 3 *vīṭikās* and 10 *mānas* and was covered by cattle tracks and tanks enjoyed by gods and Brāhmaṇas from earlier times was subtracted leaving the net remainder of 45 *vīṭikās* 2 *mānas* and 10 *gunthas*.

The second plot of the gift land comprised the village called Chehbōḍā (possibly otherwise called Chehbōḍā) situated in the same district of Rēmuṇā. The measurement of the area was done by Ravi-nāyaka who was another representative of the *Purī-nāyaka* Śivadāsa. The village was bounded in the north by the bridge to the field in the south of Tantiōḍāgrāma and in the south by another bridge to the north of the cornfield (*kāḍāra*) on the Rapiḍhāri *tikāra* (possibly Oriya *tikara*, "a mound of sand") to the north of the Suvarṇanadi and to the south of Chehbōḍāgrāma. The eastern boundary of the village was the Sijguā *tikāra* on the border of the field to the west of Tantiōḍā and its western limit was the Bhairā *tikari-bandha* (possibly sand embankment) in the field to the east of Chehbōḍā. Within these boundaries, the area measured 4 *vīṭikās* 17 *mānas* and 15 *gunthas*. Out of this land, 10 *mānas*, covered by cattle tracks and village roads and enjoyed by gods and Brāhmaṇas, was subtracted leaving the net remainder of 4 *vīṭikās* 7 *mānas* and 15 *gunthas*. The two plots of land, the first measuring 45 *vīṭikās* 2 *mānas* and 10 *gunthas* and the second 4 *vīṭikās* 7 *mānas* and 15 *gunthas*, are said to make a total of 50 *vīṭikās*, although actually the total comes up to only 49½ *vīṭikās*.

The gift land was given the name of Bhūmanārāyaṇapura¹ and was made a permanent rent-free holding to be enjoyed along with land and water as well as fish and tortoise. The Śāmanādhikārin, Allālanātha *Śenāpati*, who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Pātimāsa *gōtra* and a student of the Śākala branch of the Rīgvēda, is said to have received two *bhāgas* (possibly meaning *vīṭikās*), while the copper-smith Pannāḍiraṇa who engraved the plates received similarly one *bhāga*. These receipts of the Śāmanādhikārin and the *nimra-lēkhaka* are described as *drāja-vyavasthita* possibly referring to a custom sanctioned by the Brāhmaṇas. These three *bhāgas* or *vīṭikās* were probably taken out of the land granted to the donee. Pannāḍiraṇa may actually indicate Raṇa, son of Pannāḍi.

Four rent-paying subjects were allotted to the *āśrama*. They were (1) Kumbhāra-śādhin who was the grandson of the goldsmith Nārāyaṇaśādhin of the Jayapura *haṭṭa*; (2) Gōpā who was a milkman of the Śaṭraṇa *haṭṭa*; (3) Kālā-kāśhthin who was the grandson of Drudākāśhthin, a *gōpā* oilman of the Vaṭatāla *haṭṭa*; and (4) Dēvākāśhthin who was the grandson of the potter Jayadēva-kāśhthin of the Sathagrāma *navā-haṭṭa* (new market).

Of the geographical names mentioned in the record, the *haṭṭa* of Chauhattā cannot be satisfactorily identified. The Rēmuṇā *vishaya* must of course have been the district round modern Rēmuṇā near Balasore. The Suvarṇarēkhā is the celebrated river of that name running through the Balasore District of Orissa and Suvarṇanadi is either the same as the Suvarṇarēkhā or one of its branches or tributaries. The villages of Sunhaḍāmaṇḍoi, Tantiōḍā, Chehbōḍā, etc., all mentioned in connection with the gift land and situated in the Rēmuṇā *vishaya*, must have been near the banks of the Suvarṇarēkhā. In the list of the rent-paying subjects, mention has been made of the Jayapura *haṭṭa*, the Śaṭraṇa *haṭṭa*, the Vaṭatāla *haṭṭa* and the Sathagrāma *navā-haṭṭa*. None of these can be satisfactorily identified, although Jayapura is also mentioned in some other records of Narasimha II.

TEXT

[Lines 1-160 are included on Plates I, IIa, IIb, IIIa, IIIb, IVa, IVb and Va]

Fifth Plate: Second Side

lṛ(kh) 5*

* The name reminds us of the donee, Bhāmanātha.

* From the original plates and their impressions.

* In the left margin of the face.

Lines 161—75

176. . . .¹ Svasti ||² Śaka-nīpatitaḥ samatīte-shibhayādaś-ottara-dvādaśa-śata-[vataś]-
rāhu |³
177 Mēsha-śukla-pañcama-yāt-Guru-vārō Chauhaṭṭā-nāmadhēyō kutakē maṣabā-samay-
ānantarē hali(hi)-kō[sh]ādhyakāka-kha- |⁴
178 Jgagrāhi-mahāpātra Yāgānanda-dulāla-Kumāra-sannidhau purō-parikṣhak-Ālāla-vpi(bri)-
hat-sandhivigrahi-mahāpātra-mū(nu)-
179 dalēna Vira-śri-Narasimhadēvaḥ sv-āyur-ārōgya-śivārya-sāmājya-sampiddhayaḥ pūrv-ōtagiḥt-
ānēka-bh[ū]-madhyā-

Sixth Plate : First Side

- 180 (t Kāśyapa)-magōtrāya Kāśyapa(p-ā)va[tsāra-Nai]dhruva-pra[va]rāya Yajurvved-āntar-
agata-[Kā]gva-śākha-rika-dēś-ādhyāyinaḥ [vpi(bri)hat-Kumā]ra-nā[ma]bh-
181 pātra-śri-Bhīmadēva[śa]rmaṣā pañchādāś-vāṭikā-prādān[āya Rē]mupā-vishaya-ma[db]ya-
vārtinam Sindhāḍāmaṇḍōi-grāmam purō-nā-
182 yaka-Śivadāsa-pratihasta-Mahēśvara-nāyaka-nala-pramāṇēna paśchimataḥ Tantiōdā-
grāmīya-daḍḍ-ārddh-ādima-āra[bhya] × × ×
183 rya-grāmīya-paśchīma-śi[śi]mā-daḍḍā-pūrv-āvachchhēdāś dakṣhiṇataḥ vālū(hu)kā-patiṣa-
bhūmim-ādhiḥkṛīya Suvarganārūkhā-nadi-ś[ē][to-paryu]-
184 nt-ōttara-āvachchhēdā ēvachchatuḥ-śi[śi]m-āvachchhinna-bhūmī guṇṭha-dāś-ōpēta-māna-
dvādaś-ādhiḥka-vāṭik-śab[ā]śab[ā]vārīṣādaś-madhyā-[puzāta]-
185 purātana-dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-bhōgya-gōhārī-jalāśaya-samēta-māna-dāś-ōttara-vāṭikā-
tritaya[m*] va(ba)hishkṛīya niravakara-[dāśa-gu]-
186 ṇṭh-ādhiḥka-māna-dvay-ōttara-paṭichchhatvārīṣāṭikā⁵-parimitam(tam) || tath-aitad-
vishay-ātmam Chchhōḍḍā-grāmam(mam) | | | purō-nāyaka-Śivadāsa-[pratiha]-
187 śta-Bayī-nāyaka-nala-pramāṇēna | śtad-grām-ōttara-śi[śi]mānta-Tantiōdā-grāma-
dakṣhiṇa-keṭēra-ētam-ādhiḥkṛīya Chchhōḍḍā-grāma-dakṣhiṇa-[Śu-]⁶
188 varṇa-nady-utāra-Rupādihārī-tikkur-śethita-kōḍār-ōttara-ēta-paryanta-dakṣhiṇ-
āvachchhēdām(dam) | pūrvvataḥ | Tanti-
189 audā-pośchīma-keṭēra-parichchhēdā-Siṅga-tikkaram-ādhiḥkṛīya Chchhōḍḍā-pūrvva-
keṭēra-madhyā-Bhairā-tikarī-[va(ha)odha]-
190 parichchhēdam-ēvam chatuḥ-śi[śi]m-āvachchhinna-bhūmī-pañchadāśa-guṇṭh-ōttara māna-
saptaśāś-ādhiḥkam(ka)-vāṭikā-chatuṣṭa-
191 ya-parimita-madhyā-dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-bhōgya-gōhārī-gōpātha-daḍḍā-samēta-māna-
dāśa-mitam va(ha)hishkṛīya nā-
192 ravakara-pañchadāśa-guṇṭh-ādhiḥka-sapta-mān-ōpēta-vāṭikā-chatuṣṭaya-parimitam-
ēvam grāma-dvayēna pa- |⁷
193 śchād-vāṭikā-parimitam jula-śthula-machchha(ṭaya)-kachchhapa-sahittam(ta)m-ā-
chandr-ārkkam-akarikṛīya prādāt ||⁸ Asmīn Bhīmanārā-

¹ Verse 105 of the introductory part ends about the beginning of this line.

² Read śāśāśā.

³ The danda is superfluous and is used to cover some space about the end of the line.

⁴ Read *vāśaka-madhyā. The following three śabaras are superfluous.

⁵ Read *chāśchhāś-śāśāśā.

⁶ The danda is superfluous.

⁷ There is the usual ornamental flower design between the double dandas.

- 194 yaṅṭa(ṇa)phu(pu)ṛ-ākhyā śāsanā Pāṣimāśha-gōttasya [Ri]gvēd-āntarggata-Śākala-ākṣ-
ādhyāyinaḥ śāsan-ādhiḥ[ri] -¹
- 195 Allālanātha-sānāpatār-bhāga-divayaṁ dvija-vyavasthitam(tam) || śtat-tānvra(mra)-lā-
khaka-tānvra(mra)kārasya Pannāḍiray-ākṣ[ya]ya
- 196 dvija-vyavasthitam bhāgam-ākam(kam)² [o] asya śāsanasy āgatayā Jayapura-haṭṭiya-
savaropakāra-Nārāyaṇa-(sā)-
- 197 [dhār-na]ptā Kumbhāra-sātho-nāmā || Sidraśga-haṭṭiya-gōpāla-Gōpā-nāmā || Vaḍa-
tāla-dandā-gōpā-pa-t[āli]-
- 198 ka-Dradāi-ārśab[hi]kasya naptā Kālā-ārśab[hi]-nāmā || Satha-grāma-navā(va)-haṭṭiya-
kumbhakāra-Jayudēva-ārś[ab]h[hi]kasya na[ptā]
- 199 Dā[vā]ji-ārśab[hi]-nāmā || etāś-chatasraḥ prajāḥ prādāt ||³.....

Sixth Plate; Second Side

Lines 200—208

No. 34—TWO SENDRAKA GRANTS

(2 Plates)

G. H. KHAZE, POONA

A. Nāga Plates of Śendrakā Nīkumbhallaśakti : Śaka year 577

These plates were originally owned by Mr. Giramāji Dugajū Pāṭil of Nāgaḍ, taluqa Kannaḍa, District Amrāgabād (Hyderabad State). Mr. G. R. Pajalkar of Chaliagson (East Khandesh) acquired them on loan for the Rājwāde Sansādhana Maḍala, Dhulā (West Khandesh), the Secretary of which Institution very generously allowed me to edit them in the Society's Journal in Marāṭhī.⁴ I re-edit them here in English.⁵

The set in question consists of **two plates**, each measuring 8½" by 3½", strung together on a circular ring two inches in diameter. The two ends of the ring are soldered into an oblong seal with diameters of 1½" and 2". The first plate is written on one side only, while the second contains writing on both sides. Though the rims of the plates are raised to protect the writing, it is not well preserved. It has been obliterated all along and a large number of letters has been practically erased. Owing to rust, the first plate has got a hole in it, while a corner of the second plate has completely disappeared. Still, with the help of the texts of the Bagumra⁶ and Kaḷwaḡ (Mundakhūj)⁷ plates, I have been able to decipher the grant fairly well.

The **characters** of the grant are the proto-type of old Kannaḍa and closely resemble those of the Bagumra plates and also the Kāsārō plates published below (B).

¹ The danda is superfl. one. *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

² Better read "yamaśhā bhāga bhāḡ".

³ This is followed by parts of the verse *mal-dān-pāṣa-siddhā-artham, etc.*

⁴ This face is not numbered as the reverse sides of the first five plates.

⁵ Continuation of the usual imprecatory and laudatory verses found in the records of Narasimha II.

⁶ Vol. VIII, No. 3.

⁷ A note on this grant in English has been published by me in *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 4, No. 12.

⁸ *Jat. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 295 et seq.

⁹ *Prabhā* (Marāṭhī Journal), Vol. II, No. 12; *Annual Report of the Shikṛa Dilhas Sansādhana Maḍala* for Śaka 1834, pp. 60 et seq.

About orthography, the following peculiarities deserve notice. *ṛi* is generally substituted by *ri* with only two exceptions, viz., **epiś* (l. 18) and *paṭal-dṛiṭa* (l. 21). A consonant preceded by *rēpha* is doubled, except in *kṛimīr-bhūta* (l. 24) and *nirbhukta* (l. 25). If the doubled consonant happens to be the second or the fourth letter of a class, then the initial consonant is changed respectively into the first or the third consonant of the same class; for instance **śācṛṣṣap-ārtham* (l. 18), *dharma-ārtha* (l. 35) and *dirggha* (l. 29). In *anulīyāta* (ll. 5, 7) similarly *ā* has been doubled. In *caṇḍaśi* (l. 19) the *anusaṇḍa* has been replaced by *ā*. *Uṇḍamāniya* has been used in two places: *kāṇḍa* < *putra* (l. 16) and *uripatibhi* < *prabala* (l. 19). In *kāṇḍa* (l. 26) *ḥ* has been substituted by *j*.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose all through, excepting the verses in ll. 22-25.

The record belongs to the king **Nikumbhāśakti** of the Sēndraka dynasty, whose father and grandfather were **Ādityaśakti** and **Bhānuśakti** respectively. In all the records of this branch of the Sēndrakas that have come to light hitherto, the name of the last member was spelt as **Nikumbhāśakti**, i.e., with a short *a* in *bā* and we were unable to split the word correctly.¹ But here the *ā* in *bā* is clearly long and we can easily split the word into **Nikumbha** and **Āśakti** meaning thereby **Āśakti** of **Nikumbha**. In the following grant we actually get the name **Āśakti** as a variant for **Nikumbhāśakti**. The same kind of genealogy appears in the Bagumra and Kalwar plates with the exception that the Kalwar plates carry the pedigree one generation further and name **Jayaśakti** as the son of **Nikumbhāśakti**. The plates under discussion supply no historical information about the three members of the dynasty mentioned in it. But being dated in Śaka 577 current they would show that **Nikumbhāśakti** died some time between Śaka 577 and Śaka 602 which is the date of the Kalwar plates of his son **Jayaśakti**.

After the eulogy of the three members in general terms, which closely resembles that in the Kalwar plates, comes the description of the grant proper. We are told that **Nikumbhāśakti**, while camping near the lake **Vṛiśchi**...*nḍha* in the vicinity of the austerity grove at **Kāyāvātāra**, with a view to gain merit for himself as well as for his parents, granted the village **Saśchirākḥōḍi**, situated to the south of the hill **Bāruvāṇa**, which was lying in the district of **Nāndipurādīvāri** to the **Brāhmaṇa** **Bhōgika**, the son of **Namaśvāmin**, a student of the *gignāda*, belonging to the **Ātrēya** *gotra* and a resident of the village **Prākṛtaṅgarī**. The boundaries of this village are not specified. The charter was drafted by **Māṭṭidatta** by the order of the generalissimo **Vāsava** and with the consent of **Dēvaḍiṇna**, the minister for peace and war. In the Bagumra plates, both **Vāsava** and **Dēvaḍiṇna** figure in the same capacities and in addition it has been stated there that the latter was the younger brother of the former.

The date of the inscription is given as the year 577 without quoting any era, cyclic year **Ānanda**, the month **Māgha**, and the 3rd day of the bright fortnight. As 577 of the Śaka year current coincides with the cyclic year **Ānanda** according to the southern system of reckoning, it must be referred to the Śaka era. The corresponding Christian date is the 15th of January 655 A.C.

Of the place-names occurring in this record, I am unable at present to identify any except **Kāyāvātāra**. This place is referred to in another grant found at **Namsari**,² which is later in date and issued by the Gūjjara king **Jayabhata III**. The editor of the grant was inclined to look

¹ Prof. V. V. Mirashi has rightly pointed out that the name **Jayaśakti** in the Kalwar (**Mundakhōḍi**) plates is preceded by the word **Nikumbha**, but I cannot understand how he calls it a *śvaśa* (D. K. Bhattacharya *Commensation Volume*, p. 23, note 4).

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 71.

upon Kāvātāra as the Sanskrit form of Kāvṛ (Jambusar-Broach). Dr. A. S. Altekar of Patna, in his monograph on the *History of Some Important Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad* by oversight assumes the place-name to be Kāvātāra instead of Kāvātāra and opines that this Kāvātāra is the same as ancient Kāpikā or modern Kāvī.¹ But both of these scholars seem to be in the wrong. Kāvātāra must be identified with the modern Kārwa near Dabhoi in the Baroda State. For this is the very place that was sanctified by the residence of Lakulīśa, the pioneer exponent of a Śaiva (Pānpata) sect. The same is referred to as Kāvāvi- (vajrōhaṇa in the Śkalīgaṇa) inscription and under the more simplified form Kūrōhaṇa in the Cintra (Portugal) *prāsasti*, in *Linga-Purāṇa* under its variant Kāvāvarōhaṇa, in the local *māhātmya* of Kārwa under the slightly corrupted forms Kāvāvirōhaṇa and Karōhaṇa, and in a still more corrupted form Kāvārōhaṇa in *Vāyu-Purāṇa*.² But as Kāvātāra and Kāvāvarōhaṇa mean one and the same thing, Kāvātāra cannot be any other place but Kārwa. It is interesting to note that there is also a very large and holy tank at this place as stated in the present record.³ But unfortunately I could not trace the name of the tank even after much correspondence and oral enquiry. The place-name Nāndipuradvārī mentioned in the present record occurs also in the Jethwani plates⁴ of the Rāshtrakūṭa queen Śīlamahādēvī and in the Bhāndak plates⁵ of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇarāja I dated Śaka 708 and 694 respectively. The editor of the former grant has left this place unidentified; and the late R. B. Hirakal in his note on the latter has identified this place with Nāndorī, a village just near, and to the north of, Wardha, the headquarters of the district of the same name in Berar. I would like to suggest the following: Nāndipuradvārī literally means a door to Nāndipura. Nāndipuradvārī, therefore, must be a locality wherefrom a road should lead one to Nāndipura. Now Nāndipura or Nāndipurī which could have some possible connection with Nāndipuradvārī and which was situated in Western India, is the one referred to in the two Kaira and the two Sāṅkhādja plates of Gūrjara Dadda II which were issued from Nāndipurī or Nāndipura itself. Dr. Bühler identified this place with an old fort just outside the town of Broach,⁶ but the late Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's suggestion that it should be identified with Nanded in the Rajpīpla State stands on a firmer ground.⁷ The only place which could have served as a door-way to either of the places and especially the latter, is Nandurbār, a *taluka* town in the West Khandesh District. It is only sixty miles from Nanded and has some ancient remains.⁸ Moreover it is interesting to note that the feminine gender of the name is still retained in colloquial language.

B. Kāsārē Plates of Śendrakā Nākumbhāllaiakṛī; year 404

These plates were indeed originally edited by the late G. K. Chandorkar in a now-defunct Marāṭhī quarterly *Itihāsa Aṇi Atihāsa* (year 3, Nos. 26, 27; p. 44); but the editing was done in such a way that no apology was needed when I re-edited them in *The Sources of the Medieval History of the Dekkan*, Vol. III, p. 66. I edit them here for the third time.

The plates originally belonged to one Bhikā Pāṇḍū Chaudhari, of the village Kāsārē, *taluka* Sākri, District West Khandesh. I secured them for the *Bharata Itihāsa Samśodhaka Mandala*

¹ *Ibid.*

² P. 18.

³ *Ann. Rep. A. S. I.* 1906-07, p. 179.

⁴ *Ibid.*, and *Baroda Gazetteer*, pp. 19, 251.

⁵ *Above*, Vol. XXII, p. 94.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 121.

⁷ *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Nos. 1200, 1210, 1212 and 1213.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 62.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 73.

¹⁰ *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. XV, part 2, July 1946.

through the good offices of Professor N. R. Phatak (Bombay), the late V. G. Joshi (Poona) and Mr. Balubhai Bhatta, M.A., LL.B. (Dhulia), all of whom I thank heartily.

The set consists of two plates, $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$ in length and breadth, which were strung together with two rings $2''$ and $1\frac{1}{4}''$ in diameters respectively through two holes bored lengthwise. One of the rings was found already cut and without a seal. The two ends of the other were soldered into a circular seal $\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter and bearing the legend *Śrī Allasakti* engraved on it. Both the sides of the first plate and the inner side of the second are inscribed containing 4, 14 and 15 lines respectively. The 4 lines of writing on the outer side of the first plate are in continuation of the second plate and form the concluding portion of the grant. On the inner side of the second plate, just in the space between the lines 19 and 20, are inscribed the words *yathā mayā brāhma* and below the lines 20 and 21 are inscribed some words which have been partially erased. The upper lines are, therefore, so much obliterated that it is very difficult to decipher either of the two writings satisfactorily.

The characters of the inscription resemble those of the Nāgaī and the Bagumra plates with little variations and consequently require no special remarks.

About **orthography** some points deserve mention here. *Ri* is invariably substituted for *ri* except in *bhūbhi* (1.3). The *anusvāra* is generally changed into the nasal of the class to which the following consonant belongs. But in *śaṅkṣānu* (1.5), *śaṅkṣāṇ* (1.7) and *śmaś-śaṅkṣāṇ* (1.26), the *anusvāra* has been wrongly changed to *ṇ*. In *śaṅkṣāṇurvāṇ* (1.8) *ṇ* is redundant and the two words are unnecessarily joined together. In several places *visarga* or its transformation is dropped. In *śāṅkṣā-śaṅkṣā* (1.9) and *śaṅkṣā-śaṅkṣā* (1.12) *visarga* has been changed to the following consonant. *śaṅkṣāṇ* occurs in *śaṅkṣā-śaṅkṣā* (1.12) and *śaṅkṣāṇ* in *śaṅkṣāṇ* (1.10), *śaṅkṣāṇ* in *śaṅkṣāṇ* (1.17), and *śaṅkṣāṇ* in *śaṅkṣāṇ* (1.27). In *śaṅkṣāṇ* (1.8), *visarga* has been wrongly changed to *p*. The doubling in *śaṅkṣāṇ* (1.22) and *śaṅkṣāṇ* (1.26) also deserves notice.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit, prose and poetry intermingled.

The grant begins with the preamble beginning with *Mēru* and ending with *nigṛhṣṭa-pāda-pāṇṭajāḥ* as we find in the other three Śāndraka plates. After it, comes the prose as well as the versified description of the king Nikumbha of the Śāndraka family, his son Ādityarāja and his son Nikumbhāśakti or simply Allasakti. It is interesting to tabulate the pedigree in the four grants here:—

(I) Kāsārī (653 A.C.)	(II) Nāgaī (655 A.C.)	(III) Bagumra (655 A.C.)	(IV) Mundakheḍ (680 A.C.)
(1) Nikumbha	(1) Bhānuśakti	(1) Bhānuśakti	(1) Bhānuśakti
(2) Ādityarāja	(2) Ādityaśakti	(2) Ādityaśakti	(2) Ādityaśakti
(3) Nikumbhāśakti or Allasakti	(3) Nikumbhāśakti	(3) Nikumbhāśakti	(3) Nikumbhāśakti
			(4) Jay śakti

From the table it becomes quite evident that in the Kāsārī grant the first member is named Nikumbha, while the other three grants name the same member as Bhānuśakti. The Kāsārī grant mentions Ādityarāja as the son of Nikumbha while the other three grants give Ādityaśakti as the son of Bhānuśakti. The name of the member of the third generation is the same in all the four grants with the difference that Kāsārī grant supplies a variant Allasakti in addition. But does this mean that the Śāndraka branch represented by the Kāsārī grant is different from the

one represented in the other three ! It is difficult to answer in the affirmative. For, besides the date of the Kāsārī grant which is very near to that of the Nāgād and the Bagumra grants, the writers and the commanders are practically the same in all the three. Thus the *Mahābalādhikṛita* Vāsava was the person at whose command all the three grants were issued. The Kāsārī grant was drafted by one Dēvadinna. In the Nāgād plates, Dēvadinna figures as the minister for peace and war and the charter was drafted by one Mātridatta with the consent of Dēvadinna. The draft of the Bagumra grant was also prepared by Dēvadinna, the minister for peace and war and the charter adds that Dēvadinna was a younger brother of Vāsava. I tabulate the above information in order to have a clear idea.

Grant	Commander	Drafter
Kāsārī (653 A.C.)	Generalissimo Vāsava	Dēvadinna.
Bagumra (650 A.C.)	Do.	Dēvadinna, the minister for peace and war and the younger brother of Vāsava.
Nāgād (655 A.C.)	Do.	Mātridatta with the consent of Dēvadinna, the minister for peace and war.

Thus it is evident that all the four plates represent one and the same family in spite of a slight variation in the name of the first member of the family in the record under discussion.

In an inscription at Bādāmi (Bijapur) occurs the stray name of one Bhūmatākti Sēndrakani who undoubtedly belonged to a Sēndraka family and the same person appears to have been mentioned in other inscriptions of the same place.¹ But I fear that at this stage of our knowledge of the Sēndraka dynasty it is not possible to assign a definite place to this Bhūmatākti.

From line 18 begins the description of the grant proper. Nikumbhāllatākti, the last member of the family, who imitated on the feet of his parents, who was a great devotee of Mahāvara, who had acquired the five great sounds and who was the master of the earth, with a view to acquire merit for himself as well as for his parents, gave fifty *varāṅganas* of land lying to the south of the river at the village Pippalakhēṣṭa to the *Brāhmaṇa* Bālaprasāita, of the Kṛishṇātriya *gōtra* and of the Mādhyandina branch of the Vājasaneyī *Samhitā*, i.e., white Yajurveda, for the *upahāḍya* of the god Laṅghyāśvaza. The phrase *saṁśāiptapāśchamahāśābalaḥ* clearly indicates that the last member was a feudatory prince, apparently of the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi.

The date on which the grant was issued is denoted by two symbols (1.31). The first symbol undoubtedly represents 400. The second symbol must be taken to represent 4. It is appended with a zig-zag horizontal line at the upper right corner and if this line has been appended purposely the symbol probably represents the number 70. But then we would be confronted with insurmountable difficulties. I, therefore, take the second symbol to represent 4. Thus the year will be 404. The further details of the date are the new-moon day of the month Āshāḍha and the solar eclipse. To what particular era this year of the grant is to be referred ? In the Nāgād and the Mundakhālē plates, though no era has been specified, the years 577 and 802 which occur in them can easily be referred to the Śaka era. In the Bagumra grant also though no era has been specified, the year 406 in which it is dated must be taken to belong to the Kalachuri era. The year 404, the date of this grant must also be referred to the same era as both the grants have many points of similarity as shown above. If, according to Prof. Mirashi's calculations, we grant that the initial year of this era began on 6-10-248 A.C., we must add 249 to 404 to get a date in Āshāḍha of that year.² According to the *pūrvamāśa* system of reckoning Hindu months, the new-moon

¹ *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, for the year 1928-29*, Appendix F, Nos. 125, 101, 126, 127.

² *Above*, Vol. XXIV, p. 12.

day of Āshāḍha of the year 404, i.e., 653 A.C. (404 plus 249) fell on June 1 when there was a solar eclipse visible in India. 1-6-653 A.C. must, therefore, be the date of the grant.

If on the other hand the numerical symbols are taken to denote the year 470 (i.e., 719 A.C.), there was no solar eclipse on the new-moon day of the Nija-Āshāḍha according to either system of reckoning Hindu months. Though there was a solar eclipse on the new-moon day of the Inter-calary Āshāḍha of this year, there is no mention of such a month in the grant itself. Moreover, it is well nigh impossible for the same generalissimo and the same writer to have lived under the same king in 404 and 470 which will be the dates for the Bagumra and Kāsār grants respectively.

Pippalakhṣṭa is the only locality that I can decipher. Some river or rather stream is mentioned to be flowing by the side of the village; but its name cannot be properly deciphered. As the boundaries of Pippalakhṣṭa are not specified, it is difficult to identify it.

Though each of these two grants supplies very little direct historical information by itself, the facts supplied by the above-mentioned four grants when pieced together indeed shed much light on some points regarding the history of the Sēndrakas family referred to in the grants, and it would not be out of place if I say a few words about them.

First, what was the extent of the country which the Sēndrakas ruled over? The village granted in the Bagumra record has been rightly identified with Nausari in the Surat District. The place of encampment mentioned in the Nāgad plates from which the plates were issued is Kāvātāra or modern Kāvay near Dahhol which in itself is twenty miles to the south-east of Baroda. I may, therefore, be not far wrong if I surmise that the power of the Sēndrakas had extended upto Baroda at the time of the grant. If my conjecture about Nādi-paradvārī, the province which included the village granted in the Nāgad plates, be correct, it follows that at least the southern half of the present West Khandesh District was under the sway of the Sēndrakas at the time of the grant. The places mentioned in the Kāvay plates have not been finally identified as yet, I believe. But if Prof. Mirashi's suggestion about the identification of the places in the grant be accepted as correct, the village granted should be supposed to lie in the north-eastern extremity of the Nasik District. The village granted in the Kāsār plates should be searched for somewhere in the north-eastern extremity of the Nasik and the south-western extremity of the East Khandesh Districts. For, it is in this part of the country that places bearing the names Pimparkhed, Pimpalwād-Nikumbha (Pimpalwadi of the Nikumbhas), Alwāḍī (Allavāḍī), etc., lie and it is this part which the Nikumbhas who seem to be related to the Sēndrakas were ruling over in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries of the Christian era. Thus it is evident that the Sēndrakas most probably ruled over the modern Surat and Broach Districts, the southern half of the Baroda State, the West Khandesh District, the south-western part of the East Khandesh and the north-eastern part of the Nasik Districts.

Is there anything to show that the Sēndrakas were connected with the Nikumbhas in any way? On the one hand the Bagumra grant begins with a verse in praise of the Sun. The names of the majority of members of the Sēndraka family begin with some word meaning the Sun, e.g., Bhannasakti, Ādityasakti; and Nikumbha was the name of a well-known mythical king belonging to the solar race. On the other hand the Nikumbha inscriptions begin with homage to the solar race and then Rāma and Nikumbha belonging to the same race are extolled. Lastly, it is stated in Nikumbha inscriptions that in the family of Nikumbha was born the first ancestor from whom begins the pedigree of the Nikumbha dynasty. In these circumstances it appears that the Nikumbha dynasty was either an offshoot of the Sēndraka family or both of them were descended from a common stock.

A. Naked Plates of Sendraka Nikumbhallaśakti : year 577

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 ॐ² स्वस्ति श्रीकायावतारतपोवनप्रत्यासन्नत्रि (वृ) दित्त....³ न्वतटाकावासितविजयस्कत्वावारा[त]
- 2 मे⁴ समहीधरशिवरश्चिरश्चिरसमुभ्रतेः (ते) विकसितयशसि महति सेन्द्रकानामन्वये
- 3 अनेकचातुर्दन्तगजघटाटोपसमरसङ्घट्टलब्धविजयो विजिताशेषरिपुगणः
- 4 स्वभुजबलविक्रमाकान्तमहीमण्डलः प्रणताशेषसामन्तशिरोमुक्त (कु) टनिधि (वृ) प्टपा-
- 5 दपङ्कजः (जो) तरपतिश्रीभानुशक्ति⁵ तस्य पुत्र⁶ स्तत्पादानुद्ध्या (ध्या) तः (तो)
- नयवित्तमसत्यशौचा-
- 6 चारदमदयादानदाक्षिण्यो (ण्यौ) दार्यवैव्यवैव्यपराक्रमोत्साहशक्तिसम्पन्नः श्रीमदा-
- 7 दित्यशक्तिः⁷ तस्य पुत्रस्त्र (स्त) त्पादाभ⁸ नृ (पादानु) द्या (ध्या) तः (तो) अपगतसज्ज-
- जलबु (ध) रपटलव्योमतलगतश-
- 8 रदिन्दुकिरणववलयतरपशोवितानलक्ष्मिताम्भोधिपरापरः परमगभीरो देवद्वि-
- 9 जातिस्वजनव (वा) न्ववोपभुज्यमानविभवो भवसूनुरिवाप्रतिहृतशक्तिः शक्तिरिवोवा (पा)-
- 10 तराज्य (ज्यः) [समद] द्विरदवरसलिल [गति]⁹ रजुन [इ¹⁰] वाघोपसंग्रामविजयो काम इव
- समदव [र¹¹] पुवतिज-
- 11 ननयनानन्दो (न्द्रः) [पर] ममाहेश्वरः परमब्रह्मण्यः समधिगत [पञ्च] महाशब्दः

Second Plate ; First Side

- 12 श्रीप्रि (पृ) धिवीवल्लभनिकुम्भाल्लशक्तिः कुसली सर्वा (नेव स) मुपगत [विप] यपतिराष्ट्रा-
- 13 ममहत्तराधिकारिका [कान्] समनुदर्शयत्वस्तु वः संविदितं नान्दीपुरदारीविषमन्तर्गत-
- 14 पर्वतवारुवाणदक्षिणेन सुस्त्रिराखोली ग्रामो (मः) सग्रामोपान्तसहितस्सर्वदानसग्रा-

¹ Prepared from the original.² Represented by a symbol.³ A letter has disappeared here.⁴ The text beginning from here and ending with line 22 very closely resembles the corresponding part in the Bagumra and the Kalway (Mundakbhajé) plates : but at the same time shows the degree of corruption in the text of the Bagumra grant.⁵ Read *śakti-maya.⁶ The reading here is rather doubtful to me.⁷ The reading of this and the following two letters is doubtful to me.⁸ The reading here has been restored with the help of the text in the Kalwa plates of Gārjara king Dadda II. (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 83).

- 15 ह्यसर्व्वदित्यविष्टिप्रो (प्रा) तिभे[दि*]क (का) परिहीणो भूमिच्छिद्रं (द्र) न्यायेनावाटव[भ]-
टप्रावेश्यमाचन्द्रा-
- 16 नर्कोर्णवक्षितिसमकालीन-पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यः प्राक्तनरावास्तव्यः आत्रेयसगो-
- 17 नवह्वि(ह्व)चसन्नह्यवारिणे ब्राह्मणनश्रस्वामिपुत्रश्रीभोगिकाय बलिचख्वैश्वदेवामिहोवा-
- 18 दिक्कियोत्सर्पणार्थं मातापितोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिद्रि(वृ)द्धये¹ उदकातिसर्गोणातिसृष्टो
यतो-
- 19 स्मद्वद्धर्म्यरन्यैर्वांगामिनि(नृ)पतिभिः-प्रबलपवनप्रेरितोदधिजलतरंगचञ्चनं जीव-
लोकमभा-²
- 20 वानुगतानु(न)सारा[वृ*] विभवा[नृ*] दीर्घकालस्वे(स्वै)यज्ञ(स)श्च³ गुणानाकलय्य
प्रस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः पाल-
- 21 गितव्यश्च । यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्वादाच्छिन्वा(श्च)[मान*]
वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्ममहा-
- 22 पातकै(कं) स(सं)युक्तः स्यादित्युक्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । पण्टि वर्षस-
[हत्वाणि स्व]-
- 23 नो मोदति भूमिदः [1*] आ[च्छेता वानु]मन्ता च तान्मेव नरकं वसेत् [11१11*]
स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा [यो हरेत् वसु]-
- 24 न्वरां [1] स विष्टायां कि(कृ)मिर्मुत्वा पित्रि(तृ)भिस्तह मज्जति [11२11*]
यानीह दत्तानि पुंरा नरेन्द्रद्वानानि धर्मा-]

Second Plate : Second Side

- 25 त्वयशस्कराणि [1*] निर्मुक्तम(मा)त्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु(धुः)
पुनराददीत [11*]
- 26 पञ्चशतिके काळे(ले) सप्तसप्तत्यधिके आनं(न)न्देन्द्रे मह(हा)बल(ता)धिकि-
(कृ)तवासवस[मा]दिशा[तृ*]
- 27 सान्धिविप्रहिकदेवद्विज्ञानुमतेन निनि[त*]मिदः(दम्) मानि(तृ)दते(त्ते)न माव-
बुद्धनि(तृ)तीये(यासां) इति [11*]

¹ Soudai has not been observed here.

² The reading here has been restored with the help of the text in the Kaira plates of Gūrjara King Dadda II
(Ind. As., Vol. XIII, p. 83).

TWO SENDRAKA GRANTS
A NAGAD PLATES OF NIKUMBHALLASAKTI : YEAR 577

i.



ii,a.



ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ प्रसन्नचित्तो भवति ॥ वासुदेवाय नमः ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ प्रसन्नचित्तो भवति ॥ वासुदेवाय नमः ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ प्रसन्नचित्तो भवति ॥ वासुदेवाय नमः ॥

B. Kāśī Plates of Śeṇḍraka Nīkumbhāśāśrī : Year 494

TEXT¹

First Plate ; First Side

- 1 ॐ² स्वस्ति³ मेरुमहीधरशिवरस्थिरश्चिरसमुन्नते विकसितयशसि
- 2 महति सेन्द्रकराजामन्वये अनेकचातुर्दन्तगजघटाटोपसमरसङ्घट्ट-
- 3 लब्धविजयो विजिताशेषरिपुगण(णः) स्वभुजबलविक्रम(मा)क्रान्तमहीमण्डल(लः)
- 4 प्रणताशेषसामन्तशिरोमुकुटनिघ्न(घृ)ष्टपादपङ्कजो(जः) [1*] पुनरपिच [1*]
*भाजो नि-
- 5 त्रिभङ्गकुम्भप्रगलितश्चिरव्याप्तभूमौ हताश्वे । द्वि(द्व)ष्ट्वा⁴ सङ्गाड्यशुवालं धरदमलक-
- 6 णप्रस्फुरद्विद्युदाभम् [1*] स्वातु(तुं) शक्नोति येषां प्रभवति न रणे
ताद्वि(द्व)शामुन(न्न)ताना(नां) [1*]
- 7 राजासीत्⁵ श्रीनिकुम्भ(म्भः) सुरपतिसद्वि(द्व)शो⁶ वङ्गलजः सेन्द्रकाणां [11१11*]
विभ्राण(णो) [भा]नुरागम्
- 8 जग(न)हितमन(नि)यं(यं) सर्वदा सानुरागं म्कु(कु)र्वाण(णः) प्रो(प्रो)न्नताना(नां)
गुल्फककभि(भु)त(तां) भूभू-
- 9 ता(तां) मूर्च्छिन् पादं [11*] लोकानां चक्षुभूतश्शमितजनतमा लोकपालः
त्रि(त्रि)षिव्या(व्यां) शि(श्री)मान्[1*]
- 10 विख्यातकीर्त्ती रविरिव विम[न*]स्तस्मुतोदित्यराजः [11२11*] ¹⁰तस्यात्मजः⁷ प्रबलरिपुञ्च-
- 11 लोद्धूतविभवप्रध्वंसहेतुः धरदमलशशाङ्कमण्डलामलयशाः
- 12 सुरपतिरिव विद्याचरजनगन्धर्वनिपेक्षितसेव्यो रम्यज्ञानकर्म्मभावितम-
- 13 तादृच गदह इव विनतानन्दजनो(न)नो राम इव परिसमाप्तसीता-
- 14 विग्रह(हो) यश्च⁸ विप्राधिष्ठितसम्पदाहितनृकः

¹ Based on the original plates.

² Represented by a symbol.

³ Compare this prelude with those of the Bagumra, Kaṭwar and the preceding grants. The text of the Bagumra grant is certainly defective.

⁴ Metre Śraṅgāṭā.

⁵ Read *khady-āśā*.

⁶ The reading of this letter is doubtful to me.

⁷ Read *asmitajit*.

⁸ Metre Śraṅgāṭā.

⁹ Grammatically it should be **śāśa Jāṭiyarājā*; but then the line will be metrically faulty.

¹⁰ Here begins a short prose passage.

¹¹ Here begins a verse in the *Śardūlavikīrtita* metre in which the names of the five Pāṇḍavas have been brought in allegorically.

Second Plate

- 15 'पर्व्यावन — सदा श्रीमानञ्जुनकर्मभाविजनता (नाः) सही (दूरी) मसेना-
16 न्वित (तः) [॥*] धर्मात्मा सहदेवपूजितवपु — — — तस्तदा — — बाह्वनकु-
17 ल (लो) युं (यु) विष्टिरसमो राबाल्लशक्ति (क्तिः) क्षितो [॥३॥*] मातापितृ-
पादानुद्ध्या (व्या) तपरममाहेस्वर ✕ पर-
18 मब्रह्मण्य (ण्यः) समावाप्त [प*] ञ्चमह (हा) शब्दः प्रि (प) धिवीवल्लभश्चीनिकुम्भाल्ल-
शक्ति ✕ कुशली सर्वानेव राजसाम-
19 न्निविपयभोगिकचोरोदरणिक्दण्डपाशिकदूतश (ग) मागमि कथाममहत राधिकादि (रि) कादीन्
20 समाजापयत्यस्तु व (वः)* संविदिते यथा मया पिप्पलखेटप्रा [मा*] न्तर्गतनद-
21 ... व्रतदीदक्षिणतः भूनिवर्तनानि 'वर्तनानि.
22 पञ्चाशतः ब्राह्मणवाजि (ज) सनेयसब्रह्मचारी (रि) माद्वयन्दिनकि (ङ्) ण्णात्रेयसमोत्रवालप्र-
23 वसिताय भूछिद्रन्यायन्या (ना) चन्द्रावर्काण्णवक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनत्वेन पुत्रपौत्रा-
24 न्वयभोग्यतया लङ्घ्यस्वरदेवपादोपयोग्यो (भो) गाय स्मं
25 पित्रोरात्म [न*] ञ्च पुण्ययशोभिनि (वृ) द्यये उदका-
26 तिसर्गोण प्रतिपादितो यतोस्मद्वं दशजंरष्यं (न्यं) ब्राम्गा (गा) मित्रि (नृ) पतिभिस्मदा-
27 योनुमन्तव्य ✕ प्रतिपातयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तं भगवतो (ता) [वेद*] व्यासेन व्यासेन
'षष्टिम्बण्यस-
28 हखाणि स्वर्गं मोदति भूमिदः [॥*] आच्छेता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरक (के)
29 वसेत् [॥४॥*] 'छारामतलभोगनिव [द्व*] मस्योदया

² In the space between the letters from to to is the text: "The following is the text of the letter from to to: ..."

² In the space between the letters from *ku* to *va* in this line and the word *Piepsalukko* in the next line are engraved the words *positi maan bröden*.

* Exactly below the portion of the text beginning here and ending with the 22nd line was originally engraved a different text which seems to run thus : *ganga daksakhande narate sandi i sandi yernam Ranganata gram* - as *nakativata-inkantim* * (*Ad(hak) paschimata(his) tatata-maula vata chotard*). But as this portion was unnecessary, it was subsequently erased and substituted by the present portion. But as this portion was removed the text here has become as obfuscated that it is not possible for me to give a satisfactory reading and as this very part contains the details about the village connected with the grant the loss is greater.

* Delete *corinatal* which is redundant.

² Delete *optional* which is redundant.

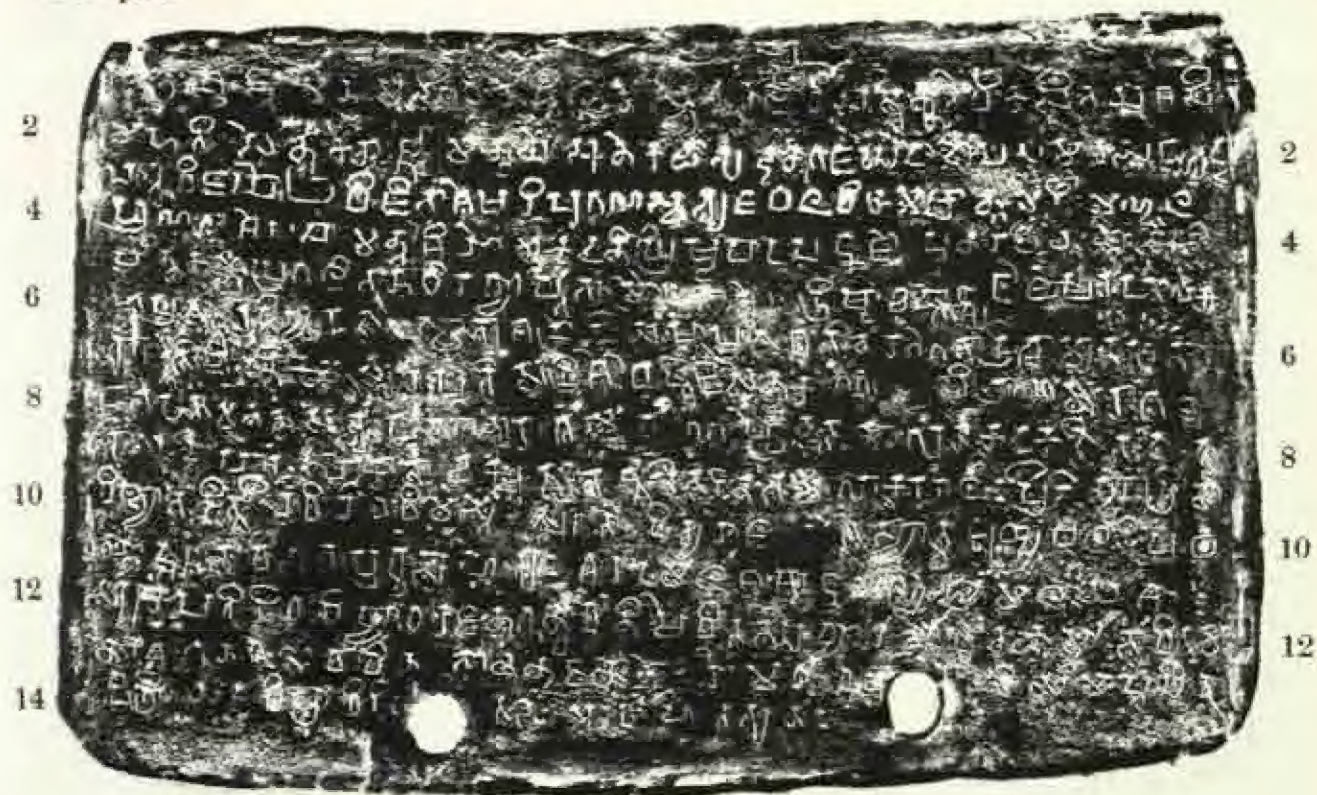
^b Rendi "y-dnash-mit".

* Fixed camcorder.

... ..

* This portion should follow, I think, *andōkaki-gata* in line 21.

First plate

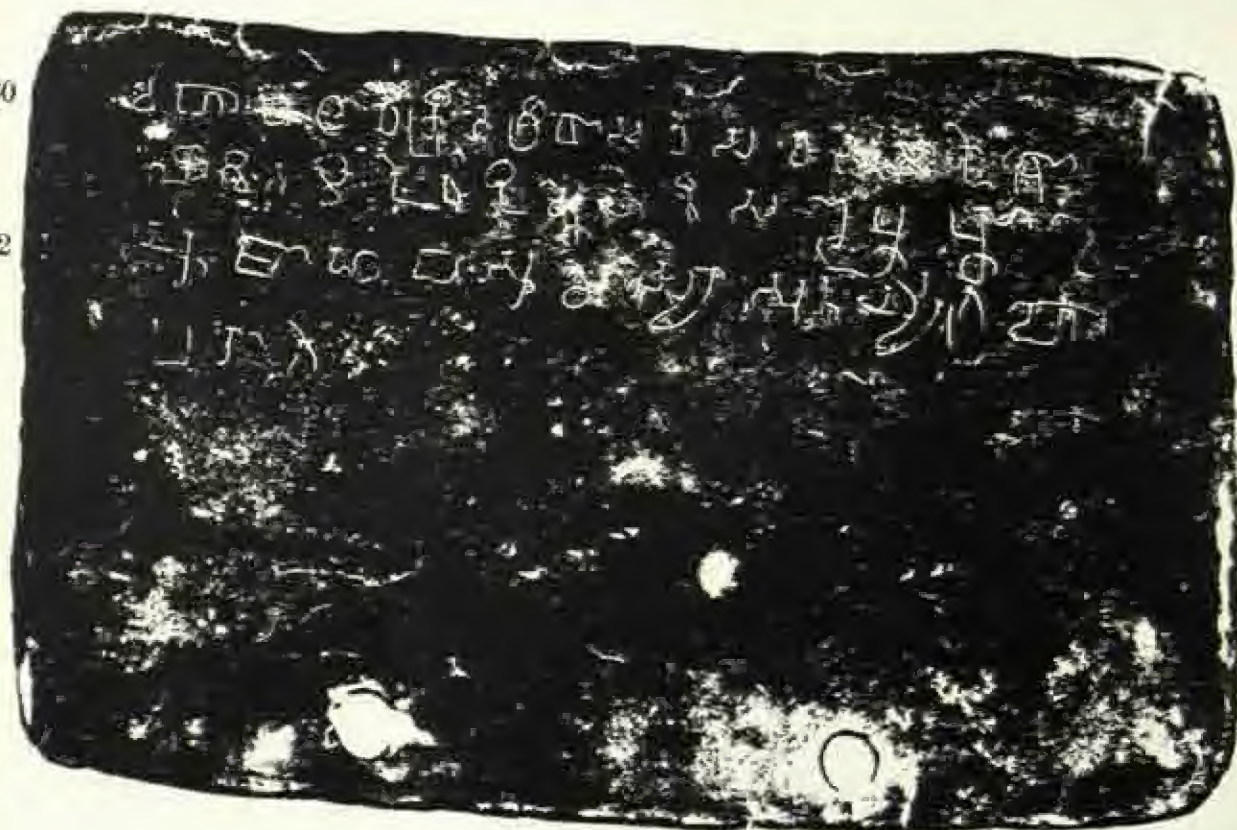


Second plate



30

32



30

32

First Plate : Second Side

- 30 महाबलाधिक(क)तश्रीवासवसवसमादेशो¹
 31 लिखितमि[दं] देवदिग्नेनेति स ४०० ४ दे(दि)
 32 आषाढ व समावास्या(स्वा) सूर्यग्रहो-
 33 परागे

No. 35—VELICHERLA GRANT OF PRATAPARUDRA GAJAPATI : SAKA 1432

(1 Plate)

G. RAMADAS, JEYPORE

This copper-plate charter was sent to the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy in the year 1920-21, by the District Munsiff of Kāvālī and in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* of that year issued by him, it is registered as No. 12 of Appendix A. The Assistant Superintendent makes the following note on it in part II, para. 70 of the report.

"A set of three copper-plates strung on a ring belonging to Pratāpa-Rudra of the Gajapati family of Orissa, was sent to me by the District Munsiff of Kāvālī. This is given as No. 12 of Appendix A to this Report. The plates measure 8.1 inches in breadth and 3.7 inches in height. The ring that holds them together is 2.5 inches in diameter and carries a fixed seal, the circular surface of which is blank."

Sri Ongole Venkatarangayya Garu, B.A., B.L., edited this grant in English in *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 51 ff. and in Telugu in the *Bhārati*, Vol. XIII, pt. II, pp. 271 ff.

He says, "Mr. Pulugulla Venkataramanub, a penniner (since deceased) was kind enough to lend the engraved plates for publication. They contain a petal-like projection with a hole in the middle about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch long on the left side of each plate. The ring with which these three plates were strung together passed through the round hollow in these projections. Unfortunately this ring is missing." The same information is given in the Telugu article in the *Bhārati*, where the author states (p. 274): "In the year 1917, in the O. S. No. 388, between the *Agrahārikas* and the ryots of the village, regarding certain cultivation rights, the *Agrahārikas* obtained the judgment in their favour in the court of the District Munsiff of Kāvālī by filing this document as exhibit R."

This charter is written in the Telugu script and there are many orthographical peculiarities. The first 32 lines are in Sanskrit verse; the last 4 lines (lines 36-39) give the imprecatory verses. The boundaries of the gift village are given in lines 32-36 in Telugu prose. The following orthographical peculiarities are noticed in the record.

The *anusvara* generally takes the place of the nasal and the consonant after an *anusvara* is doubled, sometimes the aspirate or the unaspirate form of the same consonant being employed while doubling, e.g., line 1, *śaṅghyā*; line 2, *vīśiśikkala*; line 3, *śaṁśaṅgyā*; line 5, *śaḍḍhā-jivā*; line 9, *śaṁśāt*; line 12, *phullamit*; line 17, *śāśiddha*; line 18, *śāśaktā*; line 19, *śāśiddha*; line 21, *śāśamitā*; line 32, *śāśiddha*; but in *grāṁṭa* line 34, the letter *ṭ* is not doubled. This is to show the difference in the significance of each.

¹ Read: *Paśava-samādāṣit*.

Similarly the consonant after *r* is doubled, e.g., line 2, *-ōrmmi*; line 5, *Harēr-ādakshiṇa*; lines 9 and 19, *durṅga*; line 10, *korṇṇa*; line 21, *survva*; line 25, *Velicherla*; line 28, *udakair-ādhārā*; line 33, *barillā*; line 36, *sarvā*. The final *a* (*nakṣatrapollu*) at the end of a *pāda* is given, e.g., line 4, *udāhan*.

In the Telugu portion giving the boundaries, the word *rāyi* (stone) is written with only the initial vowel *i* (short) as *rāi*; *pūrnānusa* is used where *ardha anusa* is used now, e.g., line 35, *vāṅṅa*; *tūrpunigommuna*.

Lines 1 to 4; the charter opens with a prayer to Gaṇēśa and to the Varāha incarnation of Viṣṇu who raised the earth from the ocean. Lines 4 to 6; the family of the donor is said to have been descended from the Sun-God who is also praised. Lines 6 to 12; in that family was born Kapilēśvara and to him was born Purnahōttama. To the latter was born Pratāpa-Rudra. The charter ratifies the gift of the village, Velicherla, by Pratāpa-Rudradēva Gajapati to a Brāhmana on the 3rd *tithi*, Friday, of the bright half of the (lunar) month of Kārttika of the (cyclic) year (*Pramōdā-any-ābdavarā*) which corresponded to the Śaka year indicated by the chronogram *kara-rām-ābhī-titāntu*, (2, 3, 4, 1).

As this date is important to clear some fallacies created by the historians regarding the relations of Kṛṣṇadevarāya of Vijayanagara and Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati, I undertake to discuss this first before I proceed to comment on the text of the document. Mr. Venkatarangayya, who published this copper-plate grant, said that the date corresponded to 1510 A. C., October, 4, Friday; but on examination it is found that the *tithi* on that day was not *trītyā* but partly *prathamā* and partly *dvītyā*. The editor of the journal (*J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 57.) argued thus:—Unfortunately the Śaka *sāvat* and the cyclic year do not agree; for Śaka 1432 (expired) coincided with Paridhāvi (*sic*), Śaka year 1433 expired or 1434 current alone (*sic*) would correspond to the cyclic year Pramōdūta. The date of the grant in Christian era would be equivalent to Friday, 24th October, 1511 A. C.

In the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1921, para. 70, it is said that Pramōdūta corresponded to 1510-11 A. C. None of these examiners seem to have understood the passage giving the date rightly. I quote here the verses (lines 22 to 24) to make it clear.

Line 22. *kara-rām-ābhī-titāntu-saṅkhyāka-Śaka-vatsarā Pra-*

Line 23. *mōdō(dā)-any-ābda-varā māsi Kārttika-nāmani śukla-trītyyā-dīnāi Ikā-*

Line 24. *ṛgyavarāya cā vatsarā, etc.*

Here the cyclic year Pramōda or Pramōdūta correctly corresponds to the Śaka year 1432; but the compound *Pramōdō(dā)-any-ābda-varā* clearly indicates that the year other than (next to) Pramōda, i.e. Prajāpati—consequently, the Śaka year next to that quoted in the inscription, viz., 1433 seems to be intended. The date now resolves itself to Śaka 1433, (cyclic year) Prajāpati, (the lunar month) Kārttika sūddha 3, Bhārgava's (week-)day, which corresponds to 1511 A. C., October 24, Friday.

Since the grant was made when the king was holding court in the great fort of Unḍrakōḍa, it is certain that he was in the south in 1511-12 A. C.; it was his *śaka* 17 as his father died in 1496-97. That the Gajapati king was in the south about 1511 A. C. is corroborated by other sources of information. The *Kaṣṭakārājasaṁskṛta* says that, when, in the 17th year (of reign) Cuttack was attacked by the Mogul called Hassan Shah, the king (Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati) who went

¹ Further Sources of Vijayanagar History, No. 24. The rest of the passage mentions the regnal year as *vatsara* and not as *śaka*. However since the Gajapati rulers invariably reckoned their reign in *śaka*, we may understand by *vatsara* only the *śaka* year.

south to conquer, returned and defeated the Mogul. This was in the 17th year of Pratāpa-Rudra. Jivādēvāchārya in the *Prasasti* of his *Bhaktibhāgavata*¹ says, 'the king, in his 17th year, was at Tirumala, fighting.' All these prove that Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati of Orissa was in the south till October 1511 A. C.

Yet, basing his arguments on the Gōṅgunga rock inscription of Kṛishṇadēvarāya, the Superintendent for Epigraphy in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1933-34, para 41, says that Kṛishṇadēvarāya subdued Udayagiri some time between 24th January 1510 A. C. and 15th October of the same year. This argument becomes untenable if the date of the said Gōṅgunga epigraph is taken into consideration. The date given in it is Śaka 1433, Pramōdūta, Kārttika śu. 11, Tuesday. Firstly, Śaka 1433 was not Pramōdūta; but it corresponds to Prajāpati, 1511 A. C. If the cyclic year Pramōdūta is taken, Kārttika śu. 11 falls on 13th October, Sunday, 1510 A. C. If Śaka 1433, Prajāpati, is taken, the date corresponds to Saturday, 1st November, 1511 A. C. Either way, the date of the epigraph is not correct, since the week day does not tally; and therefore it cannot be accepted as genuine.

The same officer in the beginning of the paragraph corrects the date of another inscription at Guṇḍlapālem, of Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati, and says that he granted a piece of land in 1510 A. C., sometime after January. Guṇḍlapālem is in Kandukur taluk and Gōṅgunga is in Ongole taluk. The two taluks are so adjacent that it cannot be accepted that two hostile kings could hold sway here so closely.

In view of what has been stated above, the conclusions of the Superintendent for Epigraphy regarding the date of Kṛishṇadēvarāya's conquest of the Udayagiri fort need to be modified.

In the Velicherla copper plate under review, Pratāpa-Rudra of Orissa bears several titles. It is but necessary to see if they were mere vainglorious ones or were really deserved. He was the overlord of the five Gaṇḍas, (*Pañcha-Gaṇḍāśāhināyaka*), line 10). Kapilēśvara, his grandfather, acquired the title of Gaṇḍēśvara which became hereditary in his family. Only one part of the Gaṇḍa country must have been subdued during the time of Kapilēśvara. But Pratāpa-Rudra of Orissa defeated the ruler of Bengal (Gaṇḍa) and pursued him till the latter hid himself in his fort (lines 13-15). The *Bhaktibhāgavata Prasasti* says (verse 27), 'while his hair was still wet with the bath of coronation, he defeated the Sultan of Gaṇḍa, a conqueror in many battles, and at the end of the sixth week of his father's death he offered handfuls of water of the Gaṅgā for the merit of his father. The Anantavaram plates² with the date corresponding to 1500 A. C., November 5, Thursday, lunar eclipse, say that Pratāpa-Rudra drove the Aṅga king to the mountain refuge. This victory is amplified in the Idupulapāḍu-Garuḍastambha inscription,³ the date of which corresponds to 1500 A. C., November 5, Thursday, lunar eclipse, which declares *Gauḍēndra-krandana-labha-śāśu-vijaya*. Since these records bear the same date, this particular exploit must have been achieved before 1500 A. C.

Then we consider the other epithet, *Raja-Baṇḍjūra*. *Raja* means battle or fight; *Baṇḍjūra* is an Urdu word meaning the same thing as *Lambāḍi* (C. F. Brown), which means a trader.⁴ So the phrase means a trader in battles, i.e., a victor in battles.

Since Anantavaram and Idupulapāḍu, where the grants of this Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati were found, are located to the north of the river Kṛishṇā, and since the village of Velicherla, the

¹ *Report on the Search for Sans. MSS., 1901-02 to 1905-06*, by M. M. H. P. Sastri, pp. 14 ff., vv. 31 and 32.

² *Andhra Pradesh Annual*, 1929, pp. 175-8; *Krishṇadēvarāya*, App. p. 97; *Journal of R. R. Carn. Oriental Institute*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 37.

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. X, No. 732, text lines 38-9.

⁴ [Really speaking, the word *baṇḍjūra* is derived from Sanskrit *bhāṇḍjū* (or *śāṇḍjū*)-*śūra*.—Ed.]

object of this grant, is said to be in Pāka-nādu; it may be inferred that the region along the sea-coast might have been called by the name of Pāka-nādu.

Udrakonda, one of the forts said to have been captured by Kṛishṇadēvarāya, was a *maḥādurga* where Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati held his court, attended by learned men (*Paṇḍita*), *Pātras* (commanders of army), *Bāharā Mahāpātras* (collectors of revenue as well as commanders of army), and *Sāmantas* (vassals) (lines 19-21). The Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy takes this to be the same as Udrakonda of Briggs' *Ferishta*, II.

Vidyānidhi is the last of his titles and it requires explanation. His work, *Sarasatīvilāsa*, is a living evidence of his lore in *Sāstras*, *Purāṇas* and other works in Sanskrit literature. Some scholars contend that the work was written by Lakṣmīdhara Paṇḍita; yet it may be said that the Paṇḍit might have helped the Gajapati in compiling the work.¹ His father Puruṣōtama Gajapati was such a great scholar that his poetic flourishes were elixir to the ears (*Karṇa-raṅganāśa*) (line 10). The son of such a scholar king must have been educated well in his boyhood. In his 15th year while being the governor of Śrīkūrmam(-Maṇḍala), he wrote such a beautiful and scholarly book as *Syaṁika-śāstra* (the science of Hawking).² M. M. H. P. Sastri, who was not aware of the learning of the Gajapati prince of Kūrmam, considered Kūrmāchala as referring to Kumam and Rudradēva as its king. The other details recorded in the inscription are the following.

Lines 26-28: The donee Kondaṃya, was the best of the twice born (*dvija-rāja*), *dhama* with all good qualities, was the son of Tammaya and the grandson of Nārāyaṇa Yajvan (who performed a sacrifice) of the Bhāradvāja *gētra*, of the Yajñā(-śakhā) *sect*, and was a resident of Polugūḷa.

Line 28: The object of the grant was Velicherla, the gem amongst villages situated in the region of Jaladaṅki, in the district (*śaman*) of Pāka-nādu. This gift was made with reverence (*manūdārit*), associated with libations of water and gold (*hiranyga*).

The gift, exempted from the thirty six kinds of demands and other imposts, was given to last till the moon and the sun endure, to be enjoyed from son to grandson (for generations). Such rights as those of mortgage and sale were also given. The gift was made in the presence of Dhurgā and Jagannātha for the increase of merit (lines 31-32). The boundaries of the village were shown by the boundary stones.

The boundaries are mentioned in Telugu from line 32 to line 36. Lines 36-39 contain two imprecatory verses.

The charter is ratified by fixing the royal seal which is divided into two parts. The first represents a 'rampant lion' in writing. Many people understand it to be the Telugu letter *lha* which forms the initial of the word *Khāmānda*. This is not tenable as there was no occasion for the kings of Orissa to adopt this word of Urdu origin.

The significance of this seal requires to be traced from the time of the Eastern Ganga kings of Orissa. They ratified their grants by securing the ends of a metallic ring on which the plates containing the document were strung, in a metallic lump on which was fixed the seal consisting

¹ [For a discussion regarding the authorship of *Sarasatīvilāsa*, see *J. B. R. S.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 13 ff.—Ed.]

² Published by the *A. S. B. New series*, No. 1222, edited by M. M. H. P. Sastri. Mr. Sastri understood the author as the lord of Kūrmāchala, which is supposed to be the modern name of Kumam; but considering the internal evidences in the work, Pratāpa-Rudra was really the Governor of Kūrmam which, in analogy with Simhāchalam, was named Kūrmāchala. As in the *Sarasatīvilāsa*, in this work also, he collects authorities from several books of Sanskrit literature. References to *Purāṇas*, *Vēdas*, and other works of Sanskrit are a peculiar feature in the authorship. * Gajapati kings. Puruṣōttramādēva Gajapati in his *Nāmanāthikā* says that he had studied several books.

of a couchant bull, conch, sword and elephant-goad. When the Sūryavarmā kings succeeded to the government of Orissa, they replaced the four objects so as to suit their faith and prowess. Kapilēśvara's copper-plate grant shows a harnessed elephant and the hilt of a sword. There are some ornamental engravings on the hilt.

Only one charter of Purushōttama Gajapati is found till now and it is published in *J. B. and O. R. S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 361 ff. and plate, under the caption: *A note on an inscribed copper-axe-head from Orissa.* The seal represented at the end of the inscription is composed of the engravings of four objects:—(1) a letter (2) a conch (3) a double-edged long sword (4) a dagger.

The first looks like the figure 3 with an uplifted tail behind. Since the donor was a worshipper of Durgā (*Śrī-Jagadurgōyā namah*), he might have adopted the lion, the vehicle of Durgā as his emblem or crest. This figure represents the rampant lion. (2) The conch may stand for the *peśha-mahā-śabala*, often found mentioned in the copper-plate charters of the early Gaṅga kings.

(3) The long sword is always a sign of royal authority and valour.

(4) The dagger is another weapon used in a closer fight.

Purushōttama's son Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati reduced these signs, omitting the conch, to the writing form.

The first crest lost its middle horizontal projection but retained its tail. This stands for the rampant lion, an emblem of valour and royalty. Then the long sword and the dagger are combined together. The first two ovals stand for the hilt of the sword; the third oval stands for the handle of the dagger the blade of which is shown by a line from the lower part of the oval.

There are some signs on the handle of the long sword. They are the representation of some ornamental carvings of the hilt as found in the Veligalāni grant of Kapilēśvara.*

TEXT[†]

First Plate

- 1 Gaṇānām-adhipaḥ pāyāt gaṇḍa-mutt-āli-nisvanail bhakta-saṅgha(ṅghā)ta-vighna-saṅghān
vāraṇa Vām-
- 2 pānamah ||1||[‡] Pārśvāra-viśrinikṣha(ṅkha)l-śemon-paṭali-pathyā nimagnāṁ bhuvan
dādamhṛt-āgrēṣa sam-
- 3 dīdharan sa-pulaka-śvād-śḍgamām-ātmanah | saḥsa(sa)rgg-śunbhavēna rōma-paṭali-śvād-
śḍa-bhūddū(ndū)-
- 4 n-iva |[§] kṛtā-kṛdā-kaḥharā-yatu adā sap-śrṇṇavim-udvahan ||2||[‡] Anti trayī-mūla-mū-
ḍ rttie-ādityō mahasān-nidhi|h[§] |[§] aṁbbhōjmināṁ |śvātur-Harēr-śḍakahiṇa-lōchanam
||3||[‡] Tad-a-
- 6 śvay-śḍbhāv-śḍabhūn-mahaujāḥ |[§] kaḥ-nidhi | śrī-Kapilēśdra(udra)nāmā | yat-kirtti-
chandra(udra)-dvita-
- 7 ś-āri-bhūddhṛt |[§] kar-śḍabbu(bu)jātāni nimilayanti(nī) ||4||[‡] Sa bhūputir-śḍakahiṇa-
bhūmijā-
- 8 lān |[§] vijitya viśrāṇa-pārijātab | ananya-śḍdhāraṇa-sāhasa-śrīr-jagrāha paṭhāt-ye(Te)-
- 9 lūngā(ṅgā)ṇa-śḍrggān ||5||[‡] Puṇyas-tadiyyah(dīyah) Purushōttam-āśḍśā |[§] t-putrō-
bhavat śrī-Pura-

* G. P. No. 17 of 1934-35.

[†] From impressions.

[‡] Dashed unnecessary.

[§] DGA.

- 10 shōttamāndrah(ndrah) | angathāha(ndha)yah¹ a-tat-kavitā-villāṣa[= *]śaṁkhyā(śkhyā)ratāṁ
karṇa-raśyanāni ||6||^{*}
- 11 Divā-nīlāṣṭ tasya mahāvarasya |² pratāpa-bhāṇan paridṛśyamānā | nāk-āpagāyāṁ salināni
ni-
- 12 tyāṁ |³ n-āti praphullaṁtti(nti) na koṭimalaṁtti(nti) ||7||^{*} Patrō-bhavat-tasya Gajē-
varasya |⁴ Pratāparudrah patra-sānya-

Second Plate : First Side

- 13 raudrah | sa Gaṇḍa-rājasya balāni jītvā |⁵ pratyagrahīd-rājyam-adhijya-dhaṁvā ||8||^{*}
Mātābha-
- 14 kucibbhau(mbbhan) samarēṣhu yaaya |⁶ dṛiṣṭvā palāyya ava-putaṁ pravāṣyā(śya) | bhay-
āknō Gaṇḍa-
- 15 patih kad-āpl |⁷ bhīhīr-knohan n-ākahitum-ihāṣṭ sma ||9||^{*} Sa bhūpatir-mamahārājō
rājēndra(ndra)-para-
- 16 māvarah | śrīmad-rājādhirājēndra(ndra)-Parichha(ścha)-Gaṇḍ-ādhināyakah ||10||^{*} Yaśasvi
vira-kōdarō māna-
- 17 Gōvinda(nda)-lāṁchahha(śchha)nah | vidyā-nidhīh Pāṁka-nāṁti-Chōṣa-mahādja(nda)la-
nāyakah ||11||^{*} Tribhuvana-tōdara-
- 18 mallō |⁸ raga-baṁjīrah pratāpa-vira-varah | śrī-Vēṁkka(śka)ṭa-gajarājah |⁹ Pratāparudrah
- 19 pratāpa-mārtiśchēḍa(nda)h ||12||^{*} Vushḍri(ṇḍra)koṁḍja(nda)-mahādurgga-kaṭakō maṇi-
śōbhītē |
- 20 śibhyā(hā)ana-samāsna(nō) vidvāj-jana-samāvṛtē ||13||^{*} Pāṁnīhīr- bāhatā-mahā-
- 21 pāṁna-sāmaṁtti(nti) |¹⁰ pari-sēvitaḥ | pālayan pṛithivīm sarvām Poruhū-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 22 ta yi(i)v-āparah ||14||^{*} Kara-nām-ābōhi-āṭāṁsā-samkhyā(śkhyā)ka-Śaka-vatēarō | Pra-
Bhā-
- 23 māḍi(dā)l-ang-a(ā)bdā-varō māṣ(ā) Kārttika-nāmanī ||15||^{*} Śakla-trīṭṭyā(trīṭṭyā)-divasō
- 24 rggavasya cha vācarō | Vu(U)dayāchala-durggāsya pūrva-bhāgē pratiśbhītō ||16||^{*} Ja-
Pūṇa-
- 25 lādāḍikkī(āki)-āthalē Pāṁka(śka)-nāṁti(ṇṭi)-sinni virāḍāṁ(m) | Velicherla-grāma-ratanaḥ
- 26 gulla-nivra(vā)sinō ||17||^{*} Śrī-Bhadravāja-gōtrāya Yajus-ākhā-pravartsinō | Nārā-
- 27 yaṁa-yajvana[h¹] pautriya Tammayasy-ātma-sūnavē ||18||^{*} Koṁḍja(ṇḍa)ya-dvīja-rājō-
- 28 ya samastā-guṇa-śōbhinē | sa-hirany-ślakair-dhārā-pūrvāḥ kṛtvā samāḍarā-
- 29 | ||19||^{*} Śhaṭ-trīṁśad-śrōḍanaka-mahitāṁ nirupādhiḥ ||² ā-chāṁdr-ā(ndr-ā)śka-patra-
pautra-pāra-
- 30 āpary-ānolāsanah(m) ||20||^{*} Adī(dhī)kray-ādhi(dī)-yōgyaṁ-chēha(ś-cha) sarva-bhōga-
samanvitah(m) | prād-

¹ Fieris unnecessary.

² Dapda unnecessary.

³ The word bhī is apparently derived from bī which is of Persian origin meaning 'sift'.

⁴ Omit śāṁga.

గంధనామధి ౧ చాలయోగవశాన మతాకలిప్రభాభక్తసంసారతదబ్రహ్మచారికారము
 నివర్తకః॥ చారణ్యకంఠలంఘ్యదేవవిద్యగ్రాధిమగ్నాంధువర్గాః ప్రాత్రానామ
 త్తరణ్యపులకప్రకాశేషా మాత్యసఃసంప్రకాశ్యమభ్యవేదాదుపదలక్షితాదగింత
 దివ్యాత్రితాత్రాదౌకరేపిణావయసేదాసప్రశ్నవిముక్తమా॥ అప్రతయః మూలము
 త్తరణావిశ్వామహానాష్టభిఃప్రభావకానానిహంబివశ్యమనానాద్యక్ష్యణాలాపనం॥ తత్త
 యంబావ్రాప్రదభూతకాజాఃకనానిధిఃత్రేకపరేంద్రనామకామత్తిత్తివంద్యైః
 యోగిభ్యోవ్యధిగ్రహకంఠ్యుజాతానినిదాలయంతి॥ సభావతికణ్ఠాభూమిపా
 లాదిభ్యోవ్రాచాకలిజాతఃఅనన్యసాధారణసాహజత్రాజద్రామాపరాభి
 లంకానామగ్నాః॥ ప్రకృప్రదియ్యఃప్రకృహతాతమాంత్వాత్మరాభవత్రేపురు
 షార్థమంద్రః॥ సుగంధ్యుః సుతరాదిగామనః॥ ఖగద్రావకశ్శరణాయనాని॥
 దివాగిరపరప్రమీదాసాద్రహః॥ దావః॥ దర్శి మధానానాకాశాంబూంబూమాది
 పృథ్వికాత్రాప్రసాద్యైఃసమద్రులంతి॥ పుటాభివత్తశ్శ గభర్జింసప్రతాపయత్రాచరన్య

Dr. J. R.

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Third Plate

- 31 [d*]-Durgā-Jagannātha-sannidhan dharmma-vṛddhaye ||[21]*] Tasya grāmasya śimā-chik-
nāni śilā-stam-
- 32 bhāi[1*] śiśhai (śiśhai)-jāyāni || Grāmam tūrpuna dāhōḍa-dōraua gachōḍina rāni [1*]
ājāyāna
- 33 berlōnu vidatōḍlō rāi [1*] dakṣiṇāna Chenujja-guṇṭṭann ā-paḍamaṭi kuddovano rā-
- 34 tani [1*] nairuti-mūlann Rēvaḍi-guṇṭṭa-paḍamaṭi-kommuna rāi [1*] paḍamaṭa nilva rāi [1*]
vāyn-
- 35 vyāna vāngu dāhōḍa-rāi [1*] uttarāna va(u)ppuḍjervu-tūrpun-gommuna rāi [1*] iśānyāna
- 36 muddala-guṇṭṭa-dāhōḍanu rāi [1*] iviyē polam saḍjhalu [1*] Yā(Ē)k-aiva bhaginī lōkē
sarvvē-
- 37 śām-ēva bhūbhujām | ma bhōjyā na kara-grām(grā)hyā vipre-dattā vasubuddha(nūha)rā
||[22]*] Śva-da-
- 38 ttām para-dattām vvā(vā) yō harēd-vasudhām-imūm(m) | śhaśh(hīr(śhī))-vvaruśha(varśha)-
śhaśhā-
- 39 ṛi viśh(ā)(nīhā)jyām jāyatē krimiḥ ||[23]*] *The crest and the sign-manual* [1*]

No. 36—TERUNDIA PLATE OF SUBHAKARA II

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND.

About the close of May 1950, I received for examination a copper-plate inscription from Mr. C. M. Āchārya, M.A., L.B., Vice-Chancellor of the Utkal University, through the Registrar of the said institution. No information was then available as to its findspot and the circumstance of its discovery. Sometime afterwards Mr. Āchārya kindly agreed to my suggestion that the inscription should be edited by me in the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica*. My sincere thanks are due to him for his kindness in allowing me to publish the record. In December 1950, I visited Puri in course of my annual tour in search of inscriptions. There I met Pandit Sadāśiva Ratha Śarmā who collects inscriptions on behalf of the Utkal University. I learnt from the Pandit that the plate under discussion had been recovered by him, together with some interesting articles of pottery, from an old well in the house of Śrī Chakradhara Sāmal of Teruḍiā, a village about five miles from Nimapāra which is the headquarters of a Police Station of that name in the Puri District of Orissa.

The inscription is written on a single plate measuring about 16" in length and 8½" in height. The proper right end of the plate, to which a copper lump containing the seal is soldered, does not run in a straight line but is slightly curved. The plate is thus more than ¼" longer in the middle than in the upper and lower sides which are both about 16" long. The seal is much corroded and only the traces of an emblem looking like a couchant bull are visible. The round surface of the seal is 2½" in diameter. The thickness of the lump of metal, on which the seal emblem is counter-sunk, is 1½". The plate is not in a satisfactory state of preservation and the writing, especially on the obverse, has suffered considerably from the effects of corrosion. There are 20 lines of writing on the obverse and 10 lines on the reverse. The weight of the plate together with the seal is 191 tolas.

As regards palaeography and orthography, the inscription under discussion resembles very closely the published records of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Orissa, including the *Sāntiragrāma*

grant of Dandimahādēvi (who flourished about three quarters of a century later than the issuer of the present charter) and the Jajpur (Hamsāśvaram temple) inscription mentioning the royal couple Śubhākara I and Mādhavādēvi (who were the grandparents of the issuer of our charter), both of which have been recently edited by me for the pages of this journal.¹ The only point of palaeographical interest, to which attention may be drawn, is the way in which the number 100 is written in line 22. Here the usual *lu* symbol indicating 100 is rather unusually followed by a cypher apparently indicating the absence of the ten and unit elements in the number. This is no doubt due to the influence of the decimal system of writing numerals which was becoming popular in various parts of India even before the rise of the Bhauma-Kara of Orissa. The Bhauma-Kara king, who is usually styled Śubhākara II, is already known from his two copper-plate grants, viz., the Hindol and Dharakota plates,² both of which are dated in the year 103, the former on Śālvaya Śudi 7 and the latter on Bhādrapada Śudi 7. It is interesting to note that, while the number 103 has been written in the Dharakota plate as 100 3 in the usual way, the same number has been written in the Hindol plate³ as 100 0 3 with the cypher indicating the absence of the ten element in it. The charter under discussion was issued about three years earlier than the Hindol and Dharakota plates referred to above.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written in both prose and verse. It should, however, be pointed out that, while the texts of the Hindol and Dharakota plates of the year 103 closely resemble each other, the draft of the present document issued in the year 100 is quite different. The verses employed in the charter under review are also different from those found in the Hindol and Dharakota records. As, moreover, will be seen from our discussion below, the present inscription offers some interesting new information.

The inscription is dated in the year 100 Vaiśākha Śudi 5(1). As is well known, the era used by the Bhauma-Kara kings of Orissa is identified by some scholars with the Harsha era of 606 A.C., although there are writers who are inclined to assign the epoch of the era to a later date. Thus the date of the record under discussion falls in 706 A.C. or, if the views of the second group of scholars are preferred, to sometime in the eighth century or later. I have fully discussed the problem of Bhauma-Kara chronology in connection with the Śāndilagrāma grant of Dandimahādēvi recently,⁴ and hardly anything in this connection requires special mention here.

The charter belongs to king Śubhākara II of the celebrated Orissan imperial family called usually Bhauma in earlier records and Kara in the later. It was issued, like other grants of the family, from the city of Guhādevapāṭaka, otherwise called Guhāśvarampāṭaka. This city, which was apparently the capital of the Bhauma-Kara kings, has been identified with modern Jajpur on the Vaitarani in the Cuttack District of Orissa.⁵ It is mentioned as a *jaya-saṇḍhāra*; but it has been shown that, although the word *saṇḍhāra* usually means 'a camp,' it has also the sense of a *vijalāhāri* in mediæval lexicons.⁶ The description of Guhādevapāṭaka in prose in lines 1-2 of the record under review is followed by another prose passage saying that, after the death of the Bhauma kings beginning with Lakṣmīkara, the throne passed to *Mahārājādhirāja Paramāśvara Śubhākara I* who was a *paramōpamā*, 'a follower of the Buddhist faith.' It may be pointed out in this connection that, in the Nulpur plate of Śubhākara I himself, the king is described as a

¹ Above, p. 180.

² B. Mitra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 12-22; *J.B.O.R.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 69-83; *J.A.H.R.*, Vol. IV, pp. 189-94.

³ The plate now belongs to the collection of the Utkal University, Cuttack, and I had recently an opportunity of examining it through the kindness of Mr. C. M. Acharya. An examination of the original plate revealed the fact that the published transcript of the text of this inscription contains some errors.

⁴ My article on the inscription is being published in this journal.

⁵ Above, p. 182.

⁶ *Records of the Śāradākhana*, pp. 47-48.

⁷ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 3; Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

that a reigning monarch could have been adopted as son by one of his female relations. Moreover, the accession to the Bhauma-Kara throne of five queens (viz. Tribhuvannashāhī, I-II, Gaufmahāśāhī, Vakulamahāśāhī and Dharmamahāśāhī) and of a princess (Dāyāmahāśāhī) points to the unpopularity of the institution of adoption in the Bhauma-Kara family. The difference of the draft of the present charter from that of the Hīndol and Dharakata plates has also to be noted in this connection. It is, however, as yet unknown whether there was a struggle for the throne between Śubhākara II and Śubhākara III after the death of Śāntikara I. It is also uncertain why Śāntikara I succeeded his elder brother when the latter had left a son.

The royal order in respect of the grant was addressed to the present and future officials and subordinates belonging to Dakṣiṇ-Tōsal such as the *Mahāśāntaka*, *Mahārāja*, *Rājaputra*, *Astakāntaka*, *Kumārāmātya*, *Uparika*, *Vishayapati*, *Tatāyuktika*, *Dāyapālaka*, *Śāntāntarika* and other dependants, including persons of the *śāhī*, *bhāta* and *vallabha* categories (lines 13-15). It was also addressed to such officers (*adhiparaka*) within the Śūlāntarakurbiha *vishaya* as those of the *Mahāmahattara*, *Brihadbhāgīn*, *Panāpāla* and *Kuśakola* (lines 15-16). It is well known that the kingdom of the Bhauma-Karas was divided at least into two provinces, viz., Uttara-Tōsal and Dakṣiṇ-Tōsal, i.e., the North and South Tōsal. The *vishaya* or district, called Śūlāntarakurbiha in our record, formed a part of South Tōsal. A village called Lacāgaṇṇā, situated in the said *vishaya*, was granted by the king as a revenue-free permanent gift in favour of certain wives (lines 16-22). The donees, who were inhabitants of Tamaraṇḍapagrāma, belonged to the *vēda*. They were six in number, viz., Bhāṭṭa Bhāṇḍadēva, Bhāṭṭa Viḍṣavagadēva, Bhāṭṭa Khēlā-terma used in connection with the grant are also found in other copper-plate charters of the family. The grant was made for the upkeep of the *maḥas* and *maḥapalas* established by the Brāhmanas in their native village. The words *maḥa* and *maḥapala* appear to mean here respectively 'a college' and 'a public building.' They are often mentioned in later Gaṅga records.² Lines 22-23 contain the king's entreaty to the future rulers of the country as well as the date discussed in the precatory and benedictory verses in lines 23-27. There is another verse in lines 27-28, praying for the permanence of the Kara (i.e., Bhauma) king's charter recorded on the plate. Similar verses are also found in some other charters of the family.³ It is interesting to note that our record thus speaks of the royal family in question both as Bhauma (line 3) and as Kara (line 28). This is, again, the earliest record of the dynasty in which the family name Kara occurs. The Kshēmanthikara-Lakṣmīkara, Śivakara I-III and Śāntikara I-III of the family, excepting those bearing the name Śubhākara (I-V). The *dātaka* or executor of the grant was the *Mahāśhapāntādhikārī* (i.e., an officer of the *akṣhapatāla* or record department) named Tāmlatta. The writer of the document was the *Mahāśhapāntādhikārī* (i.e., record-keeper) Bhāṭṭa Anandanāga. The plate was heated (*lāpita*), apparently for soldering the seal, by the *pāḍāpāla* Nārāyaṇakara. The plate was *pāḍāpāla*, also found in many other records, has not been satisfactorily explained. The word *pāḍā* seems to be used in the *Diepāḍāna*⁴ in the sense of 'a basket.' The *pāḍāpāla* thus may have been a storekeeper of the king's record department. It is difficult to say whether *Pāḍāpāla*

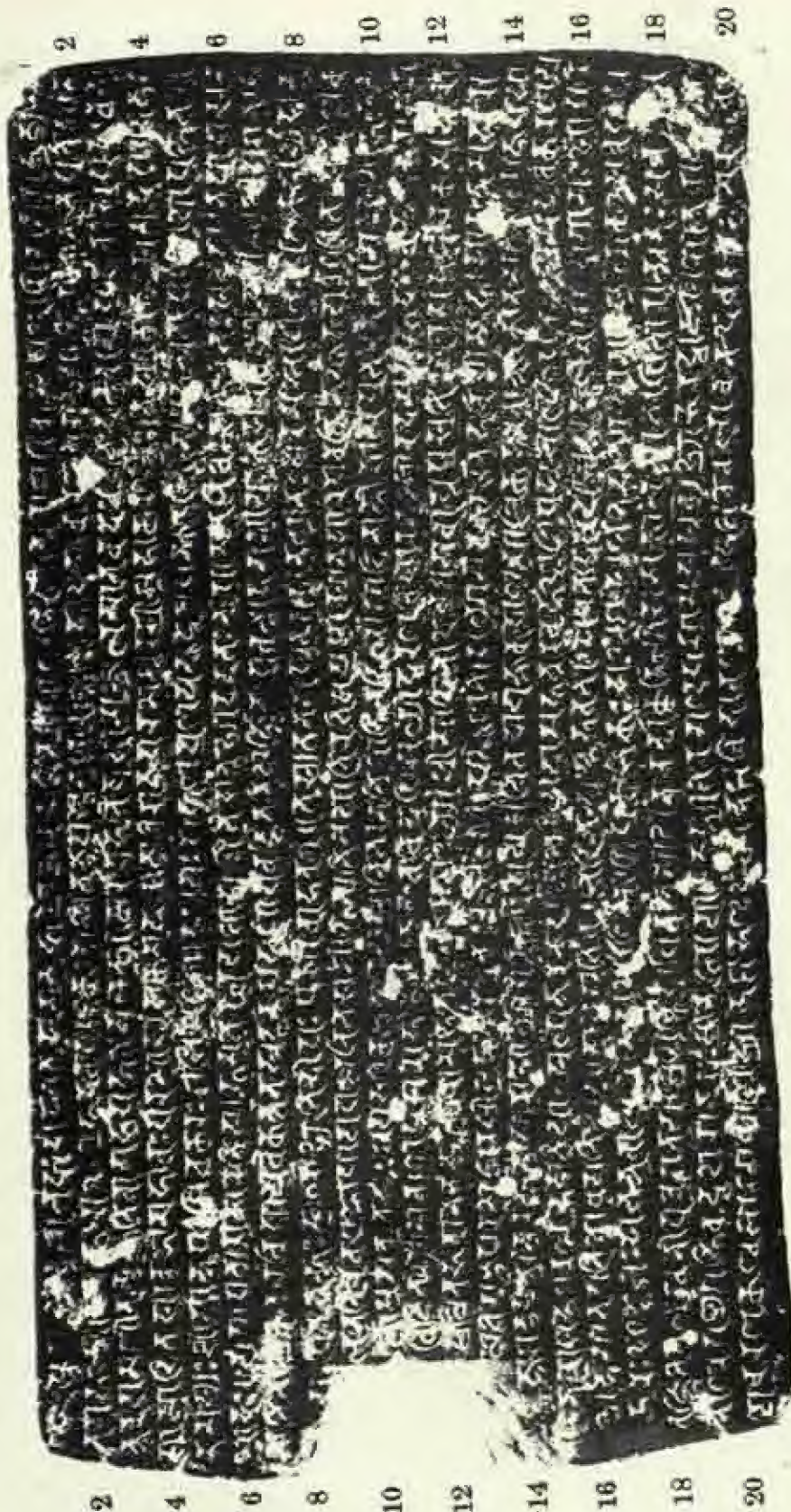
¹ The inscription is being published in this journal.

² See the grants of Narasimha II, edited above, pp. 187 ff.

³ Misra, op. cit., p. 10 (lines 30-32 of text), p. 27 (lines 30-41 of text), etc.

⁴ Cf. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1899, s.v. The word is found in some records as *pāḍāpāla*.

Obverse



22
 24
 26
 28
 30

Nārāyaṇakara of the present record is the same as *Pāṭapaṇa* Nārāyaṇa who headed the Noulpur plate of Subhākara I. The plate was engraved by the *śaṭkāṭra* (i.e., metal-worker; cf. Hindi *ṣaḥṭarā*) Āghāṭa who was the son of Malin.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter under discussion, Dakṣhiṇa-Tōsali included the present Puri District of Orissa together with parts of the Cuttack and Ganjam Districts. I have not been able to locate the *Sulāntarakurbha viśaya* and the villages called *Tavāṅgaṇḍā* and *Taramaṇḍapa*. The location of *Guhādevapātaka* or *Guhāśvarapātaka* has already been indicated above.

TEXT.¹

[Metres : Verses 1 *Vasantatilakā* ; verse 2 *Śārdūlavitrīṇita* ; verses 3-7 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 8 *Push-pitāgrā* ; verse 9 *Mālinī*.]

Oṃcaro

- 1 [Siddham ||]² Svaty-a[ti-ru?]dra-mātaṅga-sarbhāta-samuttuṅga-prākāra-parikṣiptāt | kṣhi
(kṣhi)r-ānu(mbu)rāśr-iv-āśeṣa-bhōgi-samupahujyam[ā]
- 2 ma-saḥaj-an[di]ṭṭya*-[sarbhā]śāt | Guhādevapātaka-śvānta-jaya-śkandhāvānt | [ā]bhī-śa-
dhāra[ga]-parākram-āśhri[ghri][p][i]ḥi* [kṛi]ṇa-pratisāma-
- 3 nta-chūdā-maṇ-indrāṇu* [aura/]-nirvā-bhapa(va)h-gatēṣu Lakṣmikaṇa-prabhipitiṣu
Bhauma-kula-mānuva-dāvāh[u] tad-anvavāya-prabhavaḥ sva-prabhāva-sa-
- 4 māśāḍita-sāryvabhāuma-bhāvaḥ paramōpāsaka-mah[ā]rājādhirāja-paramōvara-śrī-Subhākara-
dēvaḥ | Tasy-ātma[jaḥ] samudapēdi jag-
- 5 a-namasyaḥ śrīmān-nripaḥ Śivakarāḥ śaśiśekhara-ābhav | yaḥ sad-guṇa-prapaya-kṛid-[-v]i[ṣ]ṣa-
pakṣapātī [kalasābh]i[ti]-sutā-pa[ti]ṇa[-]ṣpahita-pr-
- 6 mōḍaḥ || [1]* Yasya pratyupakāra-nispiṣa-matēr-arihah yath-ābhyarthitān sa[r]v[er]v[ā]bhyaḥ
dadataḥ kṛp-āmṛita-nidhēḥ sa[n]tōṣa[?]ṭaḥ sa[r]v[er]v[ā]jā | na pralāt-sama-
- 7 tūḥ vīṇya kavachasū viprāya vaikartanaś-tach-chakti-grahaṇ-āpararjita-nij-auryjitya-
prava(ha)ndh-ōdayaḥ || [2]* Yaḥ [kṣ]sar-[-]i[va] [śrī-āgrō dhi?]mān(mān) śrī-Sugat-āra-
- 8 yaḥ || [3]* pitṛi-bhaktāḥ kul-ōdyō(ddyō)ti-dipaḥ Purar-iv-ābhavat | [3]* tasya tanayas-tat-
pāt-ānuḍhyātāḥ paramasaṅgata[ḥ] pravata-bhāgya-samva(sarva)-
- 9 lāna-nirata-[ma]hōpāya-pa[ḥ]avi[ṭ]ta-samihit-ātīayō nipatīaya-āśr-ānuśāra-pravaritita-kṛita-
yug-ōchit-śa[n]ḍ[ā]ḥ[?]ṇa-va-
- 10 rṇa-śātama-vyavasthāḥ sap[ā]dy-a[?]dhika-dha[va]ḥ-yaśō-vitāna-tiḍhita-Dilip-āli-mahōpāla-
pratītiḥ tāmaraśā-nābha iva
- 11 vijita-[kuṇ]ḍaivā(bā)ṇa-prasārō Bhī[m-āgra]ḥ iva viddhō-pi Śaly-ōddharapa-viśānulaḥ śāra-
ma[ḥ]h[ā]ra iva sva[?]chakḥ-ānta[?]r-āśaya[ḥ]b*
- 12 prathita-Bhāvāna-[vaśa(vachā)-la]lāna-bhūtā[?]rāḥ mahādevyāḥ śrī-Mōhinidēvyām-
avāpta-pras[ā]n[ā]tiḥ paramabhaktāraka-mahār-
- 13 jādhirāja-parā[mō]va[?]śa-śrī-Subhākara-dēvaḥ ku[ṣ]ṭāji | Dakṣhiṇa-Tōsalyām(lyāḥ) varitamāna-
bhavishyan-mahār[?]ṇa[?]ṭa-mahār-
- 14 ja-rājap[ā]ṇ[ti]r-ānta[?]śa[?]ṭa-kumārāmāty-ōparika-vishayapati-taḥyuktaka-dāp[ā]ṇ[ti]ka-sthān-
ntarikān-anyā[?]n-āpi[?] rāja-praś-

¹ From the original plate kindly lent by Mr. C. M. Acharya, Vice-Chancellor, Utkal University, and from impressions prepared in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Dacca and Madras.

² Expressed by symbol.

³ The intended reading may have been *śaśiśekhara*.

- 15 dinaś-chāṭa-bhaṭa-vallabha-jāti(tī)yān Sulāntarakurhha-viahayō-pi mahāmabattara-vpi(bpi)-
[hadbhāgi]-pustopāla-[kupa]kō[la*]-s-ādy-adhikaraṇaḥ va-
16 th-ārhaṇ mānayaṭi vō(bō)dhayaṭi [sa]mā[ṇā]payati cha | viditam-astu bhavatām ya(th-ai)-
tad-viahaṇa-sa[mva(mba)]ddha-Lavāgaṇḍagrāmaḥ s-ōpari-
17 karaḥ s-ōddēśaḥ sa-tantuvā[ya]-[gōkṇ*]-[sa]m[ā]di-[k-ādi-prakritikah sa-[kō]a-[gha]ṭṭa-nadi-
tara[sthā]n-ādi-gulmaka[h] sarva-[pā]ā-
18 varjit[ō]-[lōkhaṇi-pravēśatayā bhūmī-ōbhādr-āpidhāna-nyāyān-ā-chandr-ārka-kahiti-
sama-kālaṁ mātā-pitrōr-ātmanah sarva-[sattvā]-
19 nāś-cha puṇy-ābhividdhayō rājyāḥ śrī-Nrīṇāyā [vi][h]aptyā Taramaṇḍapa-grāma-vāsta-
vyāhyō Bha(Bhā)radvāja-sagō[tra]-Vā[ṇ]asanō*]-
20 ya-chaṭaṇa-Ka(Kā)ṇva-ākha-ādhyāyibhyō Bhaṭṭa-Bhōḍadōva |¹ Bhaṭṭa-Vidriṇva[ṇadō]va |
Bhaṭṭa-Khālāvanadōva | [Bhaṭṭa]-Mēru[dō]va |

Reverse

- 21 Bhaṭṭa-Rāṅadō[va] | | Bhaṭṭa-Saṇḍhadōvābhyō | (Ta?)raṇaṇḍapa-grāma-mādhyaṭ tat-kārita-
maṭh[ī](tha)-maṇḍapa-pālan-ādy-artham-samābhie-tāmra-āśan-
22 kṛty-ā[kahaya-nivī]-dharmma-ā-kara[tyēna prati]pālitaḥ | tad-śab-āśa[ṇḍ*]-dattir-
ddharmma-gauravād-bhavadbhīḥ paripālaniyā []* Samvat 100 Ō Vai-
23 ākha-an[di 51] uktaḥ-cha dharmma-ā[śtrō] []* [Va(Ba)kubhīc-vva]-sudiā dattā rājabhīc-
Sagar-ādibhīḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmie-tasya tasya tadā phalam || [4]*
24 [Mā] bhūd-s-phala-ānukā vaḥ para-datt-ōti pāriṭh[ā]ḥ | sva-dānāt-phalam-ānanta[ṭi]-
para-datt-ānupālano [] [5]* Svadattā[ṭi] para-dattām-vā(tām vā) yō harōta vasundha-
25 [rām*] | sa viśbhāyā[ṭi] kṛindir-bhūtvā pūṭibhīḥ saha pachyatō || [6]* Va(Ba)hūm-āttira kim-
uktēna samkshēpād-idam-nahyatō | svalpam-āyus-chalā bhōgā dha-
26 [rmō] lōka-divya-kahamaḥ || [7]* Iti kamala-dal-ādiva(bu)-vinda-lōlām śriyān-amuchintya
manushya-jivitaḥ-cha | [a]kṣilam-idam-udāhṛtaḥ-cha
27 vu(bu)dhvā(ddhvā) sa bh[ī] pu[ṭ]ruchāḥ para-kṛttayō vilōpyāḥ || [8]* Kṣititalam-alam-āśō
yāvād-ākramya Mēru-vila[sa*]ṭi Hara-manlan Jānu-ka-
28 nyā cha yāvat | Kara-narapati-vīra-ōru-kirttēḥ sthiraṭvaṁ vrajatu jana-manōjīvaḥ āśanan-
tāvad-ē[ṭat] || [9]* Dātako-tira mahākahapa-
29 tal-ādhipita-śrī-Tāradattāḥ | lōkhakō mahākahapa[ṭalika]-bhōgy-Ānandanāgah | āpītam pōjā-
pā[ṭa*]-Nārāyaṇakarōṇa | nki-
30 rṇaṇ ta[ṭh]kār-Āghāka-Mallupattirēva ||

No. 37—TALI INSCRIPTION OF KODAI RAVI : 17TH YEAR

(I Plate)

V. VENKATASUBRA AIYAR, MADRAS

The inscription¹ published below is engraved on a slab of stone kept in the *vādī-mūlam* or the entrance-porch of the Śiva temple at Tali in the Talappuṣṭi taluk of the Cochin State. The temple contains some records of the time of the Chōra kings Kōvinḍāvaran Kōḍai² (Indu-Kōḍavarman)

¹ The single *śaṇḍas* are used in lines 20-21 as the hyphen is done in English.

² No. 344 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1924.

³ No. 341 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1924.

From the provenance of these records and from the fact that the king is not specifically called a *Tēyāṭṭaṭṭal* we may consider him to be a Chōra ruler. We know of six kings of this dynasty who flourished between the 9th and 11th centuries A. C. They are:—

- (1) *Śthānu-Ravi*,² of the Kōṭṭayam and Tiruvall plates, who was a contemporary of the Chōla king *Āḍitya I* (870-900 A. C.);
- (2) his successor *Vijayarāghavadēva*,³ who was a contemporary of the Chōla king *Parāntaka*, in the first half of the 10th century, in 930 A. C.;
- (3) *Indu-Kōḍaivarman*⁴ of the Tirukkāṭṭarai and Taḷi inscriptions, who reigned from 955 to 978 A. C.;
- (4) *Bhāskara-Ravivarman*,⁵ the contemporary of *Vāṇaṇḍaiya Śrīvallabha-Kōḍai* of Kollam 149 and who ruled from 978 to 1036 A. C.;
- (5) *Ravi-Rāma*⁶ of the Tirukkadittānam record, who was probably a successor of *Bhāskara-Ravi* (circa 1040), and
- (6) *Rāman Tiruvaḍi*⁷ *Kulaśekhara-Kōviladhikāri* of the Quilon epigraph dated in Kollam 278 (=1103 A. C.; date of accession 1090 A. C.).

The reigns of Nos. 1 to 4 may be considered to have been continuous without any appreciable break; whereas between those of Nos. 5 and 6 there is an interval of nearly half a century. In this gap, *Kōḍai-Ravi* with a reign of 30 years can well be accommodated; and palaeographical considerations do not militate against this assumption. But whether he was a predecessor of *Kulaśekhara* or his successor can be decided only when more data are available.

A few points of interest in the working of the record may be noticed.

Viyālam nīrka (line 2). The *Tyāla-cyclus* or the Jupiter's cycle was a favourite method of astronomical reckoning in use in the West Coast. As Jupiter moves round the ecliptic once in twelve years at the rate of one *vāḍ* per year approximately, the citation of its position in a particular *vāḍ* is chronologically useful. This system is used in some North Indian inscriptions, but is not in vogue in the records of South India.

Nityavichāraṁ (line 3). The origin of this name of the temple lies, on the analogy of the names like *Rājārājavarāma*, etc., to be traced to the name or *viruda* 'Nityavichāra' of a Chōra ruler; but which particular king bore this, is not ascertainable. This name was in vogue even in the time of *Indu-Kōḍaivarman*, and so it is possible that this king or some predecessor of his had the title.

Taḷiyār and *Taḷi-adhikāraṁ* (lines 2-3). According to the *Kēraḷōṭṭaṭṭi*, a Malayālam prose work of no great antiquity, the early Chōra rulers were helped in their administration by an advisory council consisting of the presidents of four assemblies representative of respective portions of their dominions. These assemblies met in halls called *taḷis*, and references to them are found in inscriptions. *Taḷi* is derived from the Sanskrit word *sthālī*, and here it appears to mean simply the temple. *Taḷiyār* may mean 'the temple officials' and *taḷi-adhikāraṁ*, 'the temple manager.'

¹ *Trans. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, pp. 90 ff. and 8, f. 1; Vol. III, p. 221.

² *TAS*, Vol. IV, p. 144.

³ *Idid.*, Vol. III, p. 182.

⁴ *Idid.*, Vol. IV, p. 144.

⁵ *Idid.*, Vol. V, p. 187.

⁶ *Idid.*, p. 174.

⁷ *Idid.*, p. 172.

⁸ *Idid.*, pp. 40, 41. The date 2+14th year of this record, as read by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar (No. 54 of the *Trans. Arch. Report* for 1095 M. E.) is corrected as 2+11th year in the *Trans. Arch. Series*, Vol. V, p. 44.

Seṇṇaḥai (line 5) has been understood to mean 'the sacred temple expenses.' *Naḍai* is still in use in Malayālam as a word signifying 'a temple.' *Agumbaiḥ-payimakkal* (lines 7-8); *agumbai* are servants in palace service such as personal attendants of the king, etc. The temple establishment is probably meant here. In other records of this period, they are called *mēl-Ṣānti*, *ḥi-Ṣānti*, etc.

Gāndharvikal (line 10). This word is derivable from *gāndharvam* 'music and dance' from *gandharva*, 'a class of celestial musicians.' *Gāndharvikal* were probably the musicians attached to the temple, who rendered service in the temple by playing musical instruments such as the flute, drum, etc., and by staging hymns during the time of worship.

Naṅguimār (line 10) in conjunction with the *gāndharvikal* may have reference to the wives of the *chākkīyār* actors who have to sing and mark time during the staging of dance-performances in the temple. This institution of acting and dancing was a permanent feature in West Coast temples and formed part of the daily ritual, while special performances were celebrated during the festivals. From lines 13 to 15 it is learnt that three different scales of payment in kind prevailed in respect of the remuneration paid to the *naṅguimār* of the temple, viz., 2½ *nāli* to the *uttama* (higher grade), 2 *nāli* to the *madhyama* (middling), and 1½ *nāli* per day to the *adhama* (lower grade) of incumbents.

Ōringar (line 12) may perhaps be a mistake for *ḍeyyar*, a painter. The walls in the West Coast temples are frequently found decorated with mural paintings of Purāṇic episodes; and a painter may have been borne on the establishment, in the same way as a *Ṣiṇṇāḍi* or a sculptor was provided for in South Indian temples of the East Coast.

The meaning of the word *kāṇṇar* (line 12) is not clear. It has to be ascertained whether the duties of a *kāṇṇar* have any connection with the weighing of the articles (*kāṇṇam*¹) brought to and issued from the temple.

Āṣiṇam (line 13) derived from the word *āhuika* means 'pertaining to a day.' *Sattiram* (line 14) was probably a local measure of quantity.

The territorial division *Vēppali-nāḍu* is mentioned in the Cochin plates of Bhāskara Ravi-varman,² where it is engraved as *Vēnapālī-nāḍu*. The back-water called *Vēmbānāḍukāyal* between Alleppey and Cochin seems to derive its name from this division which embraced roughly the present taluqs of Kōttayam and Vaikam in the Travancore State. The late Mr. Gopinatha Rao connected the Tekkinkūru-rājas with this region.³ Ravi-Śrīkaṣṭan was the governor of this province according to the Huzur office plates,⁴ but whether he was related to Kōḍai Ravi mentioned in the present inscription has yet to be ascertained. This province was divided into two divisions called *Tekkinkūru* and *Vaḍakkinkūru*.

The details furnished in the inscription regarding the distribution of paddy are:

For offerings and servants	100 <i>kalam</i> and 20 <i>nāli</i>
<i>Paṅguvilai</i> and lamps	0 <i>kalam</i> and 806 <i>nāli</i>
<i>Gāndharvikal</i> and <i>naṅguimār</i>	164 <i>kalam</i> and 50 <i>nāli</i>
<i>Kaṣas</i> and <i>ḍeyyar</i>	16 <i>kalam</i> and 50 <i>nāli</i>
i.e., in all	298 <i>kalam</i> and 26 <i>nāli</i>

There is thus a balance of 1 *kalam* and 74 *nāli* from the annual income of 300 *kalam*, which has not been accounted for in the inscription.

¹ *Trans. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, p. 149.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 58-59.

³ *Trans. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 141.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

TEXT

- 1 Svasti¹ Śai² [] Kōḷai-Iravikkup-padinē³ām-aṇḍu Mituṇa-
- 2 ttil Viyā⁴ṇa nūka⁵ Nityavichārē⁶varattu⁷ tali-
- 3 yārun tali-adhikāraṇṇu Veppolināḍ-udaiya Kōḷai-Iraivi u-
- 4 [pāṭṭil]-avar-aḷḷiruntū leyda Kaḷicham-āvaḍu [] Ukkī-
- 5 ramaṇḍalamu-Iyāṇamaṇḍalamu-Śeṇṇaṇḍaikk⁸-[pāḍu] [] idī⁹ṇāḷ-ṭā-
- 6 [vāratu kōyil pāṭṭam-ajakkak-kaḷariya nelli-idaṇḍaḷiyāl mu-
- 7 nūṭṭuk-kala¹⁰ [] [] idīṇā-ṭṭiru¹¹[va]mūḍṇaṇḍakkum-aṇḍambāḷip-pa-
- 8 ṇiṇakkāṭṭum-ōṇḍaḷakku vōṇḍuṇ-nal nāṭṭō¹²[u]ṇ-
- 9 dīṇ kalam-irūṇḍi nāḷi [] pa¹³[ṇ]ḍuḷaikkum divikaik-
- 10 kum-aṇḍāṭṭ-aṇ nāḷi [] Gāṇḍarvikaṭṭen¹⁴[u] nāḍḍaimāṭṭakkum
- 11 aṇṭṭu nāṭṭ-aru-pattunāṭṭ-kalam-aṇṭṭupadi
- 12 nāḷi [] Kōṇṇakkum-ōṭṭ¹⁵riyaṇṇakkum padin-aḷṇu kalam-aṇṭṭupadi nāḷi []
- 13 Nāḍḍaimāṭṭu [] [] tana-māḍḍhyama-adhamattūḷ nīṇḍip-paḷi āṇṇiya¹⁶
- 14 ā koḷuḷakkum paṇṇa tāṭṭarattāl-iru nāḷiy-ūriyūm-iru nāḷiya nāḷi
- 15 ūriyūm []

TRANSLATION

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the seventeenth year of king Kōḷai-Ravi, (when) Jupiter stood in (the) Mithuna (zodiac), the following transaction was made by the temple officials and the manager of the Nityavichār-śāstram, at a meeting over which Kōḷai-Ravi of Veppoli-nāḍu presided.

(The villages) Ukkīramaṇḍalam and Iyāṇamaṇḍalam were set apart for the sacred temple expenses. Three hundred kalam of paḍiy by the idaṇḍaḷi (measure) shall be measured in the (temple) verandah as pāṭṭam payable to the temple.

Out of this, the paḍiy required per annum for the sacred offerings and the servants is one hundred and nine kalam and twenty nāḷi ; for paṇḍuḷai and lamps, eight hundred and six nāḷi ; for rice to the gāṇḍarvikaḷ and nāḍḍaimāṭṭ, one hundred and sixty four kalam and fifty nāḷi ; and for the kōṇṇa and the ōṭṭ¹⁵riyaṇ sixteen kalam and fifty nāḷi.

The allowance in rice to be given to the nāḍḍaimāṭṭ according to the high (uttama), middling (madhyama) and low (adhamā) scales is (respectively) two nāḷi (and) one ūri, two nāḷi, and one nāḷi (and) one ūri by (the measure called) tāṭṭam.

No. 38—FOUR BHAIKSHUKI INSCRIPTIONS

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, GOYACAMUND

A. Three Buddhist Inscriptions from Uren

Uren is an old village in the western part of the Monghyr District of Bihar. It lies by the side of the railway line between the Kiri and Kajra stations on the East Indian Railway—about

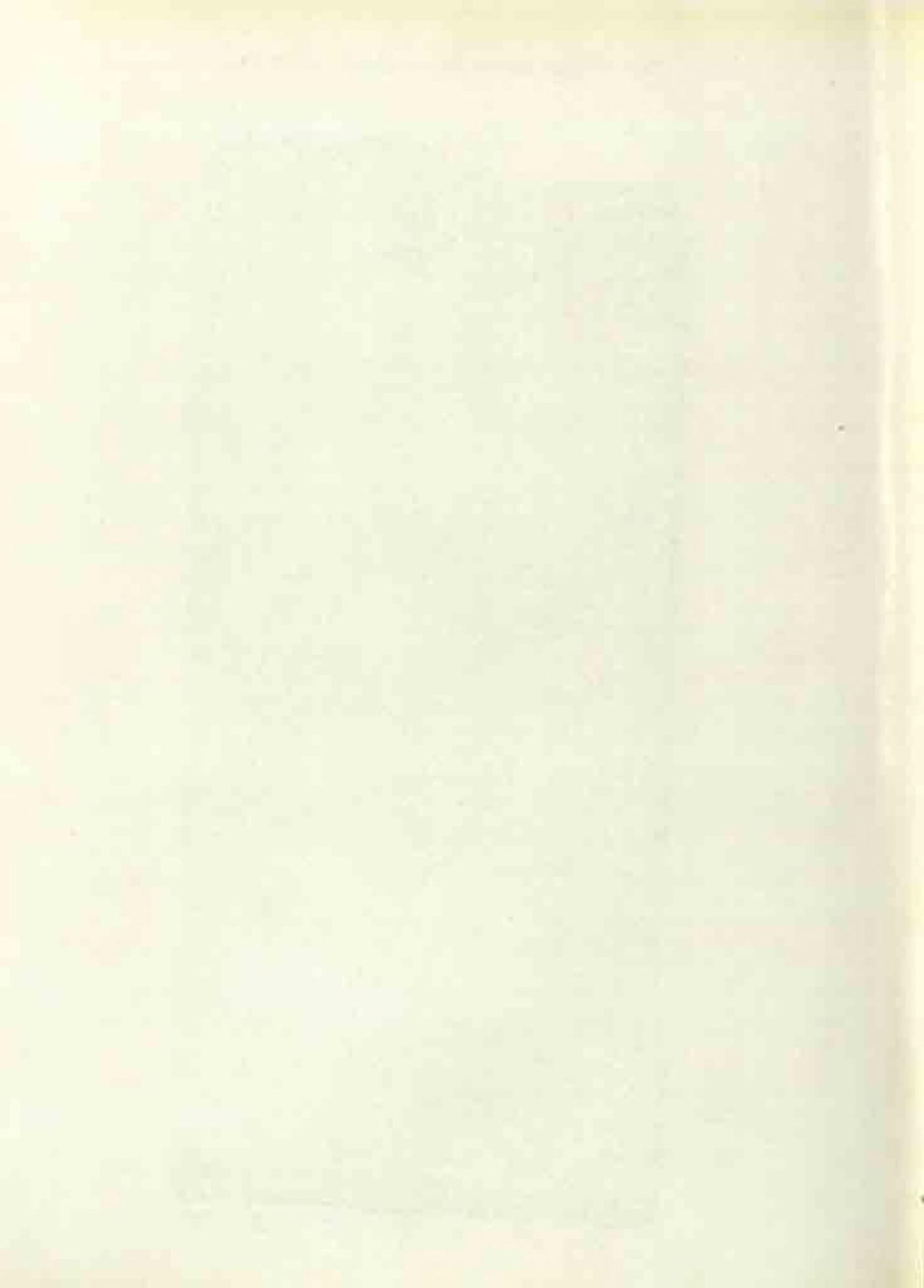
¹ These words are engraved in Grantha characters.

² The i is shown with a loop at the right side.

³ The i sign is sugested slightly over the letter, and not at its side.

TALI INSCRIPTION OF KODAI RAVI: 17TH YEAR





7 miles from Kral and $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Rajra. On the other side of the village stands the small range known as the Uren hills. About sixty years ago, L. A. Waddell visited the village of Uren which he identified, in an interesting paper published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Volume LXI, part I, 1892, pp. 1-24, with one of the Buddha's hermitages on the western frontier of the country of I-lan-na-po-fa-to (Hiranyapurvata, roughly identical with the present Monghyr District) as described by the seventh century Chinese pilgrim Hsien Tsang.¹ He noticed a large number of inscribed images in the village as well as inscriptions, markings, sculptures and other ancient remains on the hills. But as regards the process of the loss and destruction of ancient remains from which the village was suffering at that time, Waddell observed, "the unfortunate proximity of the hill to the railway and the excellent quality of the rock (granite) have induced the railway authorities to use the hill as a quarry for road-metal and only about six years ago two of the most interesting of the rock-sculptures were in this way demolished and the fragments further broken up and carried off as ballast, and the blasting operations have now extended to within a few feet of the more important rock-sculptures and markings still remaining. Many of the inscribed statues also have been carried off from time to time by the overseers or contractors supervising the quarrying operations; one of these in particular, a Mr. S., is reported to have carried off, about thirty-six years ago, a full cart-load of the best preserved statuettes, the ultimate destination of which cannot now be traced."² In a foot-note to these observations, Waddell further says, "Since writing the above, I have again visited the site and find that further quarrying operations have been extensively carried on since the submission of this report to the Society. The western cliff bearing numerous *chaitya* figures has been in great part removed by blasting, only the fractured bases of a few of the *chaityas* still remaining. Also at the south-east margin of the hill, where the rock was highly polished and contained ancient markings, most of this surface has been removed by blasting."³ It is therefore no wonder that I could not trace most of the inscriptions and other ancient remains that had been noticed by Waddell about sixty years previously, when I visited the village of Uren in January 1950. On the hills, I found only the engravings of several *stupa* designs, one of them alone containing a line of inscription. I also examined a collection of extremely mutilated images and votive *stupas* at the *Chandisthān* in the village and another at its *Siva-sthān*. Some of these images were found to contain a few lines of writing at their bases. A few broken images also were noticed half buried in the ground at the side of the main road running through the village and one of these was found to bear an inscription. I took impressions of altogether fourteen image inscriptions at Uren, many of which, however, contained nothing but the Buddhist formula *ye dharmā, etc.* Two of the records refer to the reign of Kṛṣṇapāla (c. 1084-1126 A.C.), the Pāla king of Bengal and Bihar, one of them being dated in the fourteenth regnal year of that monarch. Two of the image inscriptions at Uren were found to be written in the so-called Bhaikshuki *lipi* or arrow-head characters.

When Waddell visited Uren about sixty years ago, he observed no less than four images with inscriptions in the Bhaikshuki or arrow-head script⁴ and photographs of two of them were published by him along with his paper in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.⁵ It is possible that he himself or some other later visitor to the village carried away the images containing the two inscriptions of which photographs were published in the above journal. Thus the two Bhaikshuki inscriptions, examined and copied by me at Uren, may be the remaining two of the four such

¹ S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, 1884, pp. 190-91.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Plate IV, Nos. 1 and 2.

records referred to by Waddell. That these two inscriptions were also not similarly carried away was possibly due to the extremely mutilated condition of the images on which they are engraved.

Of the two image inscriptions in the Bhaikshuki or arrow-head alphabet copied by me at Uren, one, found on a broken Buddhist image at the *Sim-ul-tai* of the village, has one line of writing, only a few *aksharas* of which have been preserved. The other one was found by me on the base of a mutilated Buddhist image lying half-buried by the side of the main road running through the village. This inscription is fortunately in a quite satisfactory state of preservation. There are altogether four lines of writing covering a space of about 1·8 inches in breadth and 9·8 inches in length. The fourth line is short and covers only about half the length of the other three lines. Each *akshara* is about 4 inch in height.

The most important feature of the inscription is its *palaeography*. C. Bendall, who first discovered the alphabet employed in the epigraph under discussion in certain manuscripts from Nepal and fully described it,¹ was inclined to identify it with the Bhaikshuki *Upi* mentioned by al-Birūnī as being used in Udanpūr in Pārvadā (probably the Uddandapura-vihāra located at modern Biharsharif near Patna) and as being "the writing of Buddha," probably meaning thereby that it was prevalent among Buddhist *Bhaikshus* or monks.² The alphabet is characterised by the use of arrow-head marks usually at the top of the letters and, in some letters, also at the sides. Bühler therefore described this script as "the arrow-head alphabet."³ Bendall and Bühler believed that the script is the immediate offspring of an ancient form of Brāhmī retaining South Indian features in some letters and Northern characteristics in a few. An image inscription from Gayā, written in this alphabet but showing wedges instead of arrow-heads at the top and, in some cases, at the sides of the letters, was published by Bendall in 1890.⁴ Some years ago Dr. N. P. Chakravarti edited an inscription written in the Bhaikshuki or arrow-head alphabet, which comes from Kara about 41 miles from Allahabad.⁵ Another inscription in the same script is said to have been noticed on an image of Jambhala which is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, but that epigraph is as yet unpublished.⁶ I edit below three out of the four Uren inscriptions referred to by Waddell as written in the Bhaikshuki or arrow-head script, the first from my own impressions and the second and third from the photographs published by that scholar.

The characters of these inscriptions closely resemble those found in the manuscripts as reproduced in Bühler's Table VI, columns xviii-xix; but there are some slight variations. In the first epigraph, among initial vowels, we have *a* (line 3), *ā* (line 1) and *e* (line 3). Among these, *ā* differs from the form of this letter in the manuscripts in having its lower loop and curve not fixed below the upper body of the letter. Of the consonants, *p* has a curved base and an arrow attached to its left limb as in the Kara and Gaya inscriptions. The forms of *m* and *s* are not distinguishable. *ṣ* has been written differently in lines 2 (cf. *dharmāṣṣmā*) and 3 (cf. *dharmāṣṣ*). The marks of interpunctuation are the usual single and double *danḍa*; but, at the

¹ *Proceedings of the Seventh Oriental Congress, Aryan Section*, pp. 311 ff., and those of the Tenth Oriental Congress, part II, pp. 161 ff.

² Sachau, *Al-Birūnī's India*, Part I, p. 173.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, Appendix, p. 60; *Palaeographia* Table VI, columns xviii-xix.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 77-78. There are some mistakes in Bendall's transcript of this epigraph. It

actually reads (1) *Śrī-dharmamāyā-mā* (2) *Śrī-Vaṣṭu-dharmamāyā-mā* (3) *Śrī-Vaṣṭu-dharmamāyā-mā* (4) *Śrī-Vaṣṭu-dharmamāyā-mā*. H. D. Banerji edited the same inscription in the *Vaṅgīya Sahitya Parishat Patra*, Vol. XX, pp. 123 ff. without noticing that it had been previously published. It is now preserved in the Vaṅgīya Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta.

⁵ *Above*, Vol. XXII, pp. 37-38.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 37, note 4. The note is based on a statement of H. D. Banerji in his paper referred to above. My attempts to trace the image in the Indian Museum have proved unsuccessful.

end of lines 3 and 4, we have a *visarga*-like sign placed before the double *daṇḍa*. This no doubt forms part of the stop and the whole sign apparently indicates a full-stop.¹ The palaeography of the second and third inscriptions closely resembles that of the first epigraph. As suggested by the palaeography of other records of the locality, the inscriptions belong to the age of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar. They may be roughly assigned to a date between the ninth and the twelfth century, preferably to the latter half of this period.

The language of the inscriptions is Pāli which is, however, greatly influenced by Sanskrit. The use of the palatal sibilant and the subscript *r* (cf. words like *prabhavā*, *īrī*, *prati*, **śamaṇō*, *deśātī*, etc.) is a peculiar feature of the orthography of these records and go in favour of the above observation. Interesting from this point of view is also the Sanskrit *vibhakti* in the word **pālasya* in line 4 of the first epigraph. The word *dhammāpāṇi* (line 2 of the first epigraph) stands midway between Sanskrit *dharmāpāṇi* and Pāli *dhammāpāṇi*, while *teṭṭhā* stands in similar relation to Sanskrit *teṭhā* and Pāli *teṭṭhā*.

The text of all the three epigraphs is the same; but the second inscription begins with a symbol for *siddham* which is not traceable at the commencement of the two other records, while the first inscription ends with an additional reference to the person responsible for the construction and installation of the image on which it is engraved. The first sentence of the three inscriptions reads: *bhagavā āvuso pañichhasanuppādam dhammam deśeti*, "Brethren, the Lord expounds the doctrine of the chain of causation." The word *āvuso* was often used as an address by the priests to Buddhist lay worshippers. Whether the reference to the preaching of the Lord, i.e., the Buddha, may suggest that the images on which these records were incised represented the Buddha in the preaching attitude or *vaikhāṇa-mudrā* cannot be determined. The doctrine of *Pañichhasanuppāda*, as is well known, is the formula embodying the Buddha's solution of the great problem of the origin of evil. It is one of the most fundamental and characteristic doctrines of his teachings.² It is said that "from error springs *karma*, from *karma* springs consciousness, from consciousness springs the organised being, from the organised being spring the six organs of sense, from the six organs of sense springs contact, from contact springs sensation, from sensation springs desire, from desire springs attachment, from attachment springs continued existence, from existence springs birth, from birth spring decay and death, sorrow, lamentation, pain, grief and despair." The origin of evil is here traced back to error or ignorance which is no doubt the ignorance of the truth, i.e., the four great truths of the Buddhists, viz., "suffering, the cause of suffering, the cessation of suffering, the path leading to the cessation of suffering."³

The second sentence of our inscriptions is: *pañichhasanuppādanam cha dhammānam yā nirōdhā*, "also the destruction of the conditions arising from preceding causes (is taught by the Lord)." This refers to the destruction of the five "elements or attributes of being" such as form, sensation, perception, discrimination and consciousness.⁴ These two sentences appear to be represented in the first inscription as a verse. The metre may be regarded as an irregular form of *Aryā*.

The above is followed in the inscriptions by the well known Buddhist formula in the *Aryā* metre: *yā dhammā hīta-ppubhavā hītaṃ teṇam antāgato vācha (or vācā) | teṇam cha yā nirōdhā āvuso-sāhi mahā-samāgā* || "The Lord spoke of the conditions which arise from a preceding cause as well as of their cause. The great teacher has also said about their destruction." But this formula practically repeats what is already said in the previous two sentences. The subject

¹ Cf. the Madras Museum plates of Nārāṇḍradhavalā edited above, p. 45 and plate.

² See Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v.

³ *Ibid.*, s. v. *ariga-sacca*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, s. v. *nirōdhā*, *āntāgā*, etc.

of the first two sentences is the lord's preaching about the chain of causes and the destruction of the conditions arising from causes, while the formula also speaks of the cause of the conditions arising from it and their destruction. The *nirōdhō* of the *hētu-prabhavā dhammā* is the same as the *nirōdhō* of the *paṭicchasaṃuppannā dhammā*.

So far the three inscriptions offer practically the same text. But the first epigraph adds to the above text the following passage: *Sri-Pratinava-Śrādatapālasya*. There is little doubt that we have here a reference to the person who was responsible for the construction and installation of the image on which the inscription is engraved; but the expression *śrādatapāla* is rather unusual and may be a mistake for *śrāvītapāla*. The word *pratinava* means "fresh" or "new" and *śrāvīta* may have been intended to mean "religious instruction."

Inscription No. 1

TEXT*

- 1 Bhagavā āvusō ppa(pa)ṭicchasaṃuppadādh dhammaṃ dēseti | Ppa(pa)ṭicchasa-
- 2 muppannānāṃ ehu dhammānāṃ yō nirōdhō || yō dhammā hētu-prabhavā tēsaṃ hē-
- 3 tām tathāgatō avacha || * || tēsaṃ cha yō nirōdhō ēvaṃ-vādī maha-śamaṇō ||
- 4 Śri-Pratinava-Śrāda(vi)tapālasya ||

TRANSLATION

Brethren, the Lord teaches the doctrine of origination as a necessary result from an antecedent cause. The cessation of the conditions having its origin in a preceding cause [is also taught by the Lord]. The sentient being (the Buddha) spoke of the cause of the conditions arising from a preceding cause. The great ascetic (the Buddha) also spoke about their destruction. [This image is the gift] of the illustrious Pratinava-Śrāda(vi)tapāla.

Inscription No. 2

TEXT*

1. [Siddham ||] Bhagavā āvusō paṭicchasaṃuppadādh dhammaṃ dēseti || * || paṭicchasaṃuppannānāṃ cha dhammānāṃ yō nirōdhō-
2. dhō || yō dhammā hētu-pra[bra]h[ma]*vā tēsaṃ hētum tathāgatō* avacha || [tēsaṃ cha yō] [nirōdhō evaṃ*]-vādī maha-śamaṇō || o ||

Inscription No. 3

TEXT*

1. Bhagavā āvusō paṭicchasaṃuppadādh dhammaṃ dēseti || * || Paṭicchasaṃuppannānāṃ cha dhammānāṃ yō nirōdhō || yō dhammā hētu-prabhavā [tēsaṃ] [hētum*]
2. tathāgatō avacha || tēsaṃ cha yō nirōdhō evaṃ*-vādī maha-śamaṇō || o ||

B. A Buddhist Inscription from Maldah Museum

About the middle of April, 1900, the Government Epigraphist for India received for examination impressions of some inscriptions copied by the Eastern Circle of the Department of Archaeology. The inscriptions belong to the B. R. Sen Museum at Maldah in West Bengal. While examining the impressions under instructions from the Government Epigraphist for India, I found that one

* From impressions.

* From the photograph published in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXXI, 1892, Part I, Page IV, No. 1.

* Expressed by a symbol.

* From the photograph published in *J. A. S. B.*, loc. cit., No. 2.

A: No. 1. On a broken Buddhist image at Uren



B: A Buddhist inscription from Malda Museum



of them is written in the interesting Bhaikshuki or arrow-head script employed in certain Buddhist inscriptions from Uren which had been the subject of my study only three months earlier and have been dealt with in the first part of this paper. At my request, Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, kindly permitted me to edit the inscription for this journal.

No information was available to me about the exact findspot of the inscription. It is reported to be engraved on the pedestal of an image of the Buddhist deity Avalokiteśvara-Lōkanātha now preserved in the B. R. Sen Museum, Maldah, with the exhibit number M. M. B. 110. It is very probable that the image was collected from a village in the Maldah District. The inscription is written in four lines which are divided into two halves, each containing two lines. The upper half is subdivided into four parts, apparently due to exigencies of space on the pedestal of the image in question, while the lower half has three subdivisions. The letters are of the same small size as in the Uren inscriptions written in the same script.

As already observed, the characters belong to the class called the Bhaikshuki or arrow-head alphabet known to have been used by the Buddhist monks of the Magadha region in Eastern India in the age of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar. Although al-Bīrūnī seems to confine the use of the Bhaikshuki script to the monks of Uddandapura, identified with modern Bihar in the Patna District, the discovery of the Kara inscription in the Allahabad District of the U. P. and that of the present one in the Maldah District of West Bengal appear to suggest a wider distribution. The letters employed in the inscription under discussion closely resemble those of the Uren inscriptions, although there are certain palaeographical peculiarities in the present record that are not noticed in the latter. We have here no confusion between the forms of *m* and *s*, the loop of the latter being put a little lower than that of the former. *Cā* has, however, two different forms, one of which having no appreciable distinction from *v* (cf. *āchāryya* in line 1; *amāda* in line 3; *cha*, *chamāda* in line 4). There is no marked difference between the sign for medial *i* and medial *ī*. Medial *ś*, joined with the consonant by a vertical stroke, as in *oś* (line 2) and *ro* (line 4), is interesting. The different forms of *p*, already noticed by scholars,¹ are to be observed in "*pāli*" in line 2 and "*probhara*" in line 3, one of the forms differing very little from *d*. *B* and *v* are indicated by different signs. The initial vowels *a*, *ā* and *i* occurring in the inscription resemble the forms of these letters as found in the Uren inscriptions.

The language of the inscription is a mixture of Sanskrit and Pāli. Its orthography closely resembles that of the Uren inscriptions. It may be noted that *y* preceded by *r* has been duplicated.

The second part of the inscription consisting of lines 3-4 reproduces the celebrated Buddhist formula, *Yā dharmas*, etc., also quoted in all the three Uren inscriptions. Like, however, the interesting additional passage referring to the monk who was responsible for the installation of the image in question in the first of the three Uren inscriptions, we have in the present record information regarding a Buddhist monk whose *dāya-dāmanā* the image of Avalokiteśvara-Lōkanātha bearing the epigraph was. This section says that the image was the meritorious gift of *Bhadanta* Buddhapālita. The word *bhadanta* (also *bhauk* and *bhaddanta*) is well-known from Pāli literature to have been used as an honorific epithet (cf. English *Reverend*, *Venerable*, etc.) or as an address in cases concerning Buddhist monks, although there is difference of opinion as regards its derivation. I am inclined to trace it to Sanskrit *bhavant*; but some scholars think that it is derived from a word like *bhadra-anta*, i. e., "one who is the foremost of the noble," while others suggest that its root lies in the expression *bhaddam tē* or *bhaddas tē* (literally, "let there be good to you") with which the monks greeted every one paying homage to them.²

¹ Bühler, Table No. VI, columns xviii-xx, line 35.

² See *Selected Inscriptions*, Volume I, pp. 80, note 1; 223, note 6. The early Prakrit form of the word, *bhanta*, is found in the Bairat inscription of Aśoka. The form *bhaddanta* seems to be influenced by the conception of its derivation from *bhadranta*. The word may be compared with Sanskrit *atya-bhant* and *atya-bhant*.

An interesting fact about the monk Buddhapālita is recorded in line 1 which says that he was a *śrī-Bhakkā-sāṅghīya-ācāryya*, i.e., a teacher belonging to the Bhakkā sāṅgha. The word *sāṅgha* here appears to refer to a particular community of Buddhist monks styled Bhakkā to which Buddhapālita belonged. Unfortunately I have not come across the name Bhakkā.¹ It is not impossible to suggest that it was a local community of monks belonging to a monastery in the present Makhah region of West Bengal. Whether the Bhakkā community of Buddhist monks had anything to do with the celebrated Mṛgasthāpana monastery,² apparently situated in the same area or its neighbourhood, cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge.

TEXT

Part I

- 1 [A] Śrī-Bhakkā- [B] kka-sāṅghīya- [C] āc[ā]ryya- [D] bhadanta-
2 [A] Buddhapā- [B] litaxya dō- [C] ya-dhah- [D] mō-yau |

Part II

- 3 [A] Yā dhātīmā hō- [B] tu-prahavā tēpāh [h]ētun Tathagatō a- [C] yacha |
4 [A] tēpāh cha yō [B] n[i]rōdhō evam-vādī mahā-ś[ri]ama- [C] nō ||

TRANSLATION

Part I

This (i.e., the image bearing the epigraph) is the religious gift of the Venerable Buddhapālita who is a teacher pertaining to the illustrious Bhakkā community.³

No. 39—MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF ANANTASAKTIVARMAN; YEAR 28

(1 Plate)

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, OOTAUMENG

These copper plates were received for examination in 1934 by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Mylapore, Madras, from the Government Museum, Madras, and noticed by him as C.P. No. 24 of 1934-5. The plates were sold to this Museum by Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma, Madras. The Superintendent for Epigraphy reports on them as follows: "No information is forthcoming regarding the place or history of their discovery. The plates which are rather thin, measure 4½" by 2½" and bear a ringhole of about ⅛" in diameter near the proper right margin. The ring and the seal that must have accompanied the grant are now missing. The plates have four faces of writing in all, the first and the third plates are slightly corroded, so much so that there are some holes in the body of these plates and their right bottom corners have been partly eaten away. the grant is itself a palimpsest written over a previous charter, the letters of which though completely effaced are partly and faintly visible in a few places. It must also be remarked at the

¹ The name Bhakkā, which reminds us of that of the Pakkī monastery about 30 miles from Mandalay in Upper Burma, may be of foreign origin.

² *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, pp. 69 L. For a Chinese monastery near it, see *loc. cit.*

³ From an impression.

⁴ For the translation and explanation of Part II of the inscription, see above, p. 224.

same time that the cursive writing does not appear to have been of a more archaic variety than the present inscription.¹

I edit the record here with the kind permission of Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India.

The characters of the inscription belong to the southern class of alphabets. Some of them are written in a cursive style. The majority of the characters employed in the record, barring those in cursive style, can roughly be placed in the 5th century A. C. for the reason that while they appear more developed than those found in the Rāgōla plates of Śaktivarman² of the 4th century A. C., they are more or less of the same period of development as those of the Brihatprōsbhā grant³ and the Dhavalupōta plates of *Kalingādhipati* Umavarman which are of the 5th century A. C.⁴ They also closely resemble the alphabet of the Bobbili⁵ and the Kōmurti⁶ plates of *Kalingādhipati* Chandravarman. All these characters have been placed approximately in the 4th-5th century A. C. Those letters in our grant which are cursive, such as *l*, *n*, *kr*, *jā*, *jā*, *sa* and *pa*, show somewhat developed forms. This, in my opinion, may be due to the very cursive style of the writing.⁷ The occurrence of both early and later forms of the same letters in one and the same record⁸ or in charters of one and the same king⁹ is not unusual, the best explanation for it being the tendency to cursive writing which the scribes developed. It should be remarked, however, that the way in which the letters *l*, *n* and *kr* of our inscription are written is for the first time met with among the early Kalinga grants in the Jirjingi plates of Indravarman¹⁰ and the Rōdāvari copper-plate grant of Prithivimalla,¹¹ both of which are placed in the sixth century A. C. The presence of such forms in our grant assignable to a date about half a century earlier need not be considered as anything irregular. Attention should be drawn, however, to the dissimilarity that exists in respect of the letters *t* and *n* between the script of our record and that of the newly discovered Andhavaram plates of Anantasaktivarman¹² who, as shown in the sequel, appears to be identical with the ruler who issued the present plates. Whereas in the Andhavaram plates *t* is angular (being two-pronged) and *n* is looped, in the present plates they are formed in the reverse way, *t* being looped and *n* without such a loop but having a curve at the left as found in the Siripuram plates of Anantavarman¹³ of the 6th century A. C. This difference may not be considered as irregular in our grant since the looped *t* and the unlooped *n* occur in grants of the 5th century A. C., for example, in the Sāsanaśōpa plates of Western Ganga Mādhavavarman¹⁴ and in the Śālanākāyana grants generally.¹⁵ Further, the looped *t*, as found in our grant, and the unlooped *t* as in the Andhavaram plates occur in one

¹ *ARSIE*, 1934-5, part II, item 3.

² Above, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff. and plate; Vol. XXV, p. 239.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 4 ff. and plate.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 123 and plate.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 33 ff. and plate.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 142 and plate.

⁷ Some of them are formed peculiarly; the medial *ā* is attached to *jā* and *jā* at the topmost prong of the emanant *j* which is unusual, since this vowel mark is usually attached to its middle prong.

⁸ Akalanakaram Plates of E. Chālukya Vishnūvardhana (V), *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 186 and plate.

⁹ The Kōmurtiśōpa and the Rithapur plates issued by the same king Arthapati Bhattacharya and drafted by one and the same individual, however, differ in their characters indicating the former to be rather earlier. See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 12.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. XXV, p. 231 and plate.

¹¹ *JBSRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 114 ff. and plate.

¹² C. P. No. 4 of 1931-52. Above, p. 177.

¹³ Above, Vol. XXIV, plate facing p. 81.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, plate facing p. 228.

¹⁵ Padāśōpa plates of Nandivarman II, *JAHRS*, Vol. I, plate facing p. 94; above, Vol. XXV, plate facing p. 46.

and the same inscription, viz., the Gurzāla Brāhmi inscription of the 3rd-4th century A.C.¹ so that in so far as these two letters are concerned, the looped and unlooped forms are not of much consequence in the matter of palaeographical dating. In addition to the above peculiarities, our charter exhibits other features which are not seen in the Andhavaram plates, although in phraseology both grants are almost alike. One such feature of our grant is the mention of two *dūtakas* in place of the *śāpī* and another is its faulty orthography as compared with the current Sanskrit in which the Andhavaram charter is composed.

The orthography of the inscription, as already remarked, abounds in errors. Incorrect writing, for example, *pta* for *tpa* in line 1, *pūriśa* for *pūṛiśa* in line 3, *ṭṭuriga* for *ṭaittiriga* in line 6, *bharāya* for *bharāya* in line 9, *kumārāmātau* for *kumārāmātau* in lines 17-18 may be ascribed to the ignorance of the scribe. An instance of incorrect syntax is found in line 7. Non-observance of sandhi is found in *Mahārāja Anantaśaktivarmanā* (line 3). The use of *h* for *v* is noticeable in *Barāka-varttagāṇ* (line 3) and *barāka* (line 14); and of *v* for *h* in *śalādhikṛita* for *śalādhikṛita* in line 18.

The language of the record is Sanskrit. Except the imprecatory verses, the whole inscription is in prose. The phraseology of the inscription is almost similar to that obtaining in the Andhavaram plates of the same ruler, but contains some such phrases as are not found in the latter. For instance, the passage *dharma-kṛanta-śikṣaśāntān-śāpātama-gṛhāś-śāpāya mahim-annāntām* (lines 10-11) is not found in the Andhavaram plates but finds place in our grant as also in a few other charters of the period such as the Bṛihatpṛabhā grant² and the Dhavalapōta plates³ of Umavārman and the Bobbili plates of Chaṇḍavarman.⁴ The date of the record is given at the end of the charter as year 28, the tenth day of the bright fortnight of Phālguna. The numerals 29 and 8 occur in this connection.⁵

The plates are issued by *Mahārāja Anantaśaktivarman* from his capital *Singhapura*. They record the royal gift of a village called *Sakunaka* situated in *Āvi-pāṛva* of (the district of) *Varāha-vartani*, as an *ugrahāra*, to two Brāhmaṇa brothers, *Nāgavarman* and *Durgavarman* of the *Kātyāyana gṛha* and the *Taittirīya śākhā*. The king is described as *Kallāgādhipati*, as belonging to the *Māṅghra kula* and as one who obtained his body, kingdom and prosperity through the grace of his father, (who was) a great devotee of the *dēvī* (*paramadevī*—*Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-prasāda-śrōṭa-śarīra-śāyana*). To my knowledge, the form in which this epithet occurs, embodying, as it does, such elaborate expressions of deep devotion to one's father is found only in one other grant, viz., the Andhavaram plates cited above. In all other early charters where the king's devotion to his father (*Bappa*) is recorded, whether in *Paṭṭava*, *Śālikāyana*, or in the early *Kallāga* charters other than the two cited above, the terms are simpler like *Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhaktā*, *Bappa-pāda-bhaktā* or *pitrī-pāda-bhaktā*, even the epithet *bhaṭṭāraka* sometimes being dropped.⁶ The other epithet *paramadevī* applied to *Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka* in the present grant needs some comment: it is here applicable to *Bappa*, while in the *Kōmārti* plates of *Chaṇḍavarman*⁷ this epithet applies to the issuer of the grant himself, i.e., *Chaṇḍavarman*. Usually, the grants that contain this epithet, as far as I have examined, prefix it in a compound either to *Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka* or, as in some cases, to the name of the overlord as whose feudatory the issuer of the grant figures. Instances of the former are available in the *Kaliṅga* grants including the present charter and those

¹ Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 125 and plate.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 133 ff. and plate.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 4 ff. and plate.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 23 ff. and plate.

⁵ [The symbol read as 8 more probably stands for 6; see above, Vol. XXVII, p. 30.—Ed.]

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 4 (Bṛihatpṛabhā grant of Umavārman).

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 142.

of the latter in the Damodarpur plates¹ of the Gupta kings, the Patiakella² and the Soro plates of Śambhuyāsa.³

To name the exact significance of *paramādāivata* and its variants *paramādāivata*, and *paramagurūtādāivata*, one may cite, by way of comparison, similar epithets, viz., *paramabrahmayya*, *paramasugata*, *paramabhāṣṭāraka*, etc. In the last example, the import of the term is clear. It signifies paramountcy. The others have also been considered as indicative of paramount status.⁴ The latter assumption, however, appears to be doubtful. For these terms which mean 'a great devotee of the gods,' 'a great devotee of gods and super-gods,' 'a great devotee of the *Brāhmaṇas*' and 'a great devotee of *Sugata*' should be taken to indicate only the religious devotion or persuasion of the ruler concerned and not as signifying any political paramountcy that he wielded. This will become clear on an examination of the instances where the epithets are used without the additional title of *paramabhāṣṭāraka*. In such cases, the particular person concerned was certainly not holding any paramount status. One such instance has been pointed out by Dr. Chhabra, namely that of Nāgabala and Bharatabala of the Bāmhanī plates.⁵ They are both described as *paramagurūtādāivata*, but not as *paramabhāṣṭāraka*; and the record gives other indications to prove that really they were not paramount. Another instance is provided by the Soro plates of Śambhuyāsa wherein his father (*bappa*) is called *paramādāivata* but not as *bhāṣṭāraka*. As Mr. N. G. Majumdar has remarked, Śambhuyāsa was only 'enjoying a sort of independent status.'⁶ In fact, even in the Patiakella plate of Śivarāja, wherein Śambhuyāsa also figures, the person referred to as *paramādāivata* and *paramabhāṣṭāraka* under whom Śivarāja ruled seems to be a third person different from both Śivarāja and Śambhuyāsa, as these epithets are not applicable to Śambhuyāsa as has been wrongly assumed;⁷ for, he is introduced in the record with the simple title of *Paramamādhava* and as the ruler of Tōsalī. Evidently Śambhuyāsa was the immediate overlord of Śivarāja and both were apparently subordinates of yet another paramount ruler alluded to by the titles *paramādāivata* and *paramabhāṣṭāraka*. One curious feature about the occurrence of the title *paramādāivata*, 'the great devotee of the gods,' is that it is rarely found applied to the ruler actually issuing the grant, but that it is applied usually to his predecessors, father (*bappa*) or overlord, as the records cited above would show.

Mahārāja Anantasaktivarma, describing himself as Lord of Kaliṅga, issues the present grant from his capital, Siṅghapura. The title *Kaliṅgādhipati* held by him is partly justified by the fact that his capital Siṅghapura (Siṅhapura) was well known as one of the chief cities of Kaliṅga mentioned in quite a number of early Kaliṅga grants and in early Buddhist literature.⁸ Other cities in Kaliṅga which also served as capitals of kings describing themselves as lords of Kaliṅga were Piṣṭapura,⁹ Śārapallī,¹⁰ Dēvapura,¹¹ Dantapura¹² and lastly Kaliṅganagara. Although these cities were far from one another (Piṣṭapura being the southernmost situated on the Gōdāvarī, and Siṅhapura being the northernmost in Chicasole taluk), it would appear that the lordship over Kaliṅga could be claimed from any of these cities fixed as capitals. The village Sakunaka granted by Anantasaktivarma was situated in Varāhavartanī, a well-known territorial division of Kaliṅga.¹³

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 144.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 253.

³ *Ibid.* Vol. XXIII, p. 199.

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. XXIII, p. 202 and Vol. XXVII, p. 136.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 136.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 202; See *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 287, text lines 3-4.

⁷ E. C. Law : *Geography of Early Buddhism* (1932), pp. 7, 64.

⁸ Bāgellā plates of Saktivarma, above, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.

⁹ Chicasole plates of Nanda-Prabhāṣṭānavarma, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 45 and plate.

¹⁰ Sriparvati plates of Anantavarman, above, Vol. XXIV, p. 47 and plate.

¹¹ Hrijjīgi plates of Indravarma, above, Vol. XXV, p. 261 and plate.

¹² See below, p. 224.

What is of more than passing interest in the record is the mention of the name of the king's family as *Māphara kula*. Besides Anantaśaktivarman of our grant, two others, viz., his namesake of the Andhavaram plates and *Kaliṅgādhīputi* Śaktivarman of the Rāgōlu plates claimed to belong to this family. The latter, in addition, styles himself *Vāśiṣṭhīputra*. Since *Māphara* was a *gōtra rishi*,¹ we have in the case of these chiefs an instance of a royal family named after a *gōtra rishi*.² That Śaktivarman of the Rāgōlu plates also bears the metronymic *Vāśiṣṭhīputra* reminds one of the Śātarāhita and Ikṣāku practice in this regard,³ although the mention of both father-kinship and mother-kinship by Śaktivarman is quite unique. It is interesting to find a reference to the *Vāśiṣṭha kula* as the family to which two other kings of Kalinga are stated to have belonged, viz., *Mahārāja* Guṇavarman and *Mahārāja* Prabhāñjanavarman, the grandfather and father respectively of Anantavarman, lord of Kalinga, the author of the *Śrīgavarapukōta*⁴ and the *Siripuram plates*.⁵ Śaktivarman of the Rāgōlu plates mentions his descent from both paternal (*Māphara*) and maternal (*Vāśiṣṭha*) *gōtras* and he also enjoins first upon his *gōtrajas* to protect his charity and next upon the other kings (*anyā rājāsah*).

In what lineal relationship our Anantaśaktivarman stood to the Śaktivarman of the Rāgōlu plates, both being of the same *Māphara* family, has already been discussed, and it has generally been assumed that, as the palaeography of the two grants differs by about a century, Śaktivarman was the grandfather. The possibility of an Anantavarman intervening between them as the father has been stressed, it being assumed that the father's name is perhaps indicated in the double form Ananta-Śaktivarman which is the appellation of the king of our grant, who was perhaps christened only as Śaktivarman after his grandfather.⁶ That this genealogical construction is very possible is further substantiated by the evidence afforded by the Andhavaram plates of Ananta-Śaktivarman. On a comparison of the text, script and other particulars of this record with those of the present plates, it has been rightly surmised that the issuers of the two records are one and the same.⁷ In the Andhavaram charter a passage occurs in the form of preamble to the donation made by the king. It relates that since the gift-village had already been granted by Āryaka-Śakti-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda, he (Anantaśaktivarman) only regranted it to the same Brāhmaṇa families (*asty-avanapa-yath-śikṣa-dharm-śraddhāna-vijita-ttīrīṣṭap air-Āryaka-Śakti-bhaṭṭāraka-pādaiḥ nānā-gōtra-churaṇṭhyā brāhmaṇābhyah-pūruv-datta ity-asmākhir-āpi*, etc.). Here the person referred to as *Āryaka-Śakti-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda* (with the honorific plural)⁸ was doubtless an ancestor of Anantaśaktivarman. He was a king (*bhaṭṭāraka*) and was referred to by the respectful appella-

¹ In the *Gōtraprataraśāstra* (*Āśvamedhaśāstra*), there is mention of *Māphara* as a *gōtra rishi*. Evidently *Māphara* and *Māphara* are identical, or the former was descended from the latter.

² The kings of the Ānanda family (*Ānanda-maharishi-mahā-samādāhāt*) and the Śālikāyana of the Telugu country may be considered as other such families.

³ Among the Ikṣākus there are metonyms like *Vāśiṣṭhīputra* and *Mātharīputra*. Above, Vol. XX, pp. 16 ff. See also *Early History of the Andhra country*, pp. 44 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 56.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 47.

⁶ *ASIE*, 1934-5, part II, item 3.

⁷ Above, p. 177.

⁸ In a similar way, Viśākhavarman, a ruler of Kalinga in the 5th-6th century A. D., refers to his father (*bappa*). In the *Korolapāṭi plates* of this king, he is stated to have made the gift of a village to a number of Brāhmaṇas for the purpose of increasing the merit of his father who was in heaven (*samāḥ-bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pādānāḥ paridāḥ-sprachyuktānā bhāgāḥ pary-āpādayāḥ*), above, Vol. XXI, p. 24, text lines 3-4.

tion of *Āryaka*. By his practice of *dharma* he had even conquered the celestial beings.¹ Although this term *Āryaka* should generally be understood as one of respect, yet in some inscriptional cases there is reason to interpret it as grandfather, much in the same way as *bappa* meant father. Fleet was the first to think so.² Yet in the inscriptional instances,³ which are not many, the manner in which it occurs leaves some ambiguity as to whether the term meant father, grandfather or simply a respectable person. In the Rāthapur plates of Bhava[da*]ttavarman⁴ it is recorded that Arthapati Bhattāraka was favoured by *Āryaka* (*Āryyaka-pāda-prasād-ānugrihita*). The context here leaves it doubtful whether by *Āryaka*, Arthapati's father is referred to, whether his grandfather is meant as Dr. Sircar has assumed,⁵ or whether it alludes to some 'respectable people' as the editor of the plates Y. R. Gupte translates the term. Similarly in the Halai plates of Kadamba Mrigēa,⁶ this king is stated to have built a temple of Jina⁷ through devotion for the king, his *Āryaka* (*sv-āryyaka-kṛpatau bhaktiḥ*). Dr. Fleet, who has edited the record, translates *Āryaka* by 'father, who was dead (sic)'. In a literary passage occurring in the *Chaturvantu*,⁸ the word *āryaka* is used obviously in the sense of father. None-the-less, so far as inscriptions go and as Fleet has also pointed out, *āryaka* may be understood to stand for grandfather just as *bappa* meant father. A piece of inscriptional evidence, which may be pressed into service here to clinch the issue, is provided by a Nāgārjunikonda Prakrit inscription.⁹ In this, the words *āyaka* and *ayikā* are used to describe the relatives of the donatrix who mentions, besides, her *pita*, *māta*, *mātula*, etc. Evidently *āyaka* and *ayikā* here meant grandfather and grandmother respectively. Its editor, Dr. Vogel, too, interprets the terms that way.¹⁰ From the foregoing discussion, it may safely be assumed that Āryyaka-Saktibhattāraka of the Andhavaram plates was the grandfather of Anantasaktivarman and identical with *Kaliṅgādhipati* Saktivarman of the Rāgola plates. While the latter issues his charter from Pihāpura, the grandson is found to have fixed his capital at Sindhapura in the north. Since both were *Kaliṅgādhipatis*, the change of capital need not be considered as any extension of territory effected by the grandson over and above what the grandfather had already acquired. Moreover the object of Saktivarman's grant was Rākahuva in the *Kaliṅga vāṅkaya*, the same as Rāgola

¹ The conception that the kings of the earth conquer those of the heaven by deeds of piety, if not by deeds of valour, is profusely illustrated in Gupta inscriptions, especially those occurring on their coins. Some of the legends on their coins read like—

Apantirāḥ śīṭiya śakṛtān sukhāntar-dīnāḥ jagati (archer type of Samudragupta).

Kaṭṭim-vaṃṣiya sukhāntar-dīnāḥ jagati (Chandragupta II).

Gaṇ-vaṃṣiya sukhāntar-dīnāḥ jagati (Kumārāgupta II).

The idea seems to be a very old one. Vālmiki put it in these words :

Ēṣṭu tu dharmēṣu śiḥ pālayitā

madhantir-dandadharaḥ prajānām ||

evāpya brhantāḥ maulān gathān

śat-ekyataḥ sargamāyutaḥ siddhān ||

(*Rāmāyaṇa*, *Āyodhyākāṇḍa*, canto 100, verse 70)

I am obliged to Dr. Chhabra for the above references. See his article on *Chandragupta yasthau śiḥ pālayitā evaṃśu maulā* (A Unique Gold Coin of Chandragupta I) in the Hindi journal *Kalāṇḍā*, Vol. II, pp. 113 ff. (For its version in English, see *JNSI*, Vol. XI, pp. 13 ff.) Also see *JRASB*, Letters III (1937), Num. Sup. XLVII, pp. 109-10 : Allan : *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, etc., pp. 1 ff.

² *C.I.J.*, Vol. III, p. 186 n.

³ I am thankful to Dr. Chhabra for drawing my attention to the instances cited here.

⁴ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 103, text line 24.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 13.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 24, text line 8.

⁷ *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, pt. 2, p. 120.

⁸ Above, Vol. XX, p. 22, line F, line 2.

⁹ I may add here that later, when this article was going through the press, I happened to come across the word *ayyaka* (Skt. *āryaka*) in certain Jataka stories (e.g. Nos. 232 and 542 of Fausbøll's edition). Everywhere it stands for 'grandfather.'

near Sindhapura. Śaktivarman and his grandson Anantaśaktivarman of the Māthara family were thus presumably paramount rulers of Kalinga during the 4th-5th century A.C.

We have now to determine the political status and the approximate period of some other kings of Kalinga who, as can be judged from the palaeography of their charters, flourished in the 5th century. These were *Kalingādhipati* Umavarman of the Bṛihatprōśāhā grant, his namesake who issued the Dhavalapēṭa plates, and *Kalingādhipati* Chāṇḍavarman of the Bobbili and Kōmārti plates. It has been stated above that the characters of our grant resemble Umavarman's grants. If we accept this proposition, the exact priority or posteriority of our Anantaśaktivarman to *Kalingādhipati* Umavarman should be determined. In regard to Umavarman of the two charters cited above, what Mr. R. K. Ghoshal has said¹ may be accepted, viz., that the kings of both the grants are identical, although the Dhavalapēṭa plates were not issued from Sindhapura and the king therein is not called *Kalingādhipati*, both details being present in the Bṛihatprōśāhā grant. And this Umavarman's proximity to Anantaśaktivarman in point of date is further attested to, not only by the palaeographical resemblance, but also by another crucial evidence, viz., that the composer of the Andhavarām plates of Anantaśaktivarman, *Dapṇāṅgaka Mātṛivara*, was also the composer of the Bṛihatprōśāhā grant wherein he is described as the son of Haridatta.² Yet this does not solve the question as to whether Umavarman preceded or succeeded the other Kalinga ruler. However, the following considerations tend to show that Umavarman should have come only after Anantaśaktivarman. While Anantaśaktivarman calls himself a *Kalingādhipati* in both his grants, dated 14th and 28th regnal years, Umavarman was not a *Kalingādhipati* when he issued the Dhavalapēṭa plates from Sunagara but assumed that title and changed his capital to Sindhapura, too, when he made the grant of Bṛihatprōśāhā, in his 30th regnal year. Hence Umavarman was not a *Kalingādhipati* to start with, whereas Anantaśaktivarman was the lord of Kalinga from the very beginning of his career, having inherited the kingdom from his father, a fact which is made clear by his epithet *bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-prasād-śūlpa-sarira-rājya-vibhava*. This circumstance precludes the possibility of Umavarman having become *Kalingādhipati* or of his having fixed his capital at Sindhapura before Anantaśaktivarman's accession and of having caused a sort of interregnum in the Māthara lordship over Kalinga.³ Until evidence is found to the contrary, it may, therefore, be assumed that Umavarman, who did not belong to the Māthara family, acquired the title *Kalingādhipati* and lordship over the Kalinga kingdom, as well as over the city of Sindhapura by conquest,⁴ or otherwise, from Anantaśaktivarman after the latter had ruled it peacefully for at

¹ Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 124. There was another *Nakārāja* Umavarman who issued the Tekkali plates (C. P. No. 13 of 1934-5), who belonged to the same century and was ruling over a part of Kalinga. Since the seal of his grant bears a different legend from the one on the two charters cited above, and as he was not a *Kalingādhipati* like Umavarman of the Bṛihatprōśāhā grant, he seems to be a different king.

² The composer of the present Madras Museum plates of Anantaśaktivarman was a different person, viz., Tolavara Arjunadatta.

³ There is some evidence which seems to show that Anantaśaktivarman was engaged in some military expedition in or about the 14th year of his reign as pointed out by Dr. R. Subrahmanyam (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 179). This ruler issued his Andhavarām plates in his 14th regnal year from a military camp at Vijayapuram (*Kaṭṭapala-śāṣṭhānāḍi-Vijayapuram*). Andṛēppa, the gift-village mentioned in this record, is doubtless Andhavarām which lies within a distance of only 10 miles from Sindhapura, modern Singapuram near Sankilakūsh. There is, therefore, some ground for the assumption that this military expedition might have resulted in the capture of Sindhapura by Anantaśaktivarman from some enemy. Or, in the alternative, Anantaśaktivarman might have been proceeding from Sindhapura, which was already his capital, against the same enemy. If this enemy was *Kalingādhipati* Umavarman who issued his Bṛihatprōśāhā grant from Sindhapura in his 30th regnal year, one may doubt if Anantaśaktivarman's Andhavarām plates were issued subsequent to the Bṛihatprōśāhā grant of Umavarman's 30th regnal year. In such a case we have to postulate that an interregnum in the Māthara rule over Kalinga (from capital Sindhapura) was caused by *Kalingādhipati* Umavarman.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 124. Mr. R. K. Ghoshal advances here the view that the Bṛihatprōśāhā grant seems to have been issued by Umavarman on the occasion of some notable military success achieved by him at the expense of some local ruler.

least 23 years. The view that *Kalingādhipati* Umavarman may not have been altogether unrelated to his political predecessors of the Māthara family is not improbable if we compare the seals of his grants with those issued by Śaktivarman and Anantasaktivarman. The legend on the seals of the Andhavarman plates of the latter and on those of Umavarman's two grants is in four lines, ending with the name of the king in the genitive case.¹ In the same form is found the legend on the seal of the Rāgōla plates, too, which is, however, in two lines and ends with the king's name likewise in the genitive case.

This similarity in the seals of the above three kings is noteworthy since in regard to the seals of the other kings of Kalinga who immediately followed them, viz., Chāṇḍavarman and Nanda-Prabhāñjanavarman, and Umavarman of the Tekkali plates, the legend is different and it reads *pitribhaktāḥ*. These 'Pitribhaktā' kings, as they may be tentatively designated, were evidently of a different stock from the Mātharas and were again different from the family of Umavarman of the Bṛihatprōṣṭhā grant. With the evidence now at our disposal, it is obviously incorrect to call all the kings of Kalinga from Śaktivarman down to Viśākṣavarman as of one and the same family, Māthara or Pitribhaktā.² *Kalingādhipati* Chāṇḍavarman of the Bobbili plates seems to have succeeded *Kalingādhipati* Umavarman not long after, since it is found that the composer of his record was Rudradatta, son of Mātṛivara. The latter, as pointed out above, had composed both Anantasaktivarman's Andhavarman plates and Umavarman's Bṛihatprōṣṭhā grant.³ In phraseology the grants of all the three rulers show affinity. Thus the passage *dharmma-kṛama-nikkramāṇḍama-ṇṇatama-yōgā-avāṇṇa*, etc., is found in our grant as well as in the Bobbili plates of Chāṇḍavarman. *Śaṣṭriṇḍa-agrahāra-sāmāṇya*, etc., is common to both the Bobbili plates and the Bṛihatprōṣṭhā grant. In the scheme of early Kalinga chronology, the Mātharas preceded a certain Bṛihatprōṣṭhā grant. In the scheme of early Kalinga chronology, the Mātharas preceded a certain *Kalingādhipati* Umavarman, of unknown dynasty, who was himself closely followed by the 'Pitribhaktā' kings led by Chāṇḍavarman.⁴

As already observed, the present record mentions two *dātakas* in place of *ājñapti*. Evidently the task of the *dātaka* and that of the *ājñapti* were similar, viz., that of executing the royal gift.⁵ In the Andhavarman plates of the king no specific person is mentioned as the *ājñapti*, the task having been entrusted to the *mahādandanāyaka*s as the record states. In the present grant, however, two *dātakas* are mentioned, Śivabhōjaka and Vasudatta by name. Both are described as *kumārāṇḍāyaka*s. But Śivabhōjaka is given the additional epithets of *Mahāśālādhikṛita* and *Dandautṛi*.⁶ The latter was thus a more dignified official, being both a generalissimo and a judge. The grant is stated to have been written by *Dēśāśakapatalādhikṛita Talavara* Arjunadatta. An *amātya* Arjunadatta is stated to have written the Rāgōla plates issued by Śaktivarman whom we have considered as the grandfather of Anantasaktivarman. It may not be improbable that

¹ The legend on the seal of the Andhavarman plates is highly damaged. But that it contained the name of the king in the genitive case and the whole legend was in four lines may be safely assumed.

² *Early History of Andhra* (1942), pp. 287-8.

³ *Contra* (*ASIE*, 1924-5, part II, item 1, wherein Mr. C. R. K. Chari considers that there were two persons of the name of Mātṛivara, and that Mātṛivara son of Haridatta of Umavarman's Bṛihatprōṣṭhā grant was a later descendant of Mātṛivara, father of Rudradatta of the Bobbili plates of Chāṇḍavarman. But there is really no need to postulate two Mātṛivaras as has been pointed out by B. K. Ghoshal (above, Vol. XXVI, p. 133 fn. 4).

⁴ The scheme of chronology of these kings which is proposed in *Early History of Andhra*, pp. 357 ff., appears faulty and I am unable to accept it for various reasons.

⁵ *Feet*, *CII.*, Vol. III, p. 109 n.

⁶ [From the wording of the record, one may apply the titles *Mahāśālādhikṛita* and *Dandautṛi* even to both Śivabhōjaka and Vasudatta. Yet, I am inclined to connect the first with the former and the second with the latter: *Kumārāṇḍāyaka Mahāśālādhikṛita* Śivabhōjaka and *Kumārāṇḍāyaka Dandautṛi* Vasudatta. Besides, *Dandautṛi*, in my opinion, is a military rank like *Mahāśālādhikṛita*, though inferior to it. *Dandautṛi* may be equal to *dānapati* and *Mahāśālādhikṛita* to *Mahāśālāpati*.—Ed.]

Talavara Arjunadatta of Anantadevavarman's present grant was a grandson of *Anāṭya* Arjunadatta.¹ That a purely civil officer, *viz.*, *Deśikāśapaśādhikārita*, that Arjunadatta of the present record was, had also the title *talavara*, which means 'a noble person,' is interesting. This office is mentioned in some Nāgarjunikoṇḍa Prakṛit inscriptions and also in the Allūra Brāhmi epigraph.²

Of the places mentioned in the inscription, Singhapura, the capital of the king, occurs in many other records of the Kalinga kings and has already been located at Singuparam³ near Chicacole (Śrikākṣam) in the present-day tāluk and district of the same name. Sakupaka, the donated village, which is stated to be in Āvi-pāriśva (in the district) of Varāhavarttaul, finds mention as Sakunagrāma in the Andhavarani plates of Gaṅga Anantavarman⁴ as one of the villages situated on the boundary of a village (name not clear) in Varāhavarttaul. Sakunagrāma is in this record described as touching other villages like Dirghavāṣa and Sindhivāṣa. The last two may be identified with Dirghāṣa and Sindhuvāṣa in the same tāluk. Sakupakagrāma of our grant must lie somewhere in the neighbourhood of these villages in the same tāluk. I am unable to establish at present its exact identification with any modern village in this locality. But that the territorial division Varāhavarttaul should be located in this and the adjacent tāluk of Tekkali is more than certain; for, a number of villages mentioned as situated in this ancient division in some E. Gaṅga grants are all identifiable with their modern representatives in the Tekkali and Chicacole tāluks. The following table illustrates this.

Name of the village as in the inscription.	Modern name.	Tāluk.	Reference.
1 Bāhapaki	Bāpanki, hamlet of Singuparam.	Chicacole	Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 62.
2 Navagrāma	Nagum	Tekkali	Ibid, p. 67.
3 Siddhāntaka	Siddhantam	Chicacole	Above, Vol. XIII, p. 212, and Vol. III, p. 127.

In the late E. Gaṅga inscriptions, the territorial division Kōluvaranti is mentioned and Krishna Sastri considered the division as being the same as Varāhavarttaul since *kōlu* is a synonym of *varāha*.⁵ Steen Konow located this division roughly along the course (varānta) of the Varāhanadi which rises in the Gōlkoṇḍa (Gōlkoṇḍa) Hills to the north of Narasipatam and flows into the Bay of Bengal at Calcutta.⁶ Mr. G. Ramadas states that it is probably the region between the Vashadhārī and the Nāgavallī.⁷ Both these locations are approximately correct, since the modern Chicacole and Tekkali tāluks are situated in this area. The derivation of its name from *varāha* 'boar,' is interesting as there existed another territorial division called after *krōṣṭu*, 'jackal,' *etc.*, the Kṛōṣṭakavarttaul.⁸ Presumably the areas were so named owing to profusion of boars and jackals in them. I am unable to identify Āvipāriśva in which Sakupaka lay. If *pāriśva* is a mistake for *pārśva*, then the village or locality was called simply Āvi. The name, however, seems to be non-Sanskritic.

¹ *IESIR*, 1924-5, part II, item 3.

² *Ibid.* Above, Vol. XX, p. 7 n. and *IESIR*, 1924, part II, item 1.

³ Above, Vol. XII, p. 4.

⁴ C. P. No. 6 of 1861-62.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV, p. 125, n. 5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 149.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 127.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, p. 196 and n.

i.

2
4

2
4

ii, a.

6
8
10

6
8
10

ii, b.

12
14

12
14

iii.

16
18
20

16
18
20

SEAL OF DHAVALAPETA PLATES OF
MAHARAJA UMAYARMAN



From a Photograph

SEAL OF ANDHAVARAM PLATES OF
ANANTASAKTIVARMAN



1722.

From a Photograph

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 Svasti [| *] Vijaya-Siṅghapurīpta (t-Pa)ramadāivata-Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-prasā-
 2 d-āvāpta-śarira-rājya-vihharaḥ Māthara-kul-ālakṣ(āks)arishya-Kaliṅgādhipa-
 3 ti-Śrīman-Mahārāja¹-Amanta-aktivarmmā Ba(Va)śāhavarattanyā Āvi-pāriāvō
 4 Sakunpata-grāma(mō) sarva-samavātān-ku(n-ku)ṭumbinā(naḥ) samājñāpayati [| *] a-
 5 cty-śaha-grāmō-amābhī ā(r-ā)ṭmanah puny-M(y-ā)yyur-yyaśō-bhivpddhayō² annai

Second Plate : First Side

- 6 Kātyāyana-sugōṭṭāya Taitṭi(titī)ya-sābrahmachāri-krāhma-
 7 ga-Nāgāśarmmaṇṣe Durgakarmmaṇṣbhyō dvau bhṛātaran³ ā-chandra-tāraka-
 8 pratishṭham-ugrahāśah kṛtv-ātisṛṣṭah [| *] tad-eva(m*) viditvā yu-
 9 śmābhīr-yyatib-śchita-maryya(ryyā)kṛty-ōpasthāna(m*) karitavyah(vyam) [| *] bhaviya
 (śha)ta⁴-vā
 10 tājho vijñāpayati dharmma-krama-vikramāṅgām-ānyatama-pṛgā-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 11 d-avāpya mahīm-ānuśāsatām pravṛttakam-iman-dāna-dharmmam-anupa-
 12 śyadbhīh⁵ śbhō-grahārō-nupātya(b) [| *] bhavati(nō)ch-ātra Vyāsa(g)itā(h*) ślōkā(h*)
 [| *] Ba-
 13 imbīr-bhahmā dattā vasudhā vasudhādhipai(h*) [| *] yaśya yaśya
 14 yadā bhūmā-tasya tasya tadā phalam [| *] Shash(hi)ha(śhī-ra)śha-śhaśā-
 15 ni-avarggō vasatī bhūnōdab [| *] āśhōptā ch-ānumantā cha tāy-ōva na-

Third Plate

- 16 rakṣ vasat [|] Pūreva-dattān dvijātibhyō yataid-śakha Yadhish(hīra) [| *] mahi-
 17 m-mahimātā(m) śśah(hā) dānōch-śhṛṇyō-nupālunam-iti(m) [| *] iti [| *] dūtan ku-
 18 mārāmātau(tyau) mahāva(ba)lādhipita-danjanēty-Śivabhōjaka-
 19 Vasudātau(ttau)⁶ || Samvataram 29⁸ Ph(Ph)lengpa(na)śakha-pakha-dāna(myām H-)
 20 khitam dātākshapaśalādhipitā-ta*)lavar-Ārijunadattāna ||

No. 40—NAGARI PLATES OF ANANGABHIMA III : SAKA 1151 AND 1152

{ 3 Plates }

D. C. SINGH, GULIACAMUND

In November 1949, I received a set of inscribed copper-plates for examination from Mr. P. Acharya of Baripada in the Mayurbhanj District of Orissa through Mr. K. C. Panigrahi, Curator of the Orissa Provincial Museum, Bhubaneswar. The plates, which were thickly covered with verdigris, were properly cleaned and good impressions of their inscribed sides were prepared in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Calcutta. After having completed the

¹ From impressions.² Śamāhi is not observed here.³ Read Durgakarmmaṇṣbhyō bhṛātaran Madirbhyan.⁴ Śamāhi is not observed here.⁵ For interpretation, see above p. 223 and n. 6.⁶ [See above, p. 228, n. 6.—Ed.]

examination of the inscription from both the original plates and the impressions, I personally carried the plates to Cuttack, where I had to attend the Indian History Congress in December 1949, and handed them over to Mr. Acharya. At Cuttack I came to learn that the plates belonged to Mr. Harekrishna Mahatab, then Chief Minister of Orissa. Considering the importance of the inscription I requested Mr. Mahatab in March 1950 to be so good as to permit me to edit it in the *Epigraphia Indica*. I also requested Mr. Mahatab to supply me with details of the discovery of the plates, which could be incorporated in my paper on the subject. In a letter, dated the 15th March, 1950, Mr. Mahatab kindly agreed to my editing the inscription and also furnished me with the following story of its discovery. "The set of plates," Mr. Mahatab wrote to me, "was recovered in a village called Nagari about eleven miles from the town of Cuttack. The villagers were sinking a well and the copper plates were found about six feet below the surface level. As soon as the villagers found the set out, somehow it struck them to present the plates to me. They could have easily disposed them off and got a good sum as the value of the copper; but instead they came all the way and presented the plates to me in my office. I offered to pay them Rs. 100 which too they declined and expressed the desire that the amount should be spent for some public work in their village. Recently I went to the village. Near about it there are traces of ancient structures. Probably it was at one time a prosperous town as the name Nagari of the village implies." I am very grateful to Mr. Mahatab for his kindness in allowing me to publish the Nagari plates. Thanks are also due to the villagers of Nagari whose good sense saved the plates from being lost to the students of Indian epigraphy and history.

The set consists of five plates each measuring 12·6 inches by 7·9 inches. They are held together by a ring to which a seal, resembling those attached to other Imperial Gauda records, is soldered. The thickness of the ring is 7 inch and it passes through a ring-hole which is 1 inch in diameter. The seal, which is 3·5 inches in diameter, has the form of an expanded lotus or a radiating sun-dial and has in the centre an embossed figure of a seated bull, caparisoned and bedecked with ornaments, facing front and having raised neck and head. To the proper left of the bull are found the emblems of a conch, the crescent moon, a dagger pointed downwards and a damara. To the right of the bull are similarly found a *trifala* and an *akshata* or a *chāmara*. In front of the bull there is an emblem possibly representing the solar orb. The plates have raised rims for the protection of the writing. The first plate is written on the inner side only, the rest being engraved on both the sides. There are altogether 156 lines of writing. The first side of the third plate has 17 lines, the first sides of the fourth and fifth plates 19 lines each and the second side of the fifth plate only 11 lines. All other inscribed sides have 18 lines each. The writing is well-preserved with the exception of a few slightly damaged passages on the second side of the last plate. The *aksharas* are deeply incised and measure about 7·4 inch in height. The plates alone weigh 596 *talas* while the weight of the ring and the seal is 111 *talas*.

The characters belong to the class usually termed proto-Bengali, although a more appropriate name of the script ought to be Gaudī.¹ Many of the letters have developed Bengali forms of the thirteenth century; but there are a few traces of Oriya (cf. medial *i* sign in *khi* in line 4, *si* in line 44 and *vi* in line 94) and Devanāgarī (cf. medial *o* sign in *dho* in line 41 and medial *u* sign in *dhū* in line 104) influences. An interesting fact about the palaeography of the inscription under discussion is that there are many cases in which different *aksharas* are indicated by the same or similar signs. Thus there is absolutely no appreciable difference between *ṣu* and *ṣa*, between *ṭa* (cf. an additional loop at the top right end) and *ṭha*, and between *ḍa* and *ḍha* (cf. also *ḍa* which has only line 95); but it is often undistinguishable from the sign for *ha* (cf. lines 11, 12, 18, 19, 69, 78, etc.).

¹ For the literary style, dialect and script of Gauda or Eastern India, see A. J. C. Summary of Papers Lucknow, 1951, p. 177.

Similar is the case with *ts* and *th* (cf. lines 54, 64, 65, 69, 71, 74, 114, 123, etc.). In some cases *w* is not distinguishable from *v* (cf. *yasy-āna* in line 109). The sign for medial *i* often does not rise much above the top *akṣara* of the consonants and somewhat resembles the *ā-mātra* (cf. *kalai* in line 1). It is of course expected that *ḍ* should be indicated by the sign for *c*. Of initial vowels, the inscription under discussion employs *a* (lines 60, 66, 82, 95, 97, 131, 123, 134, 146), *i* (lines 25, 50, 89, 120), *u* (lines 9, 10, 36, 37, 47, 64, 67, 69, 87, 105, 123, 132, 133), *e* (line 127), *ai* (lines 144, 145), *o* (lines 16, 56, 75, 81, 90, 103, 140, 141) and *au* (line 1). Of final consonants there are *t* (line 15), *n* (lines 29, 62, 79, 85, 126, 130, 140, 145) and *m* (lines 4, 10, 11, 20, 27, 35, 41, 43, 45, 48, 53, 61, 67, 89, 111, 116, 145, 150, 151, 153). The half-nasal sign called *anuvāda-bindu* is employed in writing *Om* in line 1. Double dots as a mark of interpunctuation is usually joined at the bottom. In some cases the *anuvāda* looks like the superscript *r*.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Its composition is partly in prose and partly in verse. With the exception of only one, all the eighty verses of the introductory portion of the epigraph are found also in the copper-plate records of the successors of the king who issued the charter under discussion.

As regards orthography, attention may be drawn to the occasional reduplication of certain consonants in conjunction with *r*. A common mistake in the record is the confusion between *ṣ* and *s*. Interesting is also the spelling of words like *śrīpāda* (for *śrīpāda*) in line 1, *payān* (for *payān*) in line 79, *vaśa* in lines 8 and 10 and *vaśa* in line 83 (for *vaśa*), *śmāra* (for *śmāra*) in line 142, *śiṅgha* (for *śiṅgha*) in line 132, etc. *Ṛ* is once indicated by *ra* in line 144. In a large number of cases final *m* followed by a consonant has not been changed into *anuvāda*, while in a few it has been substituted by the *anuvāda* wrongly (cf. lines 102, 137). It has been usually joined with *v* in wrong *andhā* (lines 40, 48, 53, 150, 151, 152).

The inscription contains several dates on which different gifts of land were made by the king responsible for the charter, although the exact date when the charter was issued is not mentioned. Lines 122-23 refer to the *Mina-sukrānti* on Saturday, Chaitra and 9, in the Śaka year counted by *chandra* (1), *śukla* (5) and *rudra* (11) which indicate, according to the well known principle *anānām vāmatō gatiḥ*, the Śaka year 1151. The date regularly corresponds to Saturday, the 23rd February, 1230 A.C. Line 126 speaks of a gift made on Thursday, Māgha badi 8 in the next year (*abhi-santarō*), i.e., in Śaka 1152. This date corresponds to the 25th December, 1230 A.C. Lines 134-35 refer to a lunar eclipse on Thursday, Māgha badi 15 in the same year (*rasmanu-śv-śuddhā*), i.e., in Śaka 1152. The date corresponds to the 21st November, 1230 A.C. Line 137 speaks of the *Makara-sukrānti* no doubt in the same year falling on the 26th December, 1230 A.C. Line 142 refers to a solar eclipse on the *Karkṣak-āntīrasyā* apparently in the same year (i.e., Śaka 1152), although it has to be admitted that, according to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the solar eclipse took place in Śaka 1152 not on the *Karkṣak-āntīrasyā* (Thursday, the 11th July, 1230 A.C.) but on the *Vṛśakṣ-āntīrasyā* (Tuesday, the 14th May, 1230 A.C.). The last date is found in line 145 which speaks of the *Makar-āntīrasyā* on Sunday apparently in the same Śaka year. This date corresponds to the 6th January, 1231 A.C. The actual date when the charter under discussion was issued must have come sometime after this date probably in the same year 1231 A.C.

The prose portion of the inscription in lines 122-49 records a number of grants of land made by the celebrated Gaṅga monarch Anangabhimā III (c. 1211-38 A.C.) in favour of certain Brāhmanas. As already indicated above, this part of the charter is preceded by no less than eighty verses (with a prose passage between verses 6 and 7), seventynine of which are found quoted with slight variations in some later records of the family. These verses describe the genealogy of the Imperial Gaṅga family up to the reigning monarch. The resemblance of our text to the closest

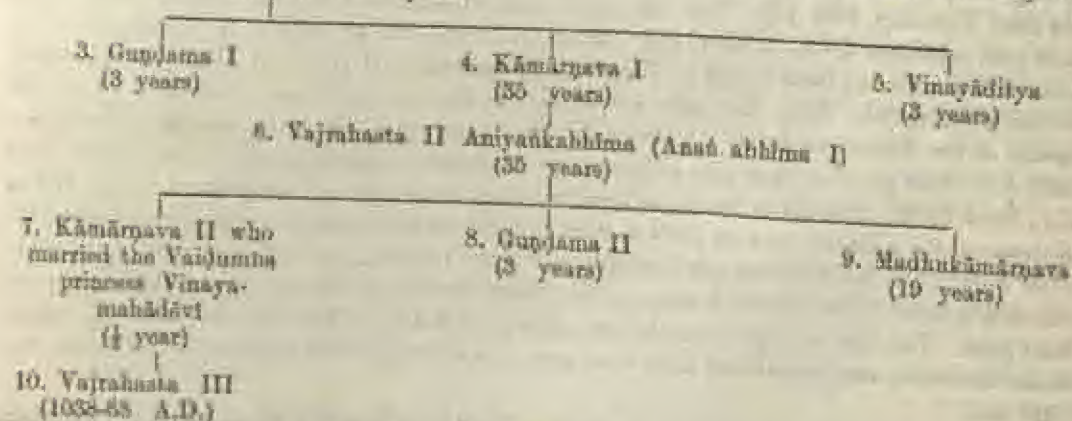
with the corresponding part of the copper-plate charters¹ of Narasimha II (circa 1278-1305 A.C.), great-grandson of Anāgabhīma III. Of the two Puri copper-plate grants² of Narasimha IV (circa 1379-1414 A.C.), the one styled B agrees more closely with our text than that styled A. It has to be noticed that the verses describing the activities of the successors of Anāgabhīma III up to Narasimha II are similarly found quoted in the records of Narasimha IV. In spite of the fact that we have as yet not secured copper-plate grants of all the imperial Gaṅga rulers, it is clear from the records at our disposal that each of these later Gaṅga monarchs quoted in their charters the introductory portion of the records of his predecessor and added to them some new verses describing his own activities. That this custom must have been introduced after the days of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.C.) is shown by the fact that the verses cannot be traced in the introduction of the charters issued by that monarch and his predecessors.³ In the absence of any copper-plate grant of any of the Gaṅga monarchs ruling between Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga and Anāgabhīma III, it is indeed difficult to determine as to who among them was actually responsible for the composition of the earlier part of the genealogy copied in later records. It may, however, be pointed out that, in the whole genealogy as found in so many records, only the description of Kāmārpa (circa 1147-56 A.C.), the immediate successor of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, gives astronomical details about the date of the king's accession. This fact singles him out amongst the successors of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga in the genealogy under discussion and may suggest that it was the poet at his court who composed the earlier part of the genealogy that was copied in the copper-plate grants of his successors.

The mythical genealogy from the moon to Kōlāhala-Anantavarman given in a prose passage between verses 6 and 7, in lines 12-16, of our record was drawn on the basis of the later records of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. We know that the records of Vajrahasta III, grandfather of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, offer the following genealogy:—

In the Gaṅga family belonging to the Ātrēya gotra:

1. Guṇamahārpa (i.e., Guṇārpa) who acquired the glory of *śāmrāja*.

2. Vajrahasta I who united the earth that had been divided into five kingdoms and ruled for 44 years.



¹ Cf. J. A. S. B., Vol. LXV, Part I, 1896, pp. 235 ff. Unfortunately the text published by N. N. Vase is not free from mistakes.

² Ibid., Vol. LXIV, Part I, 1895, pp. 130 ff.

³ Cf. such records as the Keral and Viṅṅapala plates of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (J. A. S. B., Vol. V, pp. 40-48, 112-24; Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 161-70) and the Narasimha plates of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (J. A. S. B., Vol. V, pp. 40-48, 112-24; Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 161-70) and the Narasimha plates of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (J. A. S. B., Vol. V, pp. 40-48, 112-24; Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 161-70). Only verse 14 of our record appears to have been copied from Chōḍagaṅga's grants. Verse 15 is found not only in the charters of Chōḍagaṅga but also in those of his father and grandfather.

The same genealogy was copied in the earlier copper-plate grants of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga such as the Korni and Vizagapatam plates of Śaka 1003 (1081-82 A.C.).¹ There is nothing suspicious about this genealogy. But the Korni plates of Śaka 1034 (1112-13 A.C.)² and the Vizagapatam plates of Śaka 1040 (1118-19 A.C.)³ give a more elaborate genealogy, the beginning of which is practically the same as found in the later records of the family including the grant of Anangabhima III under discussion. This later genealogy traces the origin of the family to the god Viṣṇu through his navel-born son Brahman, his mind-born son Atri, his eye-born son Moon, his son Rudha, Rudha's descendants Purūravas, Āyaz, Nahusha, Yayāti and Turvaṣu⁴ and a host of apparently imaginary personages from Turvaṣu to Guṇārjuna who is the progenitor of the family according to the earlier account but is represented here as Guṇārjuna II and is assigned a reign-period of 27 years.⁵ Names of a certain Kōlāhala, founder of Kōlāhalaṭṭa in the Gaṅgavāḍi rāṣṭra in Mysore, and his successors, some of whom are said to have migrated to Kalinga, are cleverly inserted before the reference to Guṇārjuna. There is some confusion in the description of the sons of Guṇārjuna; but the two accounts, earlier and later, tally with each other from Vajrahasta II Aniyāṅkabhima I, grandfather of the great Vajrahasta III (1038-68 A.C.). It is impossible to believe that Vajrahasta III made mistakes in recounting the names of his immediate predecessors and that his grandson Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga had more reliable information about them. It has to be noticed that even the name of the father of Vajrahasta III is wrongly given in the records of his grandson. I have therefore no doubt that whatever is new in the later genealogy and is conflicting with the earlier account is absolutely unreliable. It seems that Vajrahasta II Aniyāṅkabhima I (also called Anantavarman like his grandson), who apparently was the issuer of the Mandasa plates of Śaka 917 (995 A.C.) and the Pondura plates of the Gaṅga year 500 (996-98 A.C.) and ruled in the period circa 952-1016 A.C.,⁶ was the founder of the family's greatness and that there was little authentic information about his immediate predecessors up to Guṇārjuna, progenitor of the family, at the disposal of the court poets of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. The genealogy from the god Viṣṇu to this Guṇārjuna was no doubt entirely fabricated. The fabrication was, however, dependent on several factors. In the first place, its basis was the Ātrīya *gōtra* and the status of the Brāhmanas⁷ claimed by the Gaṅga emperors. As the Pallavas belonging to the Bhūralvāja *gōtra* claimed to have descended from the sage Bharadvāja, these Gaṅgas forged a genealogy tracing their descent from their *gōtrasthi* Atri. The second factor seems to be a desire to claim relationship with the Gaṅgas of Mysore, in whose tradition the city of Kōlāhalaṭṭa, mentioned in the genealogy under discussion, finds an important place. Another factor was apparently the desire to claim descent from the celebrated Chandra-vamśa or lunar dynasty of epic and Purāṇic fame and, unlike the case of the old Chandra-vamśa kings, from the god Viṣṇu himself. We know that the earlier Gaṅgas were all Śaivas, being staunch devotees of the god Śiva-Gōkarnāvara worshipped at the

¹ *J. A. B. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 46-48; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 161-65. One set of the Vizagapatam plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 172-73) tallies with these earlier records in respect of this and other early characteristic material below, although its date was read as Śaka 1037 (1115-20 A.C.). I have doubts that, in the date of this inscription, the word *hara* (2) was wrongly written or read as *saḥara* (5) and that the date should probably be Śaka 1027 (1105-08 A.C.) instead of Śaka 1037 (1115-20 A.C.).

² *J. A. B. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 113-24.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 165-72.

⁴ These names were taken from the epic and Purāṇic traditions.

⁵ Cf. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 451-53. Below p. 249, note 2.

⁶ See *J. A. B. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 219-21.

⁷ According to the *Pratīkha-Pratīkha Śāstrī* by Shamaśa-Srī, which describes Sūryaśaśa's war with Gaṅga Bhānu III (circa 1152-78 A.C.), the Rāṭas of Jāṇpura (i.e. the Gaṅga kings of Orissa) were Brāhmanas (Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 107). That the claim for the Brāhmana status was not regarded seriously is suggested by the Kāṭiāya name-ending common preferred by Bhānu II and Narasiṅha IV (*J. A. B. R. S.*, Vol. XVII, p. 21). The Śamavamśa also claimed the Ātrīya *gōtra* and descent from the Moon.

top of the Mahendragiri in the Ganjam District. Like his predecessors, Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga is also called a *paramamāhātmya* (devout worshipper of Mahāvara or Śiva) in his earlier records, viz., the Korni and Vizagapatam plates of 1031-32 A.C. But the Korni plates of 1112-13 A.C. describe him both as a *paramamāhātmya* and as a *paramaśaishava* (devout worshipper of Viṣṇu), while the Vizagapatam plates of 1118-19 A.C. omit the title *paramamāhātmya* altogether and represent Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga as a devotee of Viṣṇu alone. It is very interesting to note that these later records refer to Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga's conquest of the Utkala country which must have indicated the dominions of the Śōmavāṁśis including the Puri-Uttak region.¹ This event, which took place earlier than 1112-13 A.C., seems to have had something to do with the change of the king's religious faith from Śaivism to Vaiṣṇavism. As will be seen below, one of the achievements of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, as described in the introductory portion of later Gaṅga copper-plate charters, including the record under discussion, was the construction of the great temple of Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha at Puri. In any case, the genealogy tracing Chōḍagaṅga's descent from Viṣṇu seems to be concocted after he had been initiated to the Vaiṣṇava faith.

The inscription begins with the usual symbol for *sūddham* and with the *pragava* written as *ō*. Verse 1 is in adoration to the goddess of prosperity, while the following verse speaks of her husband, the god Viṣṇu. Verse 3 describes how the god Brahman sprang from the navel of Viṣṇu, how the sage Atri was produced by Brahman (from his mind) and how the Moon was born from Atri's eyes. Verse 4 describes the greatness of the Moon, progenitor of the Chandravāṁśa, and verses 5-6 with a prose passage refer to the glories of the Moon's descendants up to Kōlāhala who is said to have also been called Anantavarman. Verse 7 speaks of Gaṅgarāḍi; and Anantavarman (Kōlāhala) is said to have become the king of this land. It is further said that the descendants of this king became famous under the name of Gaṅga. Verse 8 says how Sarpura, the capital of Kōlāhala-Anantavarman's kingdom, came to be known as Kōlāhala (or more fully Kōlāhalapura) and how a number of kings ruled there in succession. Verse 9 suggests that Kōlāhala-Anantavarman had several (probably six) sons of whom the eldest Mārasiṁha succeeded him, while the latter's younger brothers left the country with a view to conquering other territories. Verse 10 says how these wandering brothers, the fifth of whom was called Kāmārpava, reached Kalinga and fought with the people of that country. Verse 11 speaks of the conquest of the Kalinga country apparently by the Gaṅgāṇvaya indicating Kāmārpava. Verse 12 says that Kāmārpava became a *capāśa-kartrī*, 'the progenitor of a royal family,' and that his descendants became kings of renown. Verse 13 introduces Vajrahasta III (1038-68 A.C.) as sprung from the above Kāmārpava (cf. *śloka* in line 26), although the real relationship is no doubt that Vajrahasta was a descendant and not a son of this Kāmārpava. As already indicated above, this part of the genealogy is based on that found in the later records of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, although there is some modification and omission of details.² The

¹ See I.J.Q., Vol. XXII, pp. 300-07.

² According to the later records of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, Kōlāhala was succeeded by his son Virādhaṇa, in whose reign, at least, kings had ruled at Kōlāhalapura, came Virādhaṇa. This king had five sons, viz., Kāmārpava, Gaṅgarāḍi, Gaṅgarāḍi, Mārasiṁha, and Vajrahasta. We are told that Kāmārpava gave over the kingdom to his paternal uncle and set out on *dharmajaya* with his four brothers. He came to Mount Mahendra where he worshipped Gokarnavarāma, through whose favour he received the bull crest and the insignia of sovereignty. He then took possession of the Kalinga country after defeating Bāḍiditya and ruled from Jantāvura for 30 years. His brother Gaṅgarāḍi succeeded him and ruled for 40 years, while the other brothers, viz., Gaṅgarāḍi, Mārasiṁha and Vajrahasta, were assigned respectively the Ambavāṇi *śloka*, Sōḍi *maṇḍala* and Kaṭṭakavarṇani. Gaṅgarāḍi's successors were: his son Kāṇḍava (50 years), his son Gaṅgarāḍi (6 years), his son Vajrahasta (15 years), his youngest brother Kāmārpava (10 years), his son Gaṅgarāḍi (27 years), his son Jāṇakata (15 years), his brother's son Kāṇḍava (12 years), his father's brother Gaṅgarāḍi (7 years), his younger brother Kāmārpava (23 years), his brother Viṣṇuśakti (12 years), his son Vajrahasta (35 years), his son Kāmārpava (1 year), his brother Gaṅgarāḍi (13 years), his step-brother Madhuhāṁḍava (10 years), his son Vajrahasta (1038-68 A.C.). (Cf. this with the genealogy found in earlier records and quoted above.)

freedom with which the later poet handled the genealogy found in the later records of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, as indicated by the present case, is possibly another argument in favour of its fabricated nature. As we have suggested above, much of this account is fabricated, and the genealogy found in the records of the time of Vajrahasta III (1038-68 A.C.) and of the earlier years of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga is much more reliable.

Verses 14-15 describe the greatness of Vajrahasta who is called 'lord of Trīkalīṅga'. Verse 16 speaks of Vajrahasta's queen Naṅgamā and his son Rājarāja I born of her. Verses 17-18 deal with Rājarāja and his chief queen (*agm-aṅgīśī*) Rājasundarī.¹ The following 15 verses (verses 19-33) describe the achievements of [Anantavarman] Chōḍagaṅga, son of Rājarāja and Rājasundarī. Verse 20 deals with his learning in various subjects, while the next verse refers to his great prowess. Verse 23 says that Chōḍagaṅga levied tribute from the whole land between the Gaṅgā (Bhāgīrathī) and the Gautama-Gaṅgā (Juddharī). Verses 23-24 again refer to Chōḍagaṅga's prowess. According to verse 25, Trilōchana-vibha was bound in agreement with the Gaṅga (i.e., Chōḍagaṅga) saying that no hero could venture to conquer him. Trilōchana may of course indicate the god Śiva; but the reference may also be to an enemy captured in battle by the Gaṅga king. Verse 26 speaks of Gaṅgavarā's (i.e., Chōḍagaṅga's) victory over the king of Utkala, which led to his obtaining *dharaṭī*, i.e., new territories no doubt in the Utkala country. We have elsewhere² discussed the history of the Śaṅgavāṇīs who were ruling in Utkala comprising the Puri-Cuttack region about this time. The Utkala king defeated by Chōḍagaṅga was possibly a successor of the Śaṅgavāṇī ruler Uddyotakṣarin (circa 1000-85 A.C.). According to verse 27, Chōḍagaṅga built a temple for the great god Puruṣhōttama, as the earlier kings were afraid to take up this great task, while the next verse seems to suggest that the temple was built on the sea-shore. It is rightly believed by scholars³ that these two verses refer to the erection of the great temple of Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha at Puri on the shores of the Bay of Bengal by king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. As we have seen above, this Gaṅga king, like his predecessors, was at first a Śaiva, but later became a Vaiṣṇava, and that the annexation of the Puri region to his empire may have had some thing to do with this change in his religious faith. The language of verse 27 seems to suggest that the god Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha had been in worship at Puri for many years before the conquest of that region by Chōḍagaṅga, but that the Śaivite Śaṅgavāṇīs, who were supplanted from Utkala by the Gaṅgas, had neglected the erection of a temple for the Vaiṣṇavite deity. (It seems that like Minākṣī at Madura, Rājī-Vēṅkaṭṭavarā at Tirupati, Vindhya-vāsini near Mirzapur, Kāmākhyā near Gauhati and many other gods and goddesses worshipped in different parts of India, Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha of Puri was originally worshipped by the local aboriginal people but was later on gradually accommodated in the orthodox Brahmanical pantheon.)⁴ The identification of this deity with the Brahmanical god Viṣṇu is, however, apparently earlier than the beginning of the twelfth century when Chōḍagaṅga conquered the Utkala country. Verse 29 refers to the hunting excursions of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga and the next verse to his victory over the king of Mandāra in a battle that took place on the banks of the Gaṅga. The walls and gates of Aramyā, the capital city of the Mandāra king who fled from it, are said to have been destroyed

¹ She was a Chōḍa or Chōḍa princess. Her father was king Rājendra Chōḍa (Biharpur, *LLa*, No. 1160). Her son's name Chōḍagaṅga points to the latter's claim to both Chōḍa and Gaṅga blood. Chōḍagaṅga is sometimes called Virarājendra Chōḍagaṅga (Babha Rao, *History of Kalinga*, p. 136) apparently after his maternal grandfather. Thus Rājasundarī's father was actually Virarājendra Chōḍa (circa 1063-50 A. C.).

² *J.H.Q.*, Vol. XX, pp. 76-82; Vol. XXII, pp. 206-07.

³ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXVII, 1906, pp. 328-31.

⁴ The *Utkala-khaṇḍa* (chapters VII-VIII) section of the *Skanda Purāṇa* (Viṣṇu-khaṇḍa, section II) clearly says that Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha of Puri was originally worshipped by the aboriginal *Sāhara* people in secret in an inaccessible forest on the Nīlāchala and that the priest of King Indradyumna of Aranyā, who popularised the god, received information regarding the deity and his worship from a Sāhara named Vitravāsa.

by the Kalinga forces. Mandāra has been identified by scholars with Gerā Mandaran and Āmrayā with Arambag both in the Hooghly District of West Bengal.¹ Verse 31 speaks of the heaps of gold that the Gaṅga king used to grant to the people in distress and of the burning of the capitals of his enemies. Verse 32 says that Chōḍagaṅga reigned for 70 years. We know that Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga was crowned in the Śaka year 999 (17th February 1078 A.C.),² although he may have actually occupied the throne sometime earlier after his father's death, and, as we shall presently see, his immediate successor was crowned in Śaka 1069 (1147-48 A.C.). Thus Chōḍagaṅga actually ruled for 70 years between Śaka 999 and 1069 (1078-1147 A.C.). Verse 33 refers to Chōḍagaṅga's queen Kustūrikāmōdini and the next three verses to his son Kāmārṇava alias Kumāra from that queen. Verse 37 says that Kāmārṇava's coronation took place in the Śaka year reckoned by the Nandas (9), the seasons (6), the sky (zero) and *akṣa* which is a mistake for *cāruḍa* meaning the moon (1). According to the *dicium* quoted before, this date comes to Śaka 1069. It has to be pointed out that the same verse, as quoted in the later records of the family, reads *vīda* (4) instead of *śiṣṭa* (9). Consequently it was so long believed by scholars that the coronation of Kāmārṇava took place in Śaka 1064 possibly as a regent and that his extremely old father may have arranged then to transfer the active duties of kingship to him.³ Since the record under discussion is the earliest document containing the verse giving the date of Kāmārṇava's coronation, it appears that the original reading was *nanda* which was later made *vīda* by an error of one of the copyists. The suggestion is again supported by the fact that the latest recorded date found in the epigraphs of Chōḍagaṅga's time is Śaka 1069 and that the earliest record of his successor Kāmārṇava is dated in Śaka 1070.⁴ Verse 41 refers to a ceremony of the Hiraṇyagarbha *mahādāna* performed by king Kāmārṇava and verse 43 says that he ruled for ten years, i.e., during Śaka 1069-78 (1147-1156 A.C.).

Verses 44-45 speak of Indirā who was the daughter of a king of the solar dynasty and was another queen of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. Indirā's father, mentioned as a king, cannot be satisfactorily identified. Verse 46 introduces the king of kings Rāghava who was the son of Chōḍagaṅga by Indirā. King Rāghava's glory is described in verses 47-52. His claim of the status of a Brāhmaṇa is probably suggested by his comparison with Paraśurāma in verse 49. Verse 53 says that Rāghava ruled for fifteen years, i.e., during Śaka 1078-1092 (1156-1170 A.C.).

Verse 53 introduces king Rājaraja II, another son of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga by the queen Chandralākhā. The next five verses describe the glory of king Rājaraja II who is said in verse 58 to have ruled for twenty-five years. This has to be regarded as the number of *Aśka* years which, deducting according to rule the first, fourth, sixth and twentieth years, would be equal to twenty-one actual years.⁵ Consequently the king actually ruled in Śaka 1092-1112 (1170-90 A.C.). The following five verses (verses 59-63) deal with Rājaraja's younger brother and successor Anāgaḥbhīma (Anatkaḥbhīma or Anaṅgaḥbhīma II) who is said, in verse 63, to have reigned for ten years, which, regarded as *Aśka* years, would be equal to eight ordinary years. This king therefore ruled in Śaka 1112-19 (1190-97 A.C.). Verse 64 introduces Vāghalladāyī, chief queen of Anaṅgaḥbhīma II, and the next verse king Rājaraja III who was the son of Anaṅgaḥbhīma II

¹ Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 260; *History of Bengal*, Dhaka University, Vol. I, p. 188.

² Bhattacharya, *List*, No. 1080.

³ Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 409.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 467-68, 472.

⁵ The use of the *Aśka* reckoning is known from the time of Chōḍagaṅga; but, in mentioning the number of years in a reign in the introductory part of the genealogy in later imperial Gaṅga records, it is introduced here for the first time. According to the rules established by H. Chakravarti (*J. A. S. B.*, 1902, p. 100), (1) 1 and all figures ending in 0 and 5 (except 10) should be omitted from the actual years to get the number of *Aśka* years; (2) the last *Aśka* year of one king and the first of his successor fall in the same year; and (3) the year begins on Bhādrapada full 12.

and Vāghallādēvi. Verses 65-70 describe the glory of king Rājaraṣa III who is said to have ruled for seventeen years apparently of the *Aśka* reckoning, corresponding to fourteen actual years. Thus the king ruled in Śaka 1120-33 (1198-1211 A.C.).

Verses 71 speaks of Mahanadēvi who was descended from the Chāṇakya dynasty and was the queen of Rājaraṣa III. The name of this queen is found as Sadgundhēvi in the grant (B) of Narasimha IV no doubt due to an error of one of the copyists. The reading *Mahanadēvi* in the record of Narasimha II preferred by N. N. Vasi, however, is quite clearly *Mahanadēvi* as in our epigraph. It is only natural to expect that the queen's name has been correctly spelt in the present charter issued by her son. Verses 72-80 describe king Anangabhīma III, who issued the charter under discussion, as the son of Rājaraṣa III from Mahanadēvi. Verse 77 of our record, which seems to have been dropped from later copies, seems to refer to the ceremony of the Hiranya-garbha *mahādāna* performed by the king. Verse 79 refers to his celebration of the Tulīpurīsha *mahādāna*. This verse also refers to the numerous gifts of land made by the king in favour of the Brāhmanas. The claim is supported not only by the present charter, but also by the description of the king as found in the Qriya chronicle called *Māhātī Pāṇji*.¹ Later copper-plate records of the family add one verse to this description of Anangabhīma III, saying that he ruled for thirty-four years, which regarded as *Aśka* years would be equal to 23 actual years. He thus ruled in Śaka 1133-66 (1211-38 A.C.).²

The above introductory section of the inscription in verse is followed by a prose portion giving details of the several grants of land made by the illustrious Ananikaśhīma-rānta-dēva, i.e., king Anangabhīma III, in favour of a number of Brāhmanas. The king is called *Rānta* (from Sanskrit *Rājaputra* in the sense of a prince, nobleman or horseman) also in some other records and the title is also known to have been used by some, if not all, of his successors.

We have elsewhere³ shown that the title indicated a subordinate ruler and that Gaṅga Anangabhīma III and some or more probably all of his successors adopted it because, as rulers of the Gaṅga empire, they considered themselves mere deputies of the god Purushōttama-Jagamūtha of Purī, whom they regarded as the real lord of the dominions. It has been shown definitely that, like the present Mahārājas of Purī, at least Anangabhīma III and his great-great-grandson Bhānu II (circa 1305-1327 A.C.) considered themselves servants of the god,⁴ but that, as the title *Rānta* or *Rānta* is known to have been assumed by some other later rulers of the imperial Gaṅga family, it is very probable that all the later imperial Gaṅga monarchs claimed the same relation with the god Purushōttama-Jagamūtha of Purī to whom the empire must have been formally dedicated. Whether the ruler responsible for such dedication was Anangabhīma III himself cannot be definitely determined until further evidence is forthcoming. It should, however, be noticed that he is the earliest imperial Gaṅga monarch who is so far known to have assumed the subordinate title *Rānta* and claimed theoretically at least to have been a feudatory of the god Purushōttama-Jagamūtha.

¹ Cf. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 475.

² H. Ghoshavarti believed (*op. cit.*, p. 117) that the death of Anangabhīma III and the accession of his son Narasimha I took place in Śaka 1160. But that the events may have occurred some time later is suggested by the Lingaraj temple inscription of Narasimha I dated in Śaka 1163 and in his fifth *Aśka* (or fourth actual regnal) year. See *Ind. Coll.*, Vol. III, pp. 121-23. The point, however, cannot be settled finally unless further evidence is forthcoming. It is possible that in some inscriptions the *Aśka* years of a reign were confused with the actual regnal years of the ruler in question.

³ *J. E. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 231-33.

⁴ In inscriptions, the emperor of Anangabhīma III is mentioned as *Purushōttama-shaureya* (the dominions of Purushōttama) while Bhānu II is represented as a feudatory of Purushōttama or Jagamūtha (called *śaśa-śāśita* in one case). See *J. E. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 21.

The details of the grants of Anagabhadra III recorded in the present charter throw some additional light on the religious activities of this Ganga monarch. There are altogether seven grants detailed in the charter, of which three are mentioned together, and they may be analysed as follows.

1. On the occasion of the *Misa-saṅkrānti* on Saturday, Chaitra-badi 9, in Śaka 1151 (i.e., on the 23rd February, 1230 A.C.), king Anagabhadra III, while he was apparently taking a sacred bath in the waters of the Mahānadi between the temples of the gods Chitrāvara and Viśvāvara at the Abhinava-Vārāṇasī Jaṅga (city of or camp or residence at 'New Banāras') granted twenty *śūlās* of land at Pārapagrāma in the Sāilā *viśaya* to a Brāhmana named Saṅkaraśaṅkaraśāman. The grant is said to have been made in connection with a number of gifts of land made by the king on the occasion of a *dāna-sāgara* performed by him according to the recommendations of the Mahābhārata. The donee Saṅkaraśaṅkaraśāman was a student of the Kāya branch of the Yajurvēda and belonged to the Gṛhītakauśika *gāṇa*. The grant was made a permanently revenue-free gift for the *priti* in favour of the god Parashūttama.

According to Wilson's *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, a *śūlā* of land in Orissa is equal to twenty *mānas*. A *māna* seems to be otherwise called *bighā* and is said to be equal to twenty-five *gajās* at Cuttack.¹ A *gajā* (meaning "12½ square yards or the fortieth part of an acre" in some places) is regarded as sixteen *bighas*, while a *bigha* is said to be one-twentieth of a *bighā*. This seems to show that a *śūlā* is sometimes regarded as equal to 12½ acres of land. But there seems to be varying areas of the *śūlā* prevalent in different parts of the country and there may have also been difference between the areas of a *śūlā* of the present day and that recognised by the Ganga kings of Orissa in the thirteenth century A.C. This is possibly suggested by the fact that the *Pravakṣa Abhidhāna*, an Oriya dictionary published in 1942, regards a *māna* as equal to one acre of land and a *śūlā* as equal to 20 acres.

2. On Thursday, Māgha-badi 6, in the following Śaka year, meaning Śaka 1152 (i.e., on the occasion of the *Makara-saṅkrānti* on the 25th December 1230 A.C.) the king, while he was taking a sacred bath in the same river (Mahānadi), granted a township covering thirty *śūlās* of land to the same Brāhmana Saṅkaraśaṅkaraśāman. This grant was made in connection with a number of others made during the month by the king according to the recommendations of the *Vāmana Purāṇa*. Of the thirty *śūlās* of land granted, twenty *śūlās* of corn land lay in the above-mentioned Pārapagrāma, while ten *śūlās* of homestead land were in Jayanagaragrāma. Both the villages were situated in the same Sāilā *viśaya* probably in the vicinity of each other. The township contained four houses resembling royal residences and endowed with walls, *mukha-mandapās* and *madhya-mandapās*, and also thirty other houses inhabited by a number of citizens. The inhabitants of the township included a number of merchants such as a perfumer, a worker or dealer in conch-shells, a splitter of wood (*pātākāra*), a goldsmith and a bracer or a worker in bullmetal. Their names were Vāpuli, Nārāyaṇa, Dāmōdara, Mādhava, Chitra, Sōma, Vālu, Kōśava, Mahādēva, Naraṇḍha and Śiva. There were the sellers of betel (*āmbūlika*) named Mahānāda, Sōmā and Inagḍa, the florist named Manū, the maker of or dealer in sugar (*gajika*) named Mahādēva, the milkman named Dāra and Gabhī, the weavers named Nāga and Jagḍī, the oilmen named Gaṇḍ and Suryā, the potters named Arjuna and Viśū, and the fisherman (*Kaṁḁḁa*) named Rājū, Viśū and Padma. There were also a barber, some craftsmen and a washerman. This interesting list of the people of different castes inhabiting an Oriya township of the thirteenth century throws considerable light on the Orissan social life in that age. The grant of the township was made a permanently revenue-free gift for obtaining the favour of Lord Parashūttama.

¹ That 1 *Vap* or *Vāpū* was equal to 20 *acres* and 1 *māna* to 25 *gajās* in the age of the imperial Gangas is known from the Alampur plates of Narasimha II to be noted in a future issue of this journal.

3(a). In the same year, meaning Śaka 1152, while the king was taking a bath in the Mahānadi on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on Thursday, Mārgaśrīha sudi 15 (i.e., on the 21st November 1230 A.C.), he granted eighteen *vīṭis* of land in the said *Parāṅagrāma* to a Brāhmaṇa named *Dikṣita Rudrapāṇīcarman*. The grant was made in connection with other grants of land made by the king according to the recommendations of Brīhaspati. The donor Rudrapāṇīcarman belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*.

The area of 18 *vīṭis* of land is referred to here as a *gō-charman*. Originally *gō-charman* may have indicated that area of land which could be covered by the hides of cows slaughtered in a sacrifice and which was granted to the priests as sacrificial fee. But the expression is differently interpreted by later authorities. According to Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary on the *Mahābhārata*,¹ it indicated a piece of land large enough to be encompassed by straps of leather from a single cow's hide. The *Parāśara-smṛiti*² and *Brīhaspati-smṛiti*³ appear to suggest that the *gō-charman* was that area of land where one thousand cows could freely graze in the company of a hundred bulls. According to the *Vikṣep-smṛiti*,⁴ the area of land, sufficient to maintain a person for a whole year with its produce, was called a *gō-charman*. There is a more specific determination of the area of the *gō-charman* in the *Smṛitis* of Śāṅkapa⁵ and Brīhaspati,⁶ according to which it was ten times a *nivartana* which was the area of 300 × 300 square cubits (about 4½ acres). Unfortunately the area of the *nivartana* also is not the same with different writers. Even according to a variant reading⁷ of Brīhaspati's text referred to above, the *nivartana*, regarded as one-tenth of the *gō-charman*, was the area of 210 × 210 square cubits (about 2½ acres). Bhāskaraśāstrya's *Līlāvatī*⁸ speaks of the *nivartana* as 200 × 200 square cubits in area (about 2 acres). Elsewhere⁹ we have pointed out that the *nivartana* is 240 × 240 square cubits (about 3 acres) according to the *Kautilya-Arthśāstra* (II, 20), but only 120 × 120 square cubits (about 1 acre) according to its commentator. All these differences were mainly due to the varying length of the cubit and the measuring rod, of which there were no recognised standards.¹⁰ But the very basis of the measurement of the *gō-charman* was in many parts of the country apparently vague and uncertain. Since 18 *vīṭis* of land is quite a large area, the *gō-charman*, mentioned in our record as an equivalent to that area, seems to be that recognised by such authorities as Parāśara referred to above. It may be pointed out that Brīhaspati, who supports Parāśara in one passage, is actually mentioned in our record in this connection.

¹ Vāṅmālā ed., I, 30, 23 : *Vadhrī śaṣṭatithi charma-rajya śūdra gō-charmanā kṛtaya rajya śhrāsta-lakṣy-gō-charma-mātra*.

² Calcutta ed., XII, 13 : *gōcharaṁ śūdra-śāstrāyamaṁ gūtra lakṣṭhalya-guṇāyamaṁ | lakṣṭhāram śūdra-guṇāram gō-charma-parīkṛtistamaṁ ||*

³ Vāṅmālā ed., verse 9 : *śa-śrāṣṭam gō-charmanā ya gūtra lakṣṭhalya-śāstrāyamaṁ | lakṣṭhāram-guṇāyamaṁ lakṣṭhāram gō-charma-īti śrīṣṭam ||*

⁴ Vāṅmālā ed., V, 170 : *śāstrāyamaṁ gūtra-śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ | gō-charma-mātra śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ ||*

⁵ Vāṅmālā ed., (Śāṅkapa-smṛiti) : *śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ | śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ ||*

⁶ Loc. cit., verse 8 : *śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ | śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ ||*

⁷ Cf. Vidyāśāstrya's commentary on the *Vāṅmālā-śāstrā*, I, 210 : *śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ*. See also *Śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ*, p. 100. The *Prānāyama-śāstrā*, Vāṅmālā ed., p. 106, describes the same to the *śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ*.

⁸ Calcutta ed., I, 8 : *śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ | śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ śāstrāyamaṁ ||*

⁹ Successors of the Śāstrāyamaṁ, p. 230 note.

¹⁰ See my paper on the *Kautilya*, etc., in the *Śāstrāyamaṁ*, Part II, pp. 943-48.

3(b). Likewise in the same year on the occasion of the *Maṅgala-śukrāntī* (December 25, 1230 A.C.), the king granted in accordance with the recommendations of the *Aditya Purāṇa*, five *śūlīs* of land, apparently in the same village of *Pūṣyagrāma*, to the *Abhīyū* Brāhmaṇa Sōma-pāśārman of the *Bādhīyā gōtra*.

3(c). Likewise in the same year, on the occasion of the installation of the god *Puruṣhōttama-dēva*, the king granted two *śūlīs* of land apparently in the same village of *Pūṣyagrāma* to the Brāhmaṇa *Āchārya* Chandrakaraśarman of the *Kāyapa gōtra*.

The three grants, mentioned together as one gift in a single sentence, were made permanently revenue-free gifts for obtaining the favour of the god *Puruṣhōttama*.

All the donees of the grants previously mentioned were students of the *Kāyapa* branch of the *Yajurveda*. The amount of land granted to the Brāhmaṇas was altogether fifty-six *śūlīs* in the village of *Pūṣyagrāma*. This land was bounded in the west, north and east by well-defined boundaries and in the south it ran up to a locality called or a tree known as *Nalita*. Out of the fifty-six *śūlīs* of land, two *śūlīs*—one *śūlī* of corn land and one of homestead land—were allotted to the *Sāma-śikhīrīn* Gaṅgādhar-ārya (Gaṅgādhar-āchārya ?) of the *Pūṣimāsha gōtra* and an equal area of land was also allotted to the *tāmra-śilpīn* (copper-smith) Mahānāda who was apparently the engraver of the plates and received the land as fees or perquisite. *Sāma-śikhīrīn* of the *Pūṣimāsha gōtra* are also known from later records of the family. In one case, the *Sāma-śikhīrīn* is represented as the writer of the document. He seems to have been the keeper of records and used to receive a plot of land for writing a charter.¹

4. Apparently in the same year (Śaka 1152), on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the *Karkṣāṅk-śukrāntī* (*Prishabh-śukrāntī* on the 14th May, 1230 A.C. ?), while king Anāgabhāta III was on a pilgrimage to *Puruṣhōttama-kṣhētra* (i.e., *Paṭṭi*) on the shores of the south *Tirtha-rāja* (i.e., the Southern Ocean), he granted five *śūlīs* of land in the said *Pūṣyagrāma* in favour of the Brāhmaṇa *Āchārya* *Agnichū* Kāyāśarman, who belonged to the *Kāyāyana gōtra* and was a student of the *Kāyapa* branch of the *Yajurveda*, and of some other Brāhmaṇas of various *gōtras* who were *śiṣyās* and students of the *Rigveda* and other *Vēdas*. The names of these *śiṣyās* were *Dhritikara*, *Ananta*, *Vilāśakara*, *Yajña*, *Siddhā*, *Śankara*, *Mādhava* and *Prithvīdhara*. This grant was made as a part of the *Hiranyagarbha mahādāna* ceremony celebrated by the king and referred to above in verse 77 of the introductory part of the inscription. It is said that, of the five *śūlīs* of land, three *śūlīs* were granted to the *Āchārya* (Kāyāśarman) and the remaining two *śūlīs* to the *śiṣyās*. The land was made a permanently revenue-free gift.

5. Apparently in the same year (Śaka 1152), when the king was standing before the god *Puruṣhōttamadēva* at *Abhinava-Vārānaśi* on the occasion of the *Maṅgala-śukrāntī* on Sunday (15th January, 1231 A.C.), he granted four *śūlīs* and eight *śāśas* (i.e., 4½ *śūlīs*) of land covered with barley, wheat and sugarcane crops situated in the village of *Vilāsapuragrāma* in the *Kuddipādā valaya* to the Brāhmaṇa *Dēvadharaśarman* who belonged to the *Bhāradvāja gōtra* and was a student of parts of the *Kāyapa* branch of the *Yajurveda* and the *Kaushīya* branch of the *Sāmaveda*. The grant was made in connection with a *dāna-sāgara* celebrated by the king in accordance with the recommendations of the *Vīśvadharmā* (i.e., the *Vīśvadharmasūtra*). The land was made a permanently revenue-free gift for obtaining the favour of the god *Puruṣhōttama*.

¹ Cf. e.g., *Śāma-śikhīrīn* Gaṅgādhar-ārya (Gaṅgādhar-āchārya ?) of the *Pūṣimāsha gōtra* and an equal area of land was also allotted to the *tāmra-śilpīn* (copper-smith) Mahānāda who was apparently the engraver of the plates and received the land as fees or perquisite. *Sāma-śikhīrīn* of the *Pūṣimāsha gōtra* are also known from later records of the family. In one case, the *Sāma-śikhīrīn* is represented as the writer of the document. He seems to have been the keeper of records and used to receive a plot of land for writing a charter. See now *J. R. A. S. B. L.* Vol. XVII, pp. 23-29.

It is not known why the grants made in favour of different donees were entered into a single record, especially when the lands were situated in two separate *raṣṭras*. The above details of the seven grants, three of which are mentioned together, are followed by the imprecatory and benedictory verses, eight in number (verses 81-88). The record ends with verse 89 which says that Nappana composed the *ślokas* of the *prastāvi*. As indicated above, this man appears to have copied the verses relating to the predecessors of Anangabhīma III from an earlier record and composed only the verses describing the reign of Anangabhīma III himself.

The details of the seven grants show that six of them were made when the king was staying at Abhinava-Vārāṇasī or Abhinava-Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka, which is no other than the present Cuttack (*Kaṭaka*), chief city of Orissa. As the contraction of the name *Saṭpabdhāmā* was both *Saṭya* and *Bhīmā*, so was the contraction of *Puruṣhottama-purī* both *Puruṣhottama* and *Purī* and of *Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka* both *Vārāṇasī* and *Kaṭaka* (Cuttack). One of the grants was made when the king was at *Puruṣhottama-keśetra* or *Purī* on the shores of the southern ocean, i.e. the Indian Ocean. Very interesting is the reference to the king making a grant while standing before the god *Puruṣhottama* at *Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka*, i.e., modern Cuttack, on the 5th January 1231 A.C. and to the installation of the said *Puruṣhottama* apparently during the Śaka year 1152 (1230-31 A.C.) by king Anangabhīma III. We know that the temple of the god *Puruṣhottama-Jagannātha* of *Purī* was constructed by Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga and the god was being worshipped there for a long time before the days of Anangabhīma III. There is thus no question of Anangabhīma III installing the god *Puruṣhottama* at *Purī*. The god *Puruṣhottama* installed by Anangabhīma III must therefore be the god of the same name at *Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka* or Cuttack before whom the king was standing to make a grant of land on the 5th January 1231 A.C. There is little doubt that the temple for this deity at Cuttack was completed and its installation took place in Śaka 1152 (1230-31) shortly before the 5th January, 1231 A.C. We know that the *Mādālī Pāṇji* or the chronicle of the *Puruṣhottama-Jagannātha* temple at *Purī* attributes the construction of the *Purī* temple to Anangabhīma III and not to its actual founder Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. This confusion may be due to the fact that Anangabhīma III, as is now known, actually built a temple for a god of the same name at Cuttack. That Anangabhīma III is represented as the most important Gaṅga monarch in the same chronicle may be due to the fact that it was this king who dedicated the empire to the god and became famous as the most ardent royal devotee of *Puruṣhottama-Jagannātha*. The idea underlying the installation of a substitute of the god *Puruṣhottama-Jagannātha* of *Purī* at Cuttack is apparently the same that inspired Śivājī to install a substitute of his patron deity, the goddess *Blavānt* of *Tuljapur* near *Omanabad* in the present *Hyderabad State*, in his newly built fort at *Pratāpgarh* near *Javli*.¹ Apparently the Gaṅga king wanted to live constantly in the company of his patron deity at his residence at Cuttack. It is to be noticed that, during the time of Anangabhīma III or sometime before his accession, the Gaṅga monarchs, who had been originally ruling from *Kaṭaganagara* (modern *Mukhalingam* in the *Chicacole District*), transferred their headquarters to Cuttack.

An interesting reference to the god *Jagannātha* (i.e., *Puruṣhottama-Jagannātha*) worshipped by the kings of *Jāpnagar* (i.e., the Imperial Gaṅga rulers of Orissa) in their fort at *Banāraḍ* (i.e., *Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka* or the present Cuttack) is found in the *Tārīkh-i-Firās Shāhi* by *Shams-i-Sirāj*.² According to this work, *Sulṭān Firās Shāh* of *Delhi* led an expedition against the kingdom of

¹ J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. IV, p. 22.

² See Elliot, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. III, pp. 312-15. There is another account of the *Jāpnagar* expedition of *Sulṭān Firās* in the *Tārīkh-i-Firās Shāhi* (cf. *J. R. A. S. R., L.*, Vol. VIII, 1942, pp. 57-77). The author of this work, although he does not explicitly mention *Purī*, seems to have confused the *Jagannātha* of Cuttack with his namesake at *Purī*.

Jājnagar about 1360 A.C. when it was under the rule of the Gaṅga king Bhānu III (circa 1352-78 A.C.). The Sultān is said to have occupied Banāraś (Vārānaś-kaṭaka) when the Gaṅga king fled from the city. In connection with this expedition, the *Ta'rikh-i-Firūz Shāhī* says: "It is reported that inside the Rāj's fort (i.e., the Gaṅga king's fort at Banāraś or Vārānaś-kaṭaka), there was a stone idol which the infidels called Jagannāth and to which they paid their devotions. Sultān Firūz in emulation of Mahmūd-i-Sabuktigīn, having rooted up the idol, carried it away to Delhi, where he subsequently placed it in an ignominious position."¹ From this account we come to know the fate of the god Parashūrama-Jagannātha installed by Anagabhīma III at Cuttack and worshipped there for about 150 years from 1230 to 1360 A.C.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the city of Kōlāhala in Gaṅgaravāḍi is usually identified with modern Kolar in East Mysore. Gaṅgaravāḍi was the name of the kingdom of the Gaṅgas of Mysore. In a wide sense Kālīṅga was the whole of the coast land between the Vaitaraṇi and the Gōdāvarī, while in a narrower sense it indicated roughly the present Puri, Ganjam and Chikacole Districts. In the present record, however, the name Kālīṅga seems to be applied to the original Gaṅga kingdom round the capital city of Kālīṅganagara (modern Mukhaṭagum) in the Chikacole District, as the Puri region in the dominions of the Śaṃsavatthās seems to be referred to as lying within the Utkala country. There is difference of opinion as regards the location of the country called Trikaṅga of which some kings are said to have been the overlords. Some writers are inclined to take it to mean the three parts (northern, central and southern) of the Kālīṅga country, while others prefer to take it as indicating three contiguous territories in the Kālīṅga region such as Kālīṅga, Utkala and South Kōśala. A third group of writers suggest that Trikaṅga was the name of the tract of rather jungly land lying between Kālīṅga and South Kōśala.² The location of Utkala and Maṇḍārā has already been discussed. Originally Utkala was the coast country lying between the river Kapīśā (modern Kānsāi) running through the Midnapur District and the Kālīṅga country in the Puri-Ganjam region. But the present inscription, as already indicated above, appears to locate the Puri temple in Utkala, probably intended to signify the dominions of the Śaṃsavatthās in lower Orissa, which were conquered by Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. The extension of a country no doubt varied in accordance with the expansion of the dominions of its rulers. The location of Abhinava-Vārānaś, Vārānaś-kaṭaka or Abhinava-Vārānaś-kaṭaka, which was the place of residence of the Gaṅga kings after they had removed their headquarters from Kālīṅganagara and which is no other than the modern Cuttack, has been already discussed. It has also been noticed that the Southern Ocean is referred to in the record as *dakṣiṇa-tīrtha-rāja*, i.e., the best of the Tīrthas in the south, the word *tīrtha* here meaning either "a sacred place of pilgrimage" or "waters." That Parashūrama-kaṭātrīa on the shores of this southern *tīrtha-rāja*, mentioned in the inscription, is no other than modern Puri has likewise been pointed out above.

The different pieces of land granted by king Anagabhīma III as recorded in the charter were situated in Pūrapagrāma and Jayanagaragrāma in the Sālśā *vishaya* (district) and Vilāsapuragrāma in the Kāṇḍiṇḍā *vishaya*. The Sālśā *vishaya*, also known from other later Gaṅga records, is no doubt the present Sālśā Pargana in the Cuttack District, and the township, covering thirty *stabhā* of land and situated in Pūrapagrāma and Jayanagaragrāma, may actually be represented by the present village of Naguri, literally meaning "a township," which is about eleven miles from Cuttack and is the endspot of the charter under discussion.

¹ Cf. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 423.

² Cf. *Indian Inscriptions*, p. 450, note 8.

TEXT¹

[*Metres* :—Verses 1-3, 5-6, 9-11, 15, 20, 24-31, 33, 40, 41, 48, 50, 54, 56-58, 60-61, 64, 67, 73, 74, 76, 78 *Sārdūlavikrīṭa* ; verses 4, 21, 37, 42, 53, 56 *Śraydhārā* ; verses 7, 23, 49, 65 *Mālinī* ; verses 8, 13, 34, 38, 39, 44-46, 51, 59, 68, 75, 79-81, 88 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 12, 16, 18, 19, 22, 32, 36, 43, 52, 55, 62, 63, 69-71, 77, 81-87, 89 *Anuakṛṣṭā* ; verses 14, 17, 35, 72 *Upajñti* ; verse 47 *Indra-vaśrā*.]

First Plate

- 1 [Siddham][² Ō][³] Lakṣmī-pāda-sarōruha-dvayam=adaḥ ścīyānsi(yānsi) dāsād(tha)(śita) vala prapṣhūrjjan-nakha-raśmi-kāsara-sajjam-bhāṣvan-nakṣi-āl-dalana(lam) |
- 2 viṣaṣṭam=prativimvi(mbi)ta[h⁴] praṇamannāḥ kṛtj-āparādh-ōdbhavaḥ Kṛṣṇo yan-nakha-dīptishu bhramaratān-da(n-dha)ttē sa Lakṣmī-priyaḥ || [1⁵]
- 3 Kṣhīr-āydhō(bdhō)=mmathitāt=śr-āura-gaṇaḥ prādrī(du)rbhavanti Rāmā Śambhu-Brahma-Purandara-prabhṛtiṣu prakhyāta-kīrttiṣv=api | pāyatev-Amva(mbu)jā-nābham=f-
- 4 sam=avṛjōl-lōka-tray-āhlādinam bhṛtj-āl mahakāram=kti hi vanā phullā=nya-śākhiny=api || [2⁶] Tan-nābhī-saraśruha-ōdbhava-Vi-
- 5 dhēr=Attriv-vva(r-bba)bhūv-āmuta=Chandra=chandrikayā prakāśi(śi)ta-jagat=sambhū-tavān-nātrataḥ | trailōkya-grāman-aikaśākaḥ-timira-grāmitva-sāmye-
- 6 pi yō lakṣma-vyāji dādhat=tamaḥ prativapuh āyy-ā(ry-ā)dhikō nūmndah || [3⁷] Śrīdōvi-śōdārvād-ampita-sa(sak)hatayā kalpa-vṛkṣa-ānujātva-
- 7 [-lōk-āmandah vihbātō timira-viṣa-haraḥ sarvva-dai(dā)v-aiakabhōgyah | tat-tat-eaḥ sargga-lābhā(2⁸) tad-anugata-guṇakam⁹ sv-āḥga-niāḥhan-da-
- 8 dhānaḥ svasy-aītan=niṣmalatvan jagati vijayatē darśayan-nūnam-indah || [4¹⁰] Vanāś-(Varāś) tasya nṛp-āvarāḥ samabha(va¹¹)n-tē(nis-tē)-
- 9 chān-guṇāch=chha(=chha)ndasaḥ prōtpha(tpku)llā iva yat=puṣya-pathagā= tatr=āpi nō sammatāḥ | tat-tat-kārya-paṭha-śritā-
- 10 =tri-bhuvanē mūrttin-dadhānō iva bhṛāmyant=iva sa-chōtanāḥ śruti-grhē viśramya viśramya cha || [5¹²] Pratyēkam(kam) śāśi-vanā(vanā)-
- 11 bhūpati-bhūja-vyāpāra-saṅkīrttanam(naṇ) karttuō-kah kahamatō kahitau va(ba)hu-mukhō yatr=Ārjunaasy-aiva hi | dōrddāṣ-ārjita-kittī(riti)-varṇana-
- 12 parat=tuō-bhāratam-prābhavat=tasmād=āhvaya-mātram=ādi-nṛpati-ārōṇi(h¹³) kramā=li(=li)-khyatō || [6¹⁴] tathā hi Chandrād=Vu(d-Bu)dhah | Va(Bu)dhāt=Puru(ṣū)ravāḥ¹⁵ || [7¹⁶]
- 13 tasmād=Āyuh¹⁷ | tatō Naghu(hu)ḥah | tatō Yayātiḥ | tatas=Turvasuh | tatō Gāṅgōyah | [tatō¹⁸] Virōchanah | tat-sutah Samvē(Samvē)dyah | tatō

¹ From the original plates and their impressions prepared at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Dacca-mund.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read guṇa for the sake of the metre.

⁴ Some other later Gaṅga records make Purīcaras the son of Anala and grandson of Bodhis, although the relationship indicated by our record is supported by ancient Indian literature.

⁵ Some records wrongly read Vāya in place of Āyuh.

- 14 Bhācyān | tatō Dattasēnah | tata{b*} Saumyah | tatō=avadattah | tatah Saurāṅgah |
tasmāc-Vvi(d-Vi)chitrāṅgadab¹ | tat-sūnah |² Sāradhvajah³ |
15 tatō Dharmasibh⁴ | tatah Parikshis | tatō Jayasēnah | tat-sutō-pi Jayasēnah⁵ | tatō Vri-
shadhvajah | tatah Sakti⁶ | tatah Pri-
16 gatah⁷ | tatah Kōlāhalah | sa sv-Anantavarman-abhavat | Dhana-kamaka-sampiddhō
Gaṅgavāḥiṭh prasiddhah sakala-vishaya-bhūpa(ta)h vva-
17 ppi-vagg-ō(rgg-5)abhōga(gya)h | tad-adhipatir-ant-ādyō-nantavarmanō nripēndrah sama-
bhavati iti ru(rū)ḥhā Gaṅga-nāmnā tad-ādyāh || [7*] Kōlāha-
18 lah samara-mūddhni(rddhni) tatō nripāṇām bhūtō yatah Saraputrah-cha tadyam-atra |
Kōlāhal-āhvayam-ābhūt-sura-sadma-tulya=ta{m} |

Second Plate: First Side

- 19 a-kramēṇa⁸ patibhir-vva(r-bha)lubbhir-vvu(r-bha)bbhāvō || [8*] Bājyānt-bhṛti Mārasimha-⁹
nripatan jeyyē)khrō kīm-atr-āsmahē dōr-ddandēārjita-bhūtāl-ōtthita-Ramā-ka-
20 gtha-grah-ānandinah || () kiñ-cha-āsmākam-iyam bhuy-āai-latikā mahvāshatām(tāh)
vaismām(nāni) kaṇṭh-ārayam-iyān-cha kirtti-latikā dyān-nah samā-
21 cōbata || [9*] Bhūṇyulbbhir-vvijjālahayā kshiti-talam(tē) kv-āpi dvishad-vanditah kv-āpi
dyatā-kula-pramādhī(thi)lulir- api prāptāh Kalingāh kila || () taih
22 Kāmāṇṇava-paṭchannair-nīpa-varair-vyudhāt-Kalingāh samac¹⁰ pūptah drashtum-
iv-ārpavāl-udagamat-kūrmā-āvatārō Harīh || [10*] Kpi(Kō)rima-svāmīnī sā-
23 kahigi tel-nayanō tasmāc-Mahēndrah-gatē Gōkarvōṭ-pi mahōdadhau viyati vā āryyē tath-
āndit-āpi | Kalingim-bhuvam-āharad-bhuja-vu(ba)lād-a-
24 ay-ōpabuktān-ohvam¹¹ Lakham-ohi(fich-ā)ty-ē(ty-ā)thā kā sta(stu)tir-vvada tath-
(tō) Gaṅg-ānvayas-āhavō || [11*] Tat-āud-vandā-kartt-āsu Kāmāṇṇava-mahipā-
tāh | yasy-ā-
25 tō putra-pō(pantir-ādyā rājānah khyāta-vikramāh || [12*] Śāstr-ārtha-nich(hita-matir-
dvishad-anta-krti sarve-ārthi-vargga-paribōhaga-krti-vargga)h | ā-
26 chōva(rā)ṭō-pi muni-pūṅga-mārgga-chār tasmāc-abhūn-nīpa-varō bhuvī Vajrahastah ||
[13*] Nā nūnatah kōvalam-ārthātō-pi sā vajra-hasta-
27 =Trikalāṅga-nāthah | kō Vajrahastān-aparah prithivīyām(prithivyāh) vajram-patad-
vānyitum(tam) samarthah || [14*]¹² Vyāptā Gaṅga-kul-ā-
28 tnamasya yubhāṭ dik-chakravālō bāsi(hi)pryōṭ-āmalinēna yasya bhavana-prahlāda-
sompādinā | sindurair-gti-

¹ Some inscriptions read Chitrāṅgada instead of Vchitrāṅgada.

² The *śūda* is superfluous.

³ The first syllable of this name is often found to be *āi* instead of *ā*. Śāradhva is a famous name in the epics and the Purāṇas.

⁴ The name has been read in one record as Mādhavi.

⁵ In some records Śivasēna's son is called Vijayasēna.

⁶ Read *Pragādhah* and note how the word is written in line 76 below. In line 82 the word has been written as in the present text. In some records *Pragādhā* is mentioned as the father of Sakti.

⁷ An extra book of *ā* wrongly joined at the right of the superscript *a* has made *a-ira* look like *āra*.

⁸ In some inscriptions the name has been read as Nārasimha.

⁹ A class of superscripts *e* had been inserted above *a* and then erased.

¹⁰ Read *acchāva*.

¹² Verse 14 is found in some records of Anantavarman Chāḍḍagana while the following verse is found in the records of Vajrahata III, his son Bājardja I and the latter's son Chāḍḍagana.

12.4.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

[illegible]

56
 58
 60
 62
 64
 66
 68
 70

- 29 sādita-paṅka-pataḥ kumbha-sthāṭṭakāśv-ślīpanti pūṇaḥ pūṇa-cha haritām-
ādhōraṇṇa vāraṇṇa || [15*] Mahishī
- 30 Naḥgumā tasya Pārvatī-eva Pinākinah | tēnāt-tayām-abhūd-viśō Rājārājō mahipatī ||
[16*] Sa rāja-rājō dvijarāja-kāntir- bhūja-
- 31 āga-rāj-ānana-varṇa-kiṭṭī || * | ārimattay-ādhaḥkṛita-rājārājā[h*] eva-vikrama-nyak-
kṛita-dōvarājah || [17*] Tasy-āgra-mahishī rājō nāmnā
- 32 yā Rājasa(m)nilarī | Lakṣmī-Nārīyagasy-eva Chandrasy-eva cha Rōhīṇī || [18*] Tatas-
tasyām-abhūd-dēvā-Chōḍagaṅgō narāvara || () kahōṇ-
- 33 bhṛid-garva-vichchhityau(tta) dṛv-tadrāt-kulāsa yathā || [19*] Dhātṛ tasya Sarasvatī
samabhavan-nūna-na chēt-pitavān-tat-sāraṇa(ava)tan-ā-
- 34 ryya-vā(bā)laka-tamah | ket-Chōḍagaṅgah paṇah | tādṛig-vōda-matī kathā-nipuṇatī
kāstrēpu(sha) tādṛik-va(k-ka)tham-tādṛik-kārya-kṛitī katham-paripatī[h*] ālpēchu
- 35 tādṛik-va(k-ka)tham(tham) || [20*] Kshōṭm(th) dikpāla-sē(sē)shām-ayam-akṛita pada-
dvand[v]jam-ētasya vaiśi-kāmābhīch-ebūdā-āry-āptam(th) stutir-iti kiyatī Chōḍagaṅg-
sāvara-
- 36 aya | n[ā]nam-pārṇab sūbhādāt parā-nipā-dhavalā-chchhatra-va(la)ddhy-āpaharttā
mām-ity-aḥgasya vṛiddhī[m*] tynajati yata iva trāsa-chittāḥ pravṛtū || [21*] Gṛihyāsi

Second Plate; Second Side

- 37 ama karam-bhūmēr-gGaṅgā-Gautamagaṅgayōh | madhyē paṇyatān vīrōhu praudhaḥ
praudha-stishā(stryā) iva || [22*] Pratibhaya-kara-śastra-vyāha-
- 38 ta-sv-ōṅga-nīyya(ryya)d-rudhinam-āvanī-nishthan-nō bhayōd-yan-tad-āva(yat-tad-sāva) |
nīpa-kara-dhṛita-śastra-chchhīna bhān-ōṅgam-ētān-akṛita dharaṇī-āryyā(ryā)-
- 39 n-dvandva-yoddhēshu Gaṅgah || [23*] Yat-tōjah-paribhūta-śatra-nagara-prōdbhūta-dhūm-
ōḍgamaīr-bhōyah Khōḍjava-dāha-sāhki-manasō dēvāḥ kaha-
- 40 am-bhā(m-bhā)avah | svar-pu(r-n)hād-si-dhāryā ripu-gaṇād-vṛittāntam-ākaryāya cha
praudha-tasya nṛvanti Gaṅga-nripatēr-bhūtim-vi(tin vi)hāya dhṛavam
- 41 || [24*] Krōdh-ōdyad-dvīpa-mōḥa-vṛudini madah(da)-mō(acō)taevatī-durgamō chāṇchat-
khamga-tadit-prabhāvatī nadan-nārācha-vajr-ōdayō | ma(ya)t-sūnyō jalat-āga-
- 42 ma-pratimdhān-jēttu(m)m-pravartēta kah sūrō-p-ti vadama-Trilōchana-vibhū-vva(r-bba)-
dōhō-munā sāgarō || [25*] Nirmamthy-Ōtkala-rāja-sindhū'm-apatān-Ga-
- 43 āg-sāvarah prāptavān-ōkah kṛitī-sūbhākaram-pṛithumat-cha(mān la)kṣmīn-dhāryā
samam | mādyad-danti-saharām-sāva-niyntam(tam) cha¹ ratnōḥ-samikhyaṇi
- 44 vā tat-sindhūh kim-imam-prakāram-athavā vra(hṛ)jams-tad-mamātham || [26*] Pādam
yasya dhar-āntarikṣam-akulān-nābhī-cha sarvā dīśah arōtrō nāra-
- 45 yugam(gaṇ) rāv-īdo-yugalam-mūddh-ā(nilīh-ā)pi vā dyaus-sau | prāsādam-Purnahōtra-
masya nṛpatīḥ sō nāma karttūh kṣamas-tasy-ā-
- 46 ty-ādya-nṛpaur-apēkshitam-ayaḥ-chakrō-tha Gaṅg-sāvara(h) || [27*] Lakṣmī-jauma-
grīham-payōnidhīr-asau sambhāvitasya sthūr-nō
- 47 dhāmni āvam(su)tasya pu(pū)jyati iti kshīr-āvllī(bdhi)-vāsā[d*] dhṛavam | nṛvīṇaḥ
Purnahōtramah pramuditā-tad-dhāma-lābhād-Ram-āpy-ētad-bhūrti-gri-

¹ A viṇaya had been here incised and afterwards erased.

² Omit cha for the sake of the metre.

- 48 ham(ham) varam-pāṭi-grihāt-prāpya pramōd-ānvitā || [28*] Tvaṁ-kūmm-ādhipa niśchala
tvam-api bhōḥ(bhō) vyālśudra dhairyyam-va(ryam va)ha tvaṁ prithvi athiratām-bhaja
49 tvam-adhunā vra(bra)hmāṇḍa gādham-bhava | śri-Gaṅg-ādhipa-va(ba)kha-siṁha-vīśrad-
ghāṇā jagat-vyāpinō diś-nāgēśu bhayāch-chalatu jagati ka-
50 mpēnda(ta) vā ya(ya)t-kramāta(māt) || [29*] **Āramyā-nagarāt**-Kaliṅga-va(ba)la-
pratyugra-bhagn-āvriti-prākār-āyata-tōṣa-prabhṛitayōrā¹-Gaṅgā-taśasthāt-tataḥ | Pā-
51 rih-āstrair-yyodhi jajja(rjja)rtikṛita-namad-Rādhēya-gātr-ākṛiti(r*)-**Mmandār-ādri**-patir-
ggatō rāṣa-bhuvō Gaṅg-ēśvar-āmandataḥ || [30*] Vra(Bra)hmāṇḍā²-va(ba)hir-asya ki-
52 ti(riti)-yasaā līptan-na vā bhāvinō dastāś-eh-ārtlū-gaṇāya hēma-nichayah saṅkalpinō(nō)
vā va(ba)hu | urddagdh-āri-pa(pa)śā-eha bhāvita-navaś-tasya pra-
53 tāpāir-ṣṣa(r-ṣṣa) vā kim-vā(kim vā) nō kṛitavān-asmu stuti-padam(dam) śri-Chōḍagaṅg-ēśva-
rah || [31*] Varpā(rhā)ṇām(nām) saptatim-vi(tim) vīrah kahōṇi-sambhōgam-ācharat | di-
54 ś-nāyakāt-pra(n-pra)tihārān-viḍhāy-āsmu sarvataḥ || [32*] Kip-prā(m-prā)ptā mihiki
rupōbhīr-atulaiḥ śri-Chōḍagaṅgēna sā dēvai stutya-guṇai-rvi(r-vi)bhō.

Third Plate : First Side

- 55 pi(abhi)ta-vapuh Kasō(stū)rikāmōdinī | n-ā-Vishṇuh prithivīpatih prabhavat-ity-asmin(a-min)
Hama vā bhuvō raksh-ārthan-dhṛita-janmani svayam-a-
56 sau Lakshmi(h*) prasūt-āthavā || [33*] Tasyān-tatō-jani jagat-tritay-aika-vīrah **Kāmārṇava**-
vas-tri-jagat-ēka-vadānya śahah | sūryam pratāpa-vibhava(vē)-
57 ta jagat-prasiddhah-kirtih(riti)śa āśāśkam-ādharikṛitavān-viśodhāyā || [34*] Gaṅg-ēśa-
sūnōr-vriva(ba)dh-kārāyasya drīpya(d*)-dvishad-vamśa-vihhēdi-śaktēḥ | (*)
58 Kāmārṇavasy-āya Kumāmkatvati nā nāmataḥ ka(kē)valam-artatō-pi || [35*] Prāpy-
odayam āśāśbha(śka)śya vaddha(rddha)tān-nāma vāridhiḥ | vaddhatō kirtti-cha-
59 mīrō-yam chittrāś-Kāmārṇav-ō(v-ō)dayē || [36*] **Nand-arttu-chyō(vyō)ma-chitra**-
pramita-**Śaka-samā-vyāpta-kālē** diś-śāś chāpa-sihē-nya-grah-aughē va(ba)lavati
ri-
60 pusha prakāshayam prāptavatu | asmin-mūrdh-ābhishiktē nṛpavata-tanayē sardha(rvva)-
lōk-aika-nāthō sūnam-Kāmārṇava(rṇav-ē)ś jagat-abhavad-
61 dan-tat-tad-āmānda-pūṣṇama(rṇam) || [37*] Kahir-ārṇavād-ajani chandra-kal-ēti vāritō
Kāmārṇavāt-tu sakal-ēndu-divākar-ābham | kirtti-pratāpa-
62 mithunam saśachāri lōkē liśhyaty-ahō para-nṛpān-annrīga-sūnyān || [38*] Yasy-āsi-nīrdha-
lita-vairi-karindra-ku-
63 mīha-nirmukta-mauktika-phalāny-asig-ukshitāni | Kāmārṇavasya nṛpa-samhati-kōtv-
alālu(ś) sandhyā-prabh-āpta-bha-grā
64 iḥa bhānti yaddhē³ || [39*] Drīpyad-vairi-chamūr-nmayō kavalitā n-aivam-may-āsvādit-
ity-anyūnyat-kalahē tu nirṇaya-vi-
65 dhau khaḍga-pratāp-ēchabhayā | mādhyastha-gamit-ōva nirmūlatarā kirttir-yyadiyā
vra(bra)vīny-ālōchy-ēha mahadbhir-ity-upagatā

¹ Read *prabhṛitē* (*Gaṅgā*).

² Read *chandra* in place of *chitra*. Other records read *Vīśa-ritā-ryōmā-chandra* instead of *Nanda-ritā-ryōmā-chandra*.

³ Y is written here as in modern Oriya.

- 66 dhāta[*h**] kṛnti v=ādarāt || [40*] Aśākṣit=sa himayagarbham= apacm^c lōkam-mahēśaḥ
par=ety-artho-yuṣa vīvadanti yē cha. vadana-vrātas-tadhyo-dhu-
- 67 nā | mūddhō yat-tu himayagarbham-akarōt-Kāmāryav=śas=tataḥ sampanna[*ṁ**] janitān
jagad-yata tsa pratyakṣataḥ prāgīnām || [41*] Sa-
- 68 pt-āmbhōdhā-vahanti kṣitir-atitaraḥ nāga-kūrmā-śvarāgām sālāyyan^a vāśchhat-dyan-
tad=api pumat-ayan-kalpitas-tatm bhārah | dhā-
- 69 tā Kāmāryav-ākhyah sa ta nipa-talanā[*ṁ**] nirgayat-svarāga-bhāraie-bhūyō bhūyas=ta-
(=tu)llyām sthita itī dharmār-bhāra-vā(bā)hnyam-ā-
- 70 ptama[*ṁ*] || [42*] Hpiha[*ṁ*] push[*ṁ*] jan-ākṣmān viśvaj-jana-manōrama[*m**] | da=āvdī-
(bā)im-akarōt-rājya Kāmāryava-mahipatib || [43*] Śrī-Chōḍagaṅga-ūpātā-
- 71 r-mahāśā[*ṁ*] tatō-ayā tasy-āndirā ravi-kul-ōdhava-rāja-patir | y=ādy-āpi dhātur-upam-
ājanī sundarīgām s=dyati sudhādā-

Third Plate / Second Side

- 72 vadanā svayam=iva jātā || [44*] Yul-ru(d-rū)pa-āla-gati-varṇanayā prasiddhā dṛiṣṭānta-
bhū[*r**]-aggrīant-ēty-ativāda-dāśah | a=āsty=eva chaṇḍa-ruchi-kāma-
- 73 harō yul-atra tān-Indirām-udavahat-bhūvi Chōḍagaṅgah || [45*] Tasyān-tataḥ samajani
kṣitīnātha-mūḥah śrī-Rāghavaḥ para-dhanēvara(ru)-darpa-
- 74 maridī[*ṁ*] yat-patta-va(ba)ndhana-vīdhī-travaga-pralīhāt sarvā upā[*ṁ**] sva-kṛdī kāmam-
avāpavantaḥ || [46*] Śrī-Rāghavō rājani chitram-ātāt-tājō-vihī-
- 75 m[*ṁ*] kṣitipāla-varṇah | tat-pāda-svā-kṛta-dāha-siddhīr-mitrabhavaty=eva samasta śahah
|| [47*] Pramūḍh-āri-prahati-prakāra-vihita-prācha-
- 76 vdyam-antarbhava[*ṁ**] dūr-dan[*ṁ*] āpamiti-pragalbha-vishaya-prāghātavān-Arjunah |
sampsaty-āhā(ha)va-raṅga-sāngata-riṇ-krūḍ-simh-kanduka-kṛ-
- 77 j-ān(sa)kta-bhujah śarāsana-bhṛtām chāt-āpamā Rāghavaḥ || [48*] Jagati Parāśurāmah
prāduraś[*ṁ**] dvitīyah kimu riṇ-kula-kuntā
- 78 av-ājūy-āchchhanna-lōkah | kṣitī-vitaraga-diksh-āsakin-hastah pratāpōd=api dāsa-bata-vā-
(bā)har-yynasya satru-vvī(r-vvī)hāt || [49*] Bhēdam bhēda-
- 79 m-arātī-kūḍjara-gha[*ṁ*] kṣūḍgha-padiktīn[*ṁ*] rājō pāyam pāyam-aṅgik-pāyān(yān[*ṁ*])
va(ba)hulhā śrī-Rāghav-āh[*ṁ*] kṣapāt | ā-
- 80 bhram subhram-tr=ōdvaman vijayātē kṛtī-praśamam-param chandram chandrikayā pra-
pūrgantatayā sūnēvyamān-ākṛitima(tim) || [50*] Dh-
- 81 rggēshu dāva-dahanah kṣitibhṛta[*ṁ*] vajra[*ṁ**] mādya-karīṇḍra-gha[*ṁ*] nānā cha sūlā
śahah | vidvōbī-bhūmipatayō nī-
- 82 vāsanti yatra śrī-Rāghavaḥ kṣitipatir-vvitata-pratāpah || [51*] Śrī-Rāghava-dharādīhāt
kṣṇānātha-sūnāy[*ṁ*] | akarōt-rājya=avdī(bā)hā-
- 83 m-uddāmā dāsa pañcha cha || [52*] Tasya śrī-Chōḍagaṅga-kṣitī-valaya-patēr-vvanna(r-
vvanna)-santāna-valī-kanda-śrī-Chandralōkha-spha[*ṁ*] tam-Aditir=iva prōyāt
- 84 Kasya[*ṁ*] jasya | tasyām-uddāmā-dhām-kahayita-dinamāp[*ṁ*] yya(r-jja)jāvān Rājarājō
rājanya-kṣṇāda-kālī-lakṣita-mahima-vyāpta-dīvva(keba)kra-

^a Read *apari* *lōk*. The *anvāra* looks like the superscript *r* in this case. Some versions read "*apari* *lōk* . . . par=āggrīant[*ṁ*] (or, "*āggrīant*) *pravadanti* . . .

^b *Jpa* was at first inserted in the place of *ypa*.

- 85 cālah || [53*] Tasmā dig-vijaya-prayāga-raśi(n)kō amṛambha-kumbhach-chaṁṣ-saṁkshayā-
kelūti-chakra-pāṇā-patāla-prāghbhāravaty-amva(mba)rō | bhū-saṁrepa(ṣpa)-
86 ra-gbhṛtā-vāśā-dinamapōr-uchohāḥ p[li]a[ti]n[ti] sapta(p[ti])bhūḥ svabhṛyastān¹ aṁsa-sindhu-
rēga dharaṇi-pattō rad-śōghaṭṭanam || [54*] Chōḍagaṅga-narēndrasya sūna-
87 r-uddhāna-vikramah | Rājārāja iti khyātaḥ-Trikalīṅga-mahipatiḥ || [55*] Viśvaḥ krōḍhayati
pragatā(bha)-yasaḥ(s) prālīyasaḥ-triśi² yad-yad-yātri-
88 g-abhūta(d-a)bhūta-saṁpāṇaḥ santaḥ samākaraṇyātām | dhātṛ pīthātē liḍgati avar-ava-
(cha)lah prāśādati tvad-yasō diē-nāthāḥ pratimanti yasya pati-
89 talḥ imahva(śrī)ṣyāḥ-pada[m] śrīṅgati || [56*] Anandam vidadhātē chētasi bhū(bha)vat-kirttir-
gguṇa-grāhṇah sūtā dāhulam-arthanam(nah) sumanaḥ(s) śrī-Rājārāja dharam ||[*]

Fourth Plate : First Side

- 90 a-śyati karuṇa-pātham samātya hṛdayē kalyāṇatē vairiṇah sv-ātma-śchokh-ānuvidhāyinaḥ-
na hi nija bhāva(h)* kvaśhid-dīśyātē || [57*] Ētaśyām-dhruvi paścha-viśā(viṁśa)ti-sa-
91 māḥ kalmāpāla-lakṣmīdharaḥ kṛtvā jīvara-chāpa-chaṁchala-blujā-dambhāli-uvvī-
patiḥ | rājyaḥ prājya-yasas-tushāra kirāṇa-śrēṣṭi-ragā(sā)d-āmanāḥ-utgachohha-
92 t-purabhūta-gṛha-charita-śrī-Rājārāja nripah || [58*] Tasy-ānjo nripati-rāja-padā-bhishiktaḥ
= ākti-priyah parimit-ādīnripa-prasastiḥ | prithivīpatiḥ ka-
93 li-mal-ōjjhata-dhama(rama)-uddhah kāryya-kehamah prabhur-śśv-Aniyānka³bhīmaḥ ||
[59*] Vir-ādīśhaktiḥ-saṁga(r-ā)tri-śikharā saṁkha-śva(śva)n-āśāsitō kṛat-ōdbhi(ma)-
madō(bō)-
94 bhū-kumbha-rigalan-mukt-āvali-puṣpītē | harahād-ugra-nija-pratāpa-dahanō khaḍga-śruchā
vidvishām rājām-ānana-paṅkajāni nripatir-ggaty-ānayad-yaḥ śriya-
95 ma(n) || [60*] Kahl-ādihva(bdhō)r-amṛita(tā)t-aur-āura-bhūja-vyāpāra-vikabābhūtāch-
chandray-ārtham-abbāt-tad-apy-adhiyayāv-āānam-ākaḥ kila | chafichad-vā(bā)-
hu-va(ta)lāna saṁgāra-dhruvi
96 tvat-khaḍga-dhār-jalā-jātas tv-ashyadigīvarāt-pri(n-pri)thā-yasas-chandraḥ samālīn-gati
|| [61*] Yat-prayāga-samudbhūta-rajah-sampūrītō-mva(mba)re | abhū(d)*-divradatājasya
dhū-
97 li-mada-chitā saṁh || [62*] Dada varshāgi vtrō-sa nījjit-śrēṣṭi-mahajalah ||[*] Anāka⁴bhīma-
bhūpālō dharitṛm samapālayat⁵ || [63*] Prasāb-ānarggala-vikra-
98 mah kula-grīham yō dānjo-niti-śriyah saty-śchāra-vishām-chām-charitaḥ purya-aika-pācā-
yagah ||[*] tasy-ānā-Aniyānka-
99 bhīma-nripatīr-ādih-ā(ōddh-ā)ṅga-lakṣmīḥ araya(m)* sūchasy-Atisayāna patya-mahāshī
Vāgballādōvi bhuvī || [64*] Talita-pātri-gu-sughah sūna-
100 r-ādī-amushyā niratīlayita-tōjā yauvan-āvāpta-rājyah ||[*] prapata-nripati-chōḍā-ratna-
rōchih-pūṇāṅkita-charaṇa-m-
101 rōḍō Rājārājō nripalah || [65*] Xasy-ōdyad-vāji-vrinda-prakhara-khara-puṭ-āghāta⁶-nirdnā-
(ridda)rit-ōrvī-sambhūtam-dhūribhāsvat-kara-nikara-mahah eyūta-sāndra-pa-

¹ The anuvāsa here looks like a superscript s.

² Kāl was originally inserted in place of śrī.

³ Rā had been at first omitted and afterwards somehow indicated.

⁴ The ānāka mark is placed below ga.

⁵ The ā-sign of pāt had been at first omitted and was later indicated by a short stroke.

iv. a.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

110
 112
 114
 116
 118
 120
 122
 124
 126

[illegible]

- 119 kh-ākali-yugalē mānyō mahān padmahāh || [76*] Yēn-ābhishēka-samayāh kalita-trayēṇa
nītas-talāparāba-dāna-ka-
- 120 lānuva(ba)ndhah | lavilā-ā(bhā-ā)ni nah kūtīr-amushya mudē tath-ābhūḍ-yādṛg-vi-
(g-dvi)jōti-jana-āṣana-dāna-kēliḥ || [79*] Ākarebatā hṛida-
- 121 jana-āpa-viśōchanām ādhina(vajā) cha paritah pratipārikhivānām | arih-ānvaya-pragayinā
kṛtinām Anuḡabhīma-pra-
- 122 alidhīr amuḡā vidūthe(dhō) nripīna || [80*] Sō-yah śtinad-Anaḡabhīma-rāutta-
dēvah Śākāvdś(bdē) chandr-āshu-rudra-gaṇitō Chaitra-śukla-navamyāh
- 123 Sauri-vārō mīna-sa(m*)krāntyām Abhinava-Vārāṇasī-kaṭakō Chitrēśvara-
Viśvāvarayōḥ-samadhya Mahānadyām Sailō-vishayē P[ā]ṇa-
- 124 grāmō dāmasāgara-bhūmī-dān-āvarita(rttē) Mahābhārat-ōktām pūyāh mṛida-rasāh
vishatī-vāṭi-parimitā bhūmīh Ghṛitakauṭika-gōtrā-
- 125 ya Yajurvād-āntargata-Kāṇva-ākh-ādhyāyī-paṇḍita-Saḡkaśhaṇḡanandaśarmīnāpō Vrā-
(Brā)hmanāya bhagavatah śrī-Purushōttamasya prītayō
- 126 dhārā-pūrvvakam-ā-chandr-ārkkam-upabhogāy-ākarkṛtya prādāt || punar-avd-ā(bd-ā)-
ntarō Māgha-kṛishṇa-āshashṭhyām Guru-vārō taryān-nadyān-tasmin-ēva vi-

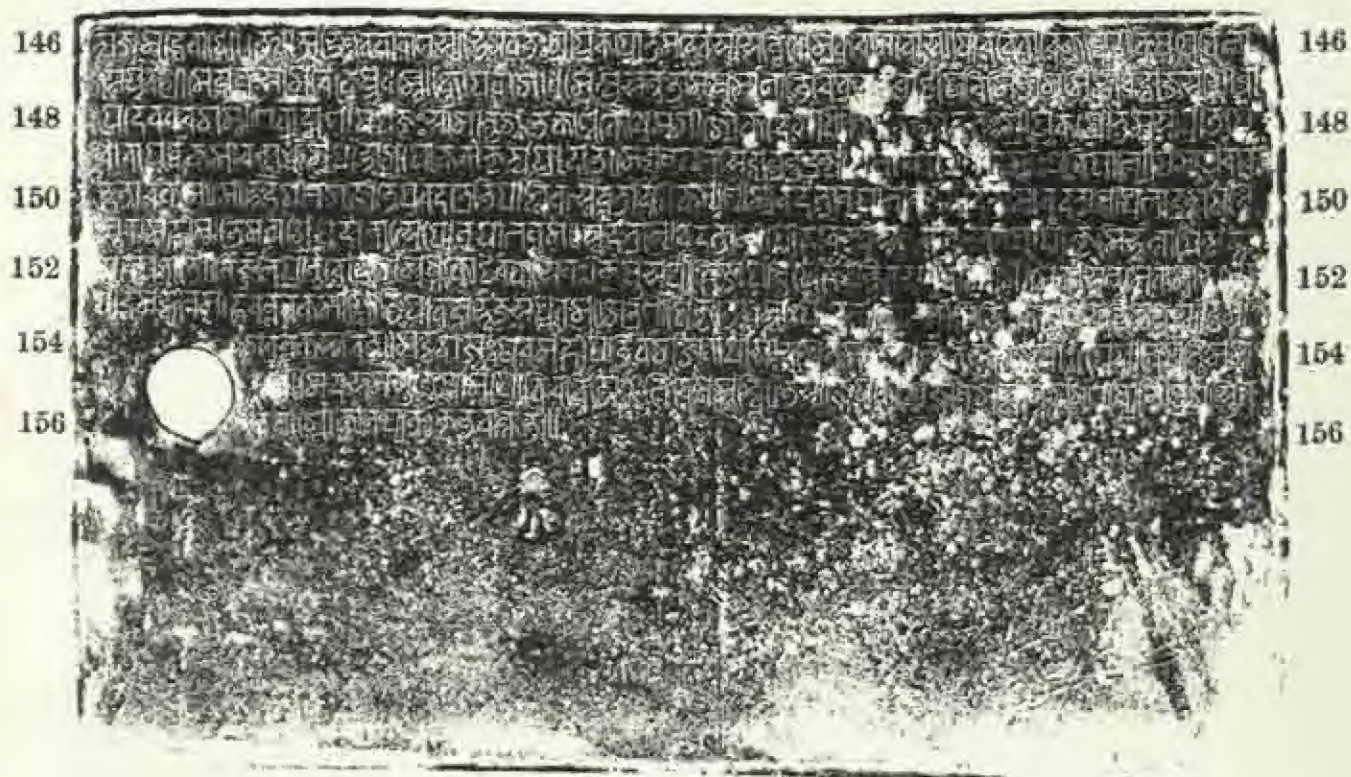
Fifth Plate: First Side

- 127 ahayē tasmin mīna-dān-āvaritō Vāmana-parāṇ-ōktā(m*) prākāra-mukhamapāpa-madhyu-
mopāpa-sahita-nripatigṛha-tulya-grīha-cha-
- 128 tashṭaya-nānō-purajana-samōta-trimūti(bd)-grīha-nirmītaḥ trishad-vāṭi-parimitā-
bhūmīkun-nagatan-tasmi paṇḍita-Saḡkaśhaṇḡ-
- 129 mundaśarmīnāpō Vrā(Brā)hmanāya bhagavatah śrī-Purushōttamasya prītayō dhārā-pūrvva-
kam-ā-chandr-ārkkam-upabhogāy-ākarkṛti-
- 130 tya prādāt || tasya cha Jayanagargrāmō dāsa-vāṭi-parimitā vāsto-bhūmīh | Pūranagrāmō
vimūti-vāṭi-parimitā tasya-
- 131 bhūmīh || tasya pun-jana-jāti-nāmānī || tatra varjyah gāndhika-āśākhika-pāṭakāra-avarṇa-
kām-kāshyikāh Vāpuli-Nārayaṇa-Dāmodara-Mādhu(va) -(Chī)-
- 132 tra-Sōma-Vāhū-Kēśava-Mahādēva-Narasimha(ba)-Śivu-nāmānah || tāmva(mhā)likāh Mahā-
nāda-Sōmā-I(m-ā)napḍa-nāmānah | mālīkō Manū-nānā | gaṇ(dj)-
- 133 kō Mahādēva-nāmā | gōpālau Dhru-Gaḡhī-nāmānau | Kātuvāyan Nāgu-Jagāl-nāmānau |
talīkau Gaṇḡ-Sanyā-nāmānau | Kumbhakā-
- 134 rau Arjjuna-Viṣṇū-nāmānau | Kāivarttāh Bāju-Vāṣā-Padma-nāmānah | nāpītaḥ śīpīnō
rajakā-cha || tathā tasmin-ēv-āvdś(bdē) ta-
- 135 syām-Mahānadyām Mārggaśirsha-pauruṇamāsyām Guru-vārō chandr-ōparāḡō
tasmin-Pūranagrāmō bhūmī-dān-āvaritō Vṛi(Bṛi)haspaty-a-
- 136 ktā(dh*) grōhamma-mātrām-ashtōdāsa-vāṭi-parimitām-bhūmīh Bhātaivāja-sagōtrāya
Dikshita-Rudrajāyīśarmīnāpō Vrā(Brā)hmanā-

* The names from the beginning up to line 122 are found quoted in the later charters of the family often with slight variations.

* This may also be read as ta; since, however, the word is from Sanskrit rāja-putra and Prākṛit rā-ṭṭa, Ra seems to be intended.

e, b.



Seal



(From a photograph)

- 137 ya tathā Makara-samkrāntyām (ntyām) Āditya-purīḥ-śikṣāṃ pañcha-vāṭi-parimitām-
bhūmim Bāhita-sagōtrāy¹-āhit-agni-Sāmapālaka-
138 ramaṣṇe Vṛā(Bṛā)hmaṣya² tathā śrī-Purushōttamadevāsya pratishṭhā-samayā
Kāya(āya)pa-sagōtrāy-āchāryya-Chāndrakamaśarmmaṇe Vṛā(Bṛā)hmaṣya
139 chadvi-vāṭi-parimitām-bhūmim bhagavataḥ śrī-Purushōttamasya prīṭayā dhārā-pūrvvakam
-ā-chandr-ārkaṃ-upahhōgāy-ākṛitkṛitya
140 prādāt || ētē Kāya-śākḥ-ādhyāyinaḥ || Pu(Pū)rapagrāmē milītva ētāḥ pañcha-śeṣṭhi-
(ah)ir-vvātyaḥ || paśchim-ōttara-pūrva-pradēśēṣu pūrva-siddha-
141 grāma-stm-āvachohlinā(nā)ḥ | dakehiḥ yāvan-Nalitam || ōtan-madhye Pūtimāsha-gōtra-
śāsan-ādhiḥkṛi-Gaṇḍādhar-āryya³ bhū-vātyi(ty-ē)kā grāha-vāṭi
142 cha || tāmvra(mra)-śilpinō Mā(Ma)hānādasy-aitadām⁴ || śrī-Purushōttama-kshōtrē
dakehinatṛi(tī)rtharāja-tatē Karṇakṭak-āmāvāsyāyām sūryy-ōparāgē
143 tammim-Pūrapagrāmē Kātyāyana-gōtrāy-āchāryy-āgnichit-Kāyadīkarmmaṇe Vṛā(Bṛā)-
hmaṣya Yajurvved-āntarggata-Kāya-śākḥ-ādhyāyinaḥ nā-
144 nī-gōtra-Rugvēd-ād-ādhyāyī-pitṛika-Dhṛitkar-Ānanta-Vīvēśvara-Yajña-Siddhā-Saū-
kara-Mādhava-Prithi(thvī)dhara-sahitāya hiraṇyagarbha-mahādā-
145 n-āgatvēna pañcha-vāṭi-parimitām-bhūmim dhārā-pūrvvakam-ā-chandr-ārkaṃ-upahhō-
gāy-ākṛitkṛitya prādāt || tat-āchāryya⁵ tātō vātyaḥ || n-

Fifth Plate; Second Side

- 146 svijām(jām)dvā vātyaḥ | tathā Abhinava-Vārāṇasyām bhagavataḥ śrī-Purushōttama-
devāsya sannidhau Makar-āmāvāsyāyām Ravi-vārē Kuddindjā-vishayē Vilā-
147 mapuragrāmē dāna-sāgarē Vishṇudharm-ōktā(h*) yava-gōdhūm-ākṣu-santatām-ashta-
mān-ātirikta-(ekatu)r-vvāṭi-parimitām-bhūmim Bhāradvāja-sagōtrā-
148 ya Dēvadharmmaṇe Brāhmaṣya Yajñ-Sān-āntarggata-Kāya-Kaushuma-śākḥ-aika-
-śā-ādhyāyī(nā)ḥ bhagavataḥ śrī-Purushōttamasya prīṭayā
149 dhārā-pūrvvakam-ā-chandr-ārkaṃ-upahhōgāy-ākṛitkṛitya prādāt(dāt) || Mād-dāna-phala-
siddhy-arthan-tad-rakṣā-phala-siddhayaḥ || (na*)d-dharmmaḥ paripālyō-yam-bhūpait-
-ā-cha-
150 mīra-tārakam || [81*] Mā bhūd-a-phala-sāṅkā tē para-datt-ēd pāṭhiva | eva-dattād-
adhikam-puṇyam-para-datt-ānupālā(nē || 82 || Sva*)dattām-para-dattām-vā(ttām vā)
yātā(mā)d-rakṣa Yudhī-
151 shth(i)ra | mahīm-matimatām rēshṭha dānāt-srē(oh-chhēō)yō-nupālanam || [83*] Sva-
dattām-para-dattām-vā(ttām vā) yō harēta vasundha(rām) | sa viśvīḥyām kṛimī-
bhūtvā pītṛbhūḥ
152 saha paḥyutē || [84*] Nirjjalē pōintarē dēhā imhika-kōṭara-vāṇināḥ | kṛishṇa-sarpā hi pāya-
ntē yō haranti vasu(nḍharām) || [85*] Gām-ākām-avergam-ōkam-vā(kām vā)
[bhūmēr-a]-

¹ Read *agōtrāy*.

² H in Am in this case has the usual loop of a.

³ *Āchāryya* may have been intended.

⁴ The word *aitadā* from *śāda* is interesting. The passage no doubt means that, like the *śāda* *śādhī*, the copper-smith, who engraved the plates, also received two *vāṭi* or *śādhā* of land including one *śāḥ* of homeown land.

⁵ Read *gōtra-āgōtr-ādhyāyī-rivāg*.

- 153 py-arddham-aṅgulaṃ | haraṇ-narakam-āpnōti yāvnd-ābhūta-sa(m*)plavam || [86*] Śat-
ruṇ-āpi kṛtō dharmmaḥ pā[la]n[yō] manishibhiḥ | śatru-eva hi śatru(h*)syād-dharmmaḥ
- 154 śatru-nna kaśyachit || [87*] Mad-vaṃśajāḥ para-mahīpati-vaṃśajā vā pāpād-apāta-ma-
[naḥ] [bhuvī] bhāvi-bhūpāḥ | yō pālayanti mama
- 155 [dha]mmam-ida(ma)n samastan-tāhām-mayā virachitō-njalir-ēsha mūddhni(rddhni) ||
[88*] Tasy-ājñayā yathā-jñānaṃ Gaṅg-ānvaya-gaṇān-jitāt | pratāsti-ra-
- 156 [cha]nā-siḥkā(n*) Nappanaḥ¹ kṛtāvān-kṛtī || [89*]

No. 41—RUSSELLKONDA PLATES OF NETTABHANJA ; REGNAL YEAR 26

(1 Plate)

D. C. SINGAR, OOTACAMUNDI

About the beginning of May 1950, a copper-plate inscription was kindly sent to me for examination by Śrīyukta Chintāmaṇi Āchārya, M.A., LL.B., Vice-Chancellor of the Utkal University. The inscription was discovered at a place¹ near Russellkonda in the Ganjam District, Orissa, and reached the hands of Mr. Ananta Rath, B.A., Headmaster of the Russellkonda High School. Mr. Rath lost no time in presenting the record to the University which has recently made arrangements for collecting materials for the reconstruction of the early history of Orissa under the guidance of its learned Vice-Chancellor. I am extremely thankful to Śrīyukta Āchārya for his kindness in allowing me to publish the document. The Headmaster of the Russellkonda High School should also be congratulated for the interest he has taken in bringing the inscription to the notice of students interested in the past history of Orissa.

The set consists of **three plates**, rather thin, each measuring about 9·2" in length and about 3·4" in height. They are strung together on a copper ring about 3" in thickness and about 3·7" in diameter. The ring passes through a hole, nearly 5" in diameter, about the middle of the left end of the plates, leaving a margin of about 4". The two ends of the ring are secured in a small oval seal (about 1" in length) which is of copper. No trace of any emblem or legend can now be found on the surface of the seal. The plates are not in a very good state of preservation and show signs of corrosion and also of the peeling off of a layer of metal here and there. But fortunately the preservation of the writing is on the whole satisfactory. The inscription is written on both sides of all the three plates. All the inscribed faces of the plates are serially numbered in the left margin towards the top, although the figure 6 on the second side of the third plate cannot be seen clearly owing to the peeling off of the metal from the area in question. There are altogether 40 lines of writing. Both the sides of the first plate and the reverse of the second plate have each 6 lines engraved on them, while the first sides of the second and third plates have each 7 lines. The second side of the third plate has as many as 8 lines. The weight of the three plates is 55 tolas, while the ring together with the seal weighs 15 tolas.

The characters belong to the Kalinga script influenced by the northern alphabet. They may be compared with the script employed in the early charters of the Śaṅgodbhava and Bhanma-Kara dynasties, such as the Ganjam plates² (dated in the Gupta year 300-519 A. C.), the Naulpur plate³

¹ The name may also be read Nappana or Nappana.

² About the end of November 1936, I visited Russellkonda and learnt on enquiry that the plates had been received from Śrī Raghunātha Bāta of Bāpatamba about four miles from the town. They were possessed in Raghunātha's family as an heirloom for a long time.

³ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 143 f., with plates.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. XV, pp. 2-5, with plates.

of Subhākara I and the Dhanli cave inscription¹ of Śāntikara I (supposed to be dated in the Harsha year 93-699 A. C.). It is interesting to note that some characteristics of the alphabet of the inscription under review are found in the 8th century records of king Mōrvarman of Chamba.² The inscription may roughly be assigned to the eighth century A. C.³ The characters employed in the charter appear to be rather cursive and very often the same letter has been written in several varying forms. *Ṣ* is usually of the form found in the word *śaṣṭi* in line 1; but it is written differently in words like *śaṣṭi* (line 2) and has a third form in words like *nabhaś-śa*⁴ (line 3). In a few cases, *ṣ* is written exactly like *ṣ* (cf. the first *ṣ* in *śaṣṭa* in line 11). *Ṛ* is sometimes undistinguishable from *ṛ* (cf. *śiva*, *śaṣṭi* in line 2; *pravarapa* in line 6) and often from *n* (cf. *śaṣṭi* in line 3; *śaṣṭi* in line 4). *N* is again written in several forms (cf. *śaṣṭi* in line 4; *nabhaś* in line 3; *śaṣṭi* in line 7; *śaṣṭi* in line 14), and one of these is the same as that of *ṛ*. *Bh* is usually without the loop (cf. *prabhāṣaś-śaṣṭi* in line 9); but often it has a looped form resembling that of *n* (cf. *nabhaś* in line 3; *śaṣṭi* in line 7). Sometimes *t* has the same form as *g* (cf. *śaṣṭi* in line 9-10). *D* has usually a hanging tail; but in a few cases it is without that (cf. *śaṣṭi* in line 3). Medial *u* is usually a straight downward stroke below a consonant (cf. *śaṣṭi* in line 3; *śaṣṭi* in line 6; *śaṣṭi* in line 7), although sometimes it is a curve (cf. cases of *śaṣṭi*, etc.) or its end has a short upward curve towards the left. The forms of the medial vowels in *śaṣṭi* (line 11), *śaṣṭi* (line 8) and *śaṣṭi* (line 15) are interesting. Medial *ś* is in some cases indicated by slight prolongation of the top *śaṣṭi* towards the left and is almost undistinguishable (cf. *śaṣṭi* in lines 11, 12). Medial *ī* is usually short and does not very often come below the line of the top *śaṣṭi*. Only in a few cases it is found to be lengthened (cf. *śaṣṭi* in line 32). *R* is indicated by the sign for *ṛ*. The half *t* is used in a large number of cases (cf. lines 3-8, 15, 32, 33, 35, etc.). It is without the covering curve in lines 4, 16 and 39. Of initial vowels, the inscription employs *a* (lines 11, 12, 22, 23, 26), *ā* (lines 13, 24, 29, 37), *i* (lines 13-15, 37), *u* (line 40), *ū* (line 34) and *ē* (lines 21, 27). Of numerical figures, we have those from 1 to 6 used in numbering the inscribed faces of the plates. Some of them are also used in specifying the shares of the donkeys. It is interesting to note that the figures for 2 and 3 are written in the old fashion.⁵ The figures for 4 and 5 are also of the old type. Interpunctuation marks are indicated often by a slightly curved stroke. There is a similar mark at the end of some lines (cf. lines 6, 10, 13, 19, 20) apparently used as a hyphen is done in English and a *daṣṭa* in certain later inscriptions.⁶ The sign of the *anugraha* and that of a half *maṣṭa* appear to be wrongly employed in lines 11 and 21 respectively.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It has an introductory verse in adoration to the god Śiva and only three imprecatory verses about the end; the rest of the record is written in prose. Among the peculiarities of orthography, the negligence in observing the rules of *śaṣṭi* is often noticed. Wrong spelling in words like *Naghuṣa* (line 16) and wrong *śaṣṭi* in expressions like *śaṣṭi* (line 2) are also conspicuous.

The charter is dated in the 26th regnal year of the king who was responsible for its issue, without reference to any era or to astronomical details about the date. There is thus no clue to determine the year and the exact date of the grant. As already indicated above, palaeographical consideration would suggest a date about the 8th century A. C. or a little later.

The record belongs to the Śaiva king Nēṭṭabhanja of the Drumarājakula. It was issued from the victorious *śaṣṭi* of the king at Vārāṅgā and records the grant of the village of

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 324, with plate.

² Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part I, Plates XI-XII; Ojha, *The Palaeography of India* (in Hindi), 1918, p. 67, Plate XXII.

³ As the Kalinga script was an artificial alphabet, the date may also be slightly later.

⁴ Cf. *JASB*, 1896, Part I, Plates VIII and X, left margin.

⁵ Cf. the Madras Museum plates of the time of Narasimhaśaṣṭi (above pp. 44 ff.).

Chandūtunigam in the **Kāmvarāla** *vishaya* in favour of a number of Brāhmanas. The epigraphic text, as already indicated above, begins with a verse in adoration to the god Śaṅkara, i.e., Śiva. This is followed by a description of the *skandhādēra* situated at Vārādījā (lines 2-8). It is said to have been endowed with gardens, groves and bowers which were attached to certain temples. The expression *śaṅka-maṇḍapa* may also mean shades for the bull attached to the temples of Śiva.¹ The population of the locality is described as fully contented and the place as free from quarrels, thieves, famines and diseases. The place is further said to be beautified by trees grown in deep glens watered by many springs and producing flowers and fruits of various kinds in great abundance. This description of Vārādījā seems to suggest that it was not merely a camp but was actually the capital of Nēttabhaṅja whether permanent or temporary.² The description of the *skandhādēra* is followed by another of the king (lines 8-17) who is compared to the mighty epic kings like Ragu, Nahusha and Māndhātṛi but is not endowed with any specific royal epithet. The king is said to have been a *paramabrahmaṇya* (very friendly to Brāhmanas) and *paramamāhātmya* (devout worshipper of Māhātmya, i.e., Śiva). One of the interesting epithets of the king says that Nēttabhaṅja was born in the family of Drumarāja, while another seems to suggest that he was the inheritor of the fortune of ninety-nine past generations of kings. It seems that Drumarāja was the progenitor of the old royal family to which Nēttabhaṅja belonged. The king's order regarding the grant in question was issued to the royal officers, to the *adhikarāṇas* (administrative offices) of that time as well as of the future (lines 18-20) and to other dependants serving in the Kāmvarāla *vishaya*. The officials and subordinates included the *sāmānta*, *maḍḍāśvartā*, *rājā*, *rājasaṁ*, *rājaputṛa*, *antaranga*, *kumārāmdīpa*, *uparika* and *taḍḍipatrāḍi*. They were told (lines 21-22) that the king had granted the village of Chandūtunigam as a free gift and a revenue-free holding in favour of certain Brāhmanas belonging to the Kautika *gōtra* and the Vājasaneyā *charaṇa*. The names of the Brāhmanas and the shares of the holding allotted to each one of them were also specified in the following order (lines 23-27): Vāśudēvasvāmin 3 shares; Gōlāsavāmin 1, Ādityadēva 1, Yajñāsavāmin 1, Chharampasvāmin 1, Śivasvāmin 1, a second Chharampasvāmin 1, Gōpāndrasvāmin 3, Kayārasvāmin 3, Kārkāyāsvāmin 1, Bhōyasvāmin 1, Jayasvāmin 1, a second Jayasvāmin 1, and Ravichōpasvāmin 1. (Lines 28-32 suggest that the grant was actually made on behalf of the queens, Kshatridēvi and Kaivartadēvi, and the *rāja-putrī* (princess) Mūghavallidēvi for the easy access of the three ladies to heaven.³ The names of the two queens are interesting as they appear to refer to the particular communities to which they belonged. If the queens of Nēttabhaṅja belonged to the Kshatri and Kaivarta communities, we have here a glimpse of the working of the social order in ancient Orissa. After the usual entreaties to the future rulers for the preservation of the grant and imprecatory verses in lines 32-39, we have the date of the document in the 26th year of Nēttabhaṅja's reign (line 39). The charter ends with the name of the writer and that of the engraver of the plate. The writer was Vandya-Dēvabhadrā and the engraver Dhāva-bhāgīḍa. The correct interpretation of the designation *bhāgīḍa*, which occurs in a large number of inscriptions, is difficult; but the expression *Vandya* prefixed to the name of Dēvabhadrā reminds one of the Vandy-ōpādhyāyas who are a section of the Kulin class among the Rājāṅgī Brāhmanas of Bengal. Although the origin of the Kulinas such as the Vandy-ōpādhyāya and Chaṭṭ-ōpādhyāya is referred to a late date, we know that the name Bihach-Chaṭṭa is found in a Bengal inscription of the sixth century⁴ and have elsewhere⁵ suggested that the Brahmanical cognomen in question

¹ [The context does not justify such an inference. The expression *śaṅka-maṇḍapa-ōpādhyāya* simply means 'beautified by arbours and parks,' the word *śaṅka* meaning multitude.—Ed.]

² Cf. *Successors of the Sāmāntana*, pp. 47-48.

³ It is possible to think that the ladies were dead and the grant was made on the occasion of their *śrāddha* ceremony.

⁴ Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, p. 331.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 493-99.

may not be so late as is usually believed. It seems probable that the epithet *vandya* applied in our record to the writer Dēvabhadra is not entirely unconnected with the origin of the cognomen Vandy-ōpādhyāya which became regular among a class of Bengali Brāhmanas at a later date. The tradition that these cognomens are all derived from the names of certain villages appears to be doubtful.

It is difficult to connect Nēttabhāṇja who issued the charter under discussion with any of the four branches of the well-known Bhaṇja family of ancient Orissa, although in the family of the earlier Bhaṇjas of Khijālimanḍala we have actually a number of kings of the same name.¹ Our Nēttabhāṇja seems to be earlier than even the earliest known members of the different branches of the Bhaṇja family. The draft of the charter under review is again remarkably different from any known record of the Bhaṇja family. Unlike the Bhaṇja inscriptions, our record does not offer any story about the origin of the royal family, nor does it refer to the places known to have been the headquarters of particular branches of the Bhaṇja dynasty. On the other hand, it describes king Nēttabhāṇja as a scion of the family of Drumarāja and as representing the hundredth generation of an ancient royal family. It would thus appear that besides the king's name ending in the word *bhaṇja*, our record has little to connect king Nēttabhāṇja with the Bhaṇja family, several branches of which flourished at a later date in Orissa. It may, however, be pointed out that, although the meaning of the Prakritic name Nēttabhāṇja cannot be definitely determined, it was fairly popular in ancient Orissa as some of the Bhaṇja rulers are known to have assumed the same name. Whether the Bhaṇjas of Khijālimanḍala, among whom we find several Nēttabhāṇjas, claimed any sort of relation with the earlier king named Nēttabhāṇja who issued the Russellkonda plates can hardly be determined in the present state of our knowledge. The rise of Nēttabhāṇja of our record, whose dominions included parts of the Ganjam District, seems to have synchronised with the decline of the Śailodbhava dynasty of Kōṅḡḍa about the eastern part of the same district. It is possible to suggest that the family of Drumarāja originally enjoyed a feudatory status.

The palaeography and style of the record under review suggest that its issuer was no other than that of the Baudh plates edited rather carelessly in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XVII, pp. 104 ff. This charter was issued by king Nēttabhāṇja when he was staying at Navāṅgulakapāṭṭana (i.e., modern Angul) in the fifteenth year of his reign. The correct reading of the concluding part of the inscription (lines 53-55) is: *Sevayā nāṇā pradhān-ājñā kṛt-Nayāṇa prabhūtan(tam) ubhaya(n) Vādūrakana(n) ānāṇa tānu-paṭakam-āt* | (||) *Samvat 10 5 Kartti(kṛ)jyānti 10 3*. This identification would show that the dominions of Nēttabhāṇja included parts of the Cuttack-Dhenkanal areas in the north-east. It is interesting to note that, in the tenth century A.C., the earlier Bhaṇjas of Khijālimanḍala ruled over the same region between the Ganjam and Baudh-Konjhar areas of Orissa.

Vārāḍḍā, whence the charter under discussion was issued, seems to be the same as modern Bāraḍḍā or Bāruḍḍā seven miles from Russellkonda and two miles from Kulāgarh which was the capital of the Bhaṇja ruling family to which the post Upēndrabhaṇja belonged and is probably to be identified with Kolāḍa-kaṭaka capital of the later Bhaṇjas of Khijāl. I have not been able to identify the other geographical names mentioned in the inscription, viz., Chāṇḍūtonḡam and Kāmverāla.

TEXT²

[Metres : verse 1. *Pañcāsthaṇḍā* ; verses 2, 3. *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 4. *Pañcāsthaṇḍā*.]

¹ See Bhattacharya, *loc. cit.* p. 379.

² From the original plates kindly lent by Setyukā Chaitānārāṇa Achārya, Vice-Chancellor of the Utkal University, Cuttack.

First Plate ; First Side

1^a

- 1 Siddham¹ Svasti [|| *] Jātādharah khayḍa-śaśāṅka-śākharah kapāla-mālā(lah) sita-bhaṣma-
dhūzarah [|| *]
2 sphuraṇa-mahāpannaga-va(ba)ddha-kathkana(ṇa)ḥ sadā śivam-vō(vam vō) vidadhātā
Śaṅkarah [|| 1 *]² Dvirada-vara-
3 turaga-padāti-paḍ-ōḍḍhita-va(ba)hala-dhavaḷa-dhūlī-vitānākritam(ta)-nabhas-talāt
4 jāḷyalyamāna-vividha-ruchira-praharaṇa-āvaraṇāt dēv-ōḍyāna-va-
5 na-śhaṇḍa-maṇḍap-ōpaśōbhītāt³ hṛishṭa-tuṣṭa-pramudita-jana-kōlāhalāt
6 kali-kalaha-ḍimva(mba)-ḍaṇḍa(ha)ta-taṣkara-durhrikaha-rōg-āpagatāt prasravaṇa-⁴

First Plate ; Second Side

2^a

- 7 jala-gambhīra-kandar-śn[ta]ra-vini[h*]ṣita-vichittira-pushpa-phala-pādap-ōpētāt
8 śrīmad-Vārāḍḍā-vāsita-vijaya-akandhāvarāt kula-rūpa-śrīta-guṇa-vi-
9 stara-prabhāvaḥ sva-bhūja-va(ba)ḷa-parākrama-ākraṇṭa-sakal-ārāti-pakaha-vikahōbhāi-
10 t-āpratīhata-prabhāva-pramaraḥ Drumarāja-kula-sambhūtaḥ nava-navati-ṇa-⁵
11 ruṣ-āntara-prachūṛṇa⁶-rājya-santatīḥ pradāna-śūra⁷-anūka⁸ kṛta-sahasra-gō-vadali⁹-
12 dhana-pradāyī anūka-tānta-paṭṭak-kāṭika-dvija-kara-samarpita-bhuvana-talaḥ pa¹⁰

Second Plate ; First Side

3^a

- 13 para-lōka-saṁkrāṁita-dhana-[ni]ḥchayaḥ śākshā[d*]-dharma īva śāhārya īva śiḥya¹¹
14 kṛta-yuga īva vinaya īva pīt-śva cha anukampamāna[h*] prajānām-upakāra-pa-
15 vṛittah pūrṇa-śṇḍa-vat-saumya[h*] tējaśvi śarad-arka-vat śāgara īva gambhīra[h*] sthira-
dharmā
16 sumēru-vat Raghu-Naghu(hu)ṣha-Māndhātā(tri)-kalpaḥ parama-vra(bra)hmayya-parama-
17 māhāvarō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānandhyātah prakṣ-ābhidhānaḥ śrī-Nēṭṭabhaśjadōvaḥ
18 kuśali Kāmīvērāla-viśahayō śrī-sāmaṇta-mahāsa(sā)manta-rāja-rājanaka-rājaputtr-ānta-
19 raṇḍa-kumārāmāty-ōparika-tadāyuktaka-tva(va)rttamāna-bhaviṣyaḍ-adhikaraṇā¹²

¹ This figure indicates the number of the inscribed face and stands in the left margin slightly towards the left below the symbol for *siddham* in line 1.

² Expressed by symbol.

³ [The Chhoti Devri stone inscription of Śaṅkaragana likewise begins with this very verse, though the reading there is slightly faulty. Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 171.—E.L.]

⁴ [See foot-note 1 on p. 250, above.—E.L.]

⁵ There is a mark as that indicating stop at the end of the line. This was apparently used as a hyphen.

⁶ This number of the inscribed face stands in the left margin slightly towards the left below line 8.

⁷ The reading intended seems to be *gacchata*.

⁸ Read *śūro* = *śūra*.

⁹ The reading intended seems to be *śānta* or *śāntarā*.

¹⁰ This superfluous letter has a circular sign below it, which suggests that the engraver deleted it.

¹¹ This number of the inscribed face stands at the left margin slightly towards the left below line 13.

¹² There is a mark as that indicating stop at the end of the line. The reading intended seems to be *śiḥya* *iva*.

¹³ There is a mark as that indicating stop at the end of the line.

Second Plate; Second Side

4¹

- 20 u-anyāthā-cha rāja-pād-ōpa-jivikān-yathā-ātha[m*] satkritya samājñāpayati vidhi-
 21 tam-astu bhavatām(tām) ōtad-vishaya-samva(mba)dha(dāha)-Chandōtūnāgan-nāma-
 grāmah² chatuh-
 22 simā-parikshiptaḥ kar-ādāna-varjitaḥ sarv-ānvā(bā)dha-parihṛitaḥ akurikṛi-
 23 tyā ma(a)emābhīh Kauśika-gōttrāya Vājasanāya-charaṇāya Vāsudē-
 24 vāsuvāminē 3 Gōlasvāminē 1 Ādityadēva(vāya) 1 Yajñasvāmī(svāminā) 1 Chharampasvāmī-
 (svāminē) 1
 25 Śivas[v]āmī[nē*] 1 apara-Chharampasvāmī[nē*]³ 1 Gōpēndrasvāmī[nē*] 2 Kayāmasvāmī[nē*] 2

Third Plate; First Side

5¹

- 26 Kārāyāpasvāmī[nē*] 1 Bhō(?)yisvāmī[nē*] 1 Jayasvāmī[nē*] 1 aparaḥ(ra)-Jayasvā-
 27 mī[nē*] 1 Raviobhāpasvāmī[nē*] 1 ōbhyaḥ dvij-ōtām-ōbhyaḥ nānā-gōttra-charaṇ-ōbhyaḥ
 28 salila-dhārā-purasārṇa vīdhinā | rājñi Kshattrīdēvi Kaivartīdēvi
 29 rāja-putrī(tīrī) Mēghavālidēvi ābhyaḥ nripatī-lavdha(budha)-prasād-ānu-
 30 jñābhyaḥ dēvyah⁴ parāḍka-gamana-pāthāya-eva⁵-svarga-gamana-sōpāna-
 31 māl-ōdhiगतयē pratipāditaḥ [[*] tad-bhavaḥ(bhū) tāsām-akṣayaāya(yai) purī-ābhi-
 32 vīddhi(dhayaḥ) tāmra-pattaka-darśanāt yathā-kāla-phala[m*] svākrity-ōpaḥ(pa)-⁶

Third Plate; Second Side

[6]¹

- 33 bh[u]jñānābhyaḥ nripa-gauravāt dharm-ānurōdhā[eb]= cha chāndr²-śrīka-kshiti-
 34 samakālamh(ladī) na kaischid-vighātāḥ karaṇya[h] | ū(u)ktam cha dharmō(rma)-dāstrō [[*] Mā
 bhū-
 35 d-a-phala-sāṅkā vaḥ para-datt-ōti pāthivāḥ [[*] sva-dānāt phalam-ānantyam pa-
 36 ra-datt-ānupālānē [[2*] Shashtim-va(shtim va)raha-saha³ sahasrāgi sva[r]igē mōdati bhū-
 37 mīdalā [[*] ākshēptā [ch-ā*]mumantā cha tāny-ōva narakā vasēt [[3*] Iti kamala-dā-ā-
 38 mva(mba)-vinda(nēu)-lōlānī śrīyam-anuchintya manushya-jīvitam cha [[*] sakalam-idam-u-
 [dā*]hṛitam cha va(tm)-
 39 dhvā(dāhvā) na hi puruṣaḥ para-kṛtayo vilōpyā[h*] || [4*] Sarivat shaṭ(ḍ)-vīmāatimē
 rājyē likhita[m]
 40 Vandya-Dēva(bha)drāṇa⁴ [[*] Utkṛita⁵ D-āra-bhōgikēna[[*]

¹ This number of the inscribed face stands in the left margin slightly towards the left below line 20.

² What looks like a half visarga sign is found after ma.

³ This name is again written below the line.

⁴ This number of the inscribed face stands in the left margin slightly towards the left above line 21.

⁵ The reading intended seems to be *jākkhē dēvībhyaḥ or better ānām nripatī-lavdha-prasād-ānujñānā
 dēvībhyaḥ(rājya-pūrvāḥ cha?).

⁶ Pāthivya-va seems to have been used in the sense of 'money required for provisions for a journey'.

⁷ There is a mark at the end of the line.

⁸ This figure is faintly visible in the left margin near the beginning of line 34.

⁹ Chāndr was originally engraved.

¹⁰ These two akṣaras are superfluous.

¹¹ Śka is written below the line. There is a space left between the reference to the writer and that to the engraver.

¹² Read sikhṛon.

No. 42—JABALPUR PLATES OF MAHARAJA HASTIN; G. E. 170

(I Plate)

RAJ BALI PANDEY, BAWARIS

The two copper plates, bearing a royal charter which is being published here, were found in a village between Rawa and Satna in the Vindhya Pradesh by a worker in R. M. S. and were handed over to Muni Kantisagar Ji, a distinguished Jain scholar who mostly resides at Jabalpur and is interested in archaeology. Their present whereabouts are not known. He took photographs of the plates and sent one set of them to Dr. A. S. Altekar,¹ who kindly forwarded it to me for editing and publishing the charter in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The copper plates, as already pointed out, are two in number and are inscribed on one side only. They measure 6" in length and 4½" in breadth. They weigh 1½ seers each. The edges are thicker than the main sheets on which the charter is inscribed. This device was made in order to protect the letters from the rubbing of plates. But this circumstance could not prevent at least some letters from being damaged, specially on the second plate. There is a hole in the middle of the upper side of both the plates, which obviously suggests that the plates were fastened together by a ring which passed through the hole and the ends of which were joined together by a seal bearing the emblem of the grantor. The ring and the seal have, however, not been recovered. But one can see at the bottom of the second plate that there is an imprint of an oval seal bearing the legend *Srihastirājaka*. No other published charter of Hastin bears a seal imprinted at this place. The present seal like the other seals of this ruler is oval in shape but its legend is rather short. On other seals the legend runs, *Srimahārājahastina*.

The language of the charter is Sanskrit. There are some mistakes due to the scribe, e.g., *kul-śpandanā* for *kul-śpandanā* (line 3), *kū-śāntarāshu* for *kū-śāntarāshu* (line 17), and *anuvāda* for *anuvāda* (line 22).² The inscription is written in prose except the verses at the end quoted from the *Mahābhārata* (lines 19-22).

The characters belong to the eastern variety of the Gupta script and they differ from the nail-headed letters found in the Majhagan plates of Hastin.³ There are only a few orthographical peculiarities to be noted. *Phālguna* is split, as in many other early inscriptions, with *ga* (line 2). The *anusvara* in *Paścāmyān* is retained and not converted into *m*, though it is followed by a vowel *a* (line 3). The *anusvara* in *ayān* is converted into *n* before *i* (line 3). *N* is used instead of *anusvara* in the word *vanā* (line 5). A consonant following *r* is doubled as in *pūrvaṃyān* (line 3).

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village with all its assets and its boundaries properly demarcated, to a number of Brāhmana grantees by Mahārāja Hastin in the year seventy increased by hundred (170) on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Phālguna.

After the syllable *am*, the charter opens with a salutation to Mahādēva, indicating the Śaivite faith of the Parivrajaka family of kings. The year seventy increased by hundred is referred to the Gupta Era as clearly suggested by the expression *Gupta-krīpa-rājyabāhuta*. The year fell within the Mahājyēṣṭha savantara of the twelve year cycle of Jupiter, which lasted from G. E. 166 to

¹ [The Muni sent one set of the photographs also to me in July 1949. Subsequently, he published a description of it in the Hindi monthly *Jānōdava*, Kān., for November 1951, pp. 357-395, along with a tentative transcript of the inscription and a note by me.—Ed.]

² [See below p. 266, n 1.—Ed.]

³ *Plat.*, C. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 104 ff.

G. E. 178. The other known dates of Hastin range from the G. E. 156 to the G. E. 198.¹ The present inscription supplies only an intermediary date (the year 170 G. E.) during the rule of Hastin.

The genealogy² of the Parivrājaka kings as given in this inscription can be constructed as follows :

- (1) *Mahārāja Dēvādhyā* (c. G.E. 96-116).
- (2) *Mahārāja Prabhāñjana* (c. G.E. 116-136).
- (3) *Mahārāja Dāmōdara* (c. G.E. 136-156).
- (4) *Mahārāja Hastin* (G.E. 156-198).

The first known date of Hastin is G.E. 156. He ruled for an unusually long time, and, therefore, the same number of reign years cannot be assigned to his predecessors. We may, however, tentatively assign to them twenty years each. Thus for *Mahārāja Dāmōdara* we get c. G.E. 136—156, for *Mahārāja Prabhāñjana* c. G.E. 116—136 and for *Mahārāja Dēvādhyā* c. G.E. 96—116. In this way, the foundation of the dynasty can be traced back to c. G.E. 96—115 A.C., that is, the beginning of the reign of the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I, who ascended the throne in about 413 A.C. The fourth king of the Parivrājaka dynasty started his reign in c. 475 A.C., when the Gupta empire was suffering from internal chaos and the threat of a foreign invasion, and he continued to rule at least up to c. 517 A.C. He saw the eclipse of the Gupta empire in Madhya Bharat by the Hūnas in c. 500 A.C. and its liberation by Bhānugupta Bālāditya in 510 A.C.³ As indicated by the political titles of the Parivrājaka kings, *Mahārāja*, it is evident that they were feudatory chiefs owing allegiance to the Gupta emperors. Except Hastin no other member of the dynasty is credited in the inscription with any military achievements. Hastin is hailed as 'the victor in hundreds of battles' (*saika-samara-tani-vijayī*) (line 6). Perhaps he took an active part on the side of the Gupta emperor in the war of liberation against the Hūnas.

The list of the Brāhmana grantees is a long one and consists of the following persons : Kōdravaśarman, Nāgaśarman, Mātridatta, Gaṅgābhadravāmin, Dhanaḍatta, Kapilavāmin, Agniśarman, Viśvudōva, Viśākhadōva, Gandasvāmin, Paritōṣaśarman, Kṛishṇasvāmin, Dēvaśarman, [Rō]haśarman, Dēvaśarman, Dēvādhyadattaśarman, Manōratha, Agnidatta, Rudradatta, Viśākhadatta, Viśvāsvāmin, Viśvudōva (III), Svātignāga and three more whose names are not legible in the inscription. The name of the village granted is also not legible. Its assets were as given below : *ghōṣa* (rattle-pound), *udyāna* (garden), *madhūka* (mahu trees), *pulli* (hamlets), *vithāka* (roads). The following taxes accrued to it : *udvāga* (land-tax) and *aparikara* (additional taxes); it was immune from police and military interference (*a-chā(a-bhā(a)-prāvēḍya*). The boundaries of the village are fully demarcated. The village was given away according to the rules and rites of an *agrahāra* by *Mahārāja Hastin* for the attainment of religious merits.

The charter was drafted by Sūryyadatta, who was the minister in charge of peace and war (foreign minister). Sūryyadatta was a son of *Bhōgika* (provincial governor) Ravidatta, a grandson of *Bhōgika* (provincial governor) Naradatta and a great-grandson of a *Amātya* Vakra. Sūryyadatta was the writer also of some other grants of *Mahārāja Hastin*. He drafted the Khoh inscription of Hastin, dated G.E. 156, but there he was not yet a minister in charge of peace and war. In the G.E. 163 he drafted another Khoh inscription of Hastin. In G.E. 163 he was already promoted to the post of a *Mahāsambhōgika* (foreign minister). It appears that in the G.E. 191 either Sūryyadatta was dead or he was not in charge of drafting the charters, as the Majhagawan charter of Hastin was drafted by his son Vibhudatta, who was yet a *Sambhōgika*. The *Dātaka* or the representative of the king at the time of drafting the charter was Nāgasishha.

¹ Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III; above, Vol. XXI, pp. 124 ff.

² It is already known from other inscriptions of Hastin.

³ Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 22 ff.

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 ॐ नमो महादेवाय । स्वस्ति सप्तत्युत्तरेब्दशतैक(के) गुप्तनृप-
- 2 राज्यभुवतो महाज्येष्ठसाम्ब(संब)त्सरे फाल्गुण(न)मासशुक्लपक्ष-
- पञ्चम्यां
- 3 अस्यान्दिवसपूर्वायां नृपतिपरिदाजककुलोप(त्य)त्वेन महाराजदेवाढ्यप्रण-
- 4 प्ता(प्रा) महाराजप्रभञ्जननप्त्रा श्रीमहाराजवामोदरसुतेन गोसहस्रह-
- 5 स्त्यश्वहिरण्यानेकभूमिप्रदेन गुरुपितृमातृपूजातत्तरेणात्यन्तदेवप्रा-
- 6 ह्माणभक्तेन नैकसमरशतविजयिना स्ववन्शा(वंशा)मोदकरेण श्रीमहाराज-
- 7 हस्तिनां स्वपुण्याध्यायनार्थं ब्राह्मणकोट्रवशम्मं-नागशम्मं-मातृदत्त-
- 8 गङ्गाभद्रस्वामि-वनदत्त-कपिलस्वामि-अग्निशम्मं-विष्णुदेव-विशाखदेव-
- 9 गन्दस्वामि-नरितोषशम्मं-कृष्णस्वामि-देवशम्मं-[रो]हृशम्मं-देवशम्मं-
- 10 देवाढ्यदत्तशम्मं-मनोरथ-अग्निदत्त . . . ती . . . शम्मं-रुद्रदत्त-विशाखदत्त
- 11 . . . भौनविष्णुस्वामिपुनरपि विष्णुदेव-स्वातिगङ्गवोपा(पो)द्यानमधूक-
- 12 गवा भगवक सपत्निक चो(वी)षिकापत्निकसमते(समेत)ताय-
- हारोत्सुष्टः सोद-
- 13 ङ्गः सोपरिकरः अचाटभटप्रावेद्यो चो[रवज्जं] समधूकः

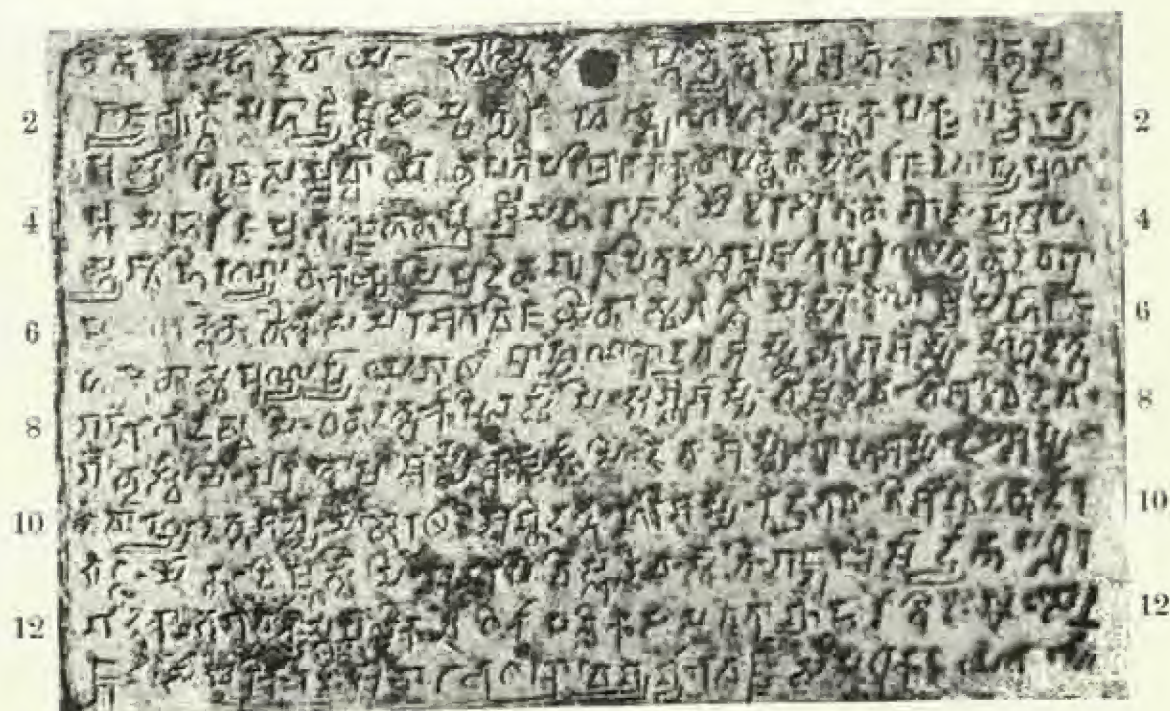
Second Plate

- 14 पश्चिमदक्षिणेन मधूकवर्तिकासिंहानकः उत्तरेण शाल्मकी मान
- 15 पूर्व्वेण वटाबाहिकाः किन्नाटदेहिको च दक्षिणपूर्व्वेण आश्रगतमधूकग-
- 16 त्तिका संगममित्येवं न केनचिदस्मत्कुलोत्पन्नेन मत्पादपिण्डोपजीविना च
- 17 को(का)लो(ला)न्तरेष्वपि व्याघातो न^१ कार्यः एवमाज्ञप्ते सौन्यथा
- कुर्यात् तमहं दे-
- 18 हान्तरगतोपि महत्तावदधानेन निर्दहेयं । उक्तं च भगवता परमर्षिणा वेद-
- 19 व्यासेन व्यासेन [1^२] पूर्व्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नादक्ष युधिष्ठिर [1^३] महिम्महिमवां

¹ [The reading of lines 12 and 13 seem to be as follows : 12 गतिकाभगवद्विष्णु(एषु)पत्निकागोपिका-पत्निक(का)समवेता(सौ) बहारीत्सुष्टः सोद- 13 ङ्गः सोपरिकरः अचाटभटप्रावेद्योचो[रवज्जं] समधूकः गवायाटा [:]—Ed.]

² This na is superfluous.

First Plate



Second Plate



- 20 श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छेयोन(न)पालनं(नम्) ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः समरा-
दिभिः [1*] य-
- 21 स्व यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा कलं (तम्) ॥ पारकोटयन्ति पितरः
प्रवर्गं(स्य)-
- 22 न्ति पितामहाः [1*] भूमिदाता कुले जातः सबस्रात(सर्वस्नात)ः¹
भविष्यति(ती)ति ॥ लिखितं
- 23 वक्त्रामात्यप्रणय्या भोगिकनरदत्तनय्या भोगिकरविदत्तपुत्रेण
- 24 महासान्धिविग्रहिकसूर्य्यदत्तेन [1*] दूतको नागसिंहः

Seal²

श्रीहस्तिराजः(जस्य)

No. 43—TWO TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS FROM PUNGANUR

(I Plate)

V. VENKATASUBBA AIYAR, MADRAS

The subjoined inscriptions A³ and B⁴ are found on both sides of two slabs found near the deserted Śiva temple at Puṅganūr in the North Arcot District of the Madras State. Though the temple is now deserted without worship, its construction consisting of the central shrine with a *mahāmūlakaṣṭha* is intact containing inscriptions of Rājaraṇja 1⁵ and Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III⁶ indicating the patronage it received under the Chōḷa monarchs. An inscription⁷ of Nripatuṅga-Vikrama-varman in the village indicates that the locality, prior to the Chōḷas, was under the rule of the Pallavas.

Both the inscriptions, A and B, are in a fair state of preservation, though the slab containing B is broken into two pieces.

The language of these records is Tamil prose which does not call for any special remark. Minor peculiarities in the script and language are noticed in foot-notes under the texts.

These epigraphs are important because (1) they are dated in Śaka years without mentioning any overlord of the region ; (2) they throw fresh light on the chronology of the rule of Pārthivēndra-varman which has not yet been satisfactorily settled, and (3) one of them, i.e., inscription B, mentions a chief of the Līḷa family which wielded considerable influence in the region roughly comprising the present North Arcot District in the 9th and 10th centuries A. C.

¹ [The reading is as *śaśvāṇa*(शश्व).—Ed.]

² This is upside down.

³ No. 13 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1940-41.

⁴ No. 14 " " " " for 1940-41.

⁵ Nos. 8, 9 and 11 " " " " for 1940-41.

⁶ No. 7 " " " " for 1940-41.

⁷ No. 12 " " " " for 1940-41.

Inscription A is dated Śaka year 888-988-67 A. C. and it states that *Iśvarapiṅchayan*, a member of (the trading corporation called) *Tigai-yāyirat-taiñṇagru-nagar* redeemed the lake at Puṅganūr by payment of gold to the *Gravur* of the village.

Inscription B dated in Śaka year 9 (sic.) records that *Āṇaiyamman*, son of *Īṇḍarāyan Tattalan* assigned (the taxes) *kāṇṇalakkāṇam* (marriage fee), *ūṇṇapalikkūḍi* and *puḍū-nāḷi* derived from the village (for the upkeep) of the tank called 'Paramaṇḍalāditta-pēreri' which he had constructed at Puṅganūr.

It will be evident at the outset that both A and B refer to the same lake at Puṅganūr which was constructed by *Āṇaiyamman* and called 'Paramaṇḍalāditta-pēreri', evidently after his surname. Since A is definitely dated in Śaka 888 and as there is no difference in the palaeography of these records, we may surmise that the Śaka year 9 quoted in B is an engraver's mistake for Śaka 889, in preference to a possible reference to the 9th regnal year of an unspecified king. If this supposition is correct, it may be maintained that in Śaka 888, this lake, which was originally dug by *Āṇaiyamman*, but which in the meanwhile was under encumbrances, was redeemed by *Iśvarapiṅchayan* and that in the next year, the founder *Āṇaiyamman* himself retrieved the situation by endowing certain specified taxes for its upkeep.

As no overlord is mentioned in these records it would appear that no one was acknowledged as such in the region about this time. Inscriptions not mentioning any king are found in the North Arcot District, dated in Śaka 810,¹ 820,² 832,³ 85*,⁴ 871,⁵ 875,⁶ 878,⁷ 880,⁸ 885,⁹ 891,¹⁰ and 892,¹¹ i.e., from 888 to 970 A. C. This period was one of transition as it saw the end of Pallava rule, the intrusion and the temporary occupation of the region by *Bāṣṭrakūṭja Kṛiṣṇa III* before the final conquest and consolidation of the *Chōja* power, replacing the Pallava domination. Time was therefore opportune for local chiefs like the *Ṭaiṇḍas* to assert their power. In inscription B, *Āṇaiyamman* is introduced without mentioning any overlord, but at *Tirumālparam* in the same North Arcot District, this chief figures as a subordinate in the 12th and 13th years of the reign of *Pārthivēndravarmān*.¹²

The period of rule of *Pārthivēndravarmān* is not yet definitely settled, but the highest regnal year so far found for him in inscriptions is 13. On the basis of the similarity of titles such as *Parakṣasri-varman* and *Vira-Pṛṣṭhyag-talai-kōṇḍa*, etc., which both this ruler and the *Chōja* king *Āditya II* bore, he has been taken to be a contemporary of and even identical with the latter. But the late Mr. H. Krishna Sastriyar doubted if *Āditya II* and *Pārthivēndravarmān* could be assigned to the same period, as records of neither of them supply names which give a clue to their contemporaneity.¹³

¹ The words *Śakara-gaṇḍa* would make it clear that the regnal year of any particular king was not intended.

² *J. L. I.*, Vol. III, p. 35.

³ Nos. 203, 211, 212 and 228 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1922.

⁴ No. 108 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1921.

⁵ No. 131 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1921.

⁶ Above, Vol. VII, p. 394.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

⁸ No. 473 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1923.

⁹ No. 469 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1923.

¹⁰ No. 470 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1923.

¹¹ Nos. 96 and 100 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1941-42.

¹² No. 240 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909.

¹³ Nos. 323 and 307 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1906. The regnal year 3 (No. 267 of 1906) seems to be a mistake for 13 in the Annual Report.

¹⁴ Madras Epigraphical Reports for 1910, pt. II, para 17.

Since Āyaiyamman figures in B of Śaka year [88]9 (967 A.C.) which does not mention the ruling king and also in records of the 12th and 13th regnal years of Pārthivēndravarmān, we have to take these regnal years as falling either before or after 967 A.C., and very probably after, because as stated above, there are inscriptions in this region dated in Śaka 875, 878, 880 and 885. Further, Vira-Pāṇḍya whose head is claimed to have been taken by Pārthivēndravarmān and Āḍitya II, ruled from 946-47 A.C.¹ to 957, A.C. corresponding to his latest known regnal year 15+5th year.² Vira-Pāṇḍya, therefore, must have been alive till 956-57 A.C. I have elsewhere³ shown that the 2nd regnal year of Āḍitya II with whom Pārthivēndravarmān has been sought to be identified must be placed after 959 A.C. from an examination of two records in one⁴ of which *Irūṅḷakkōṇ* alias *Pugaḷvipparagaṇḍan* figures in the Kali year 4060, i.e., 959 A.C. without mentioning any overlord, and in the other,⁵ dated in the 2nd regnal year of Parakāśarīvarman 'who took the head of Vira-Pāṇḍya,' i.e., Āḍitya II. It will thus be seen that the accession date 956 A.C. given to Āḍitya II in *The Colas*⁶ has to be modified and that the theory of the contemporaneity of Pārthivēndravarmān with Āḍitya II, which was doubted, gains in strength.

The family to which Āyaiyamman mentioned above belonged is called Ilāḷa⁷ and Virāṭa in inscriptions. Members of this family describe themselves as of the Solar race and claim descent from Sagara Virāṭa. In the 9th and 10th centuries A.C. we find this family wielding power in the region roughly comprising the present North Arcot District, having marriage alliances with the local chiefs of Paṇḍula-nāḍu, the Bāṇas or Vāpakōvaraiyars and the Chōḷa sovereigns. I have made an attempt to trace the history of this family in a paper entitled 'the Lāḷa Chiefs of the Tamil Country' published in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*,⁸ Seventh Session, Madras.

The genealogy of Āyaiyamman is given as follows in an inscription from Tirumālpuram,⁹ North Arcot District.

Guparatnasindhu of the Solar race (and) of the family of Sagara Virāṭa.

↓
Aṇigōpa

↓
Kampadigal

↓
Taṭṭājar

↓
Āyaiyamman Paramaḍalādittan Virūtarājan

Āyaiyamman was a feudatory of Pārthivēndravarmān. He is said to have built of stone the central shrine of the Śiva temple at Śrīmālper and the enclosing *maṇḍapa*,¹⁰ as also another *maṇḍapa* in the Viṣṇu temple of the village.¹¹ Further, he made a gift of land for providing water

¹ Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 37-8.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Vide* my paper on 'the Lāḷas of the Tamil Country' published in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Seventh Session, p. 210.

⁴ No. 249 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 375-6.

⁶ Vol. I, p. 180.

⁷ This has no connection with the country Lāḷa through which Mahāstra is supposed to have travelled (*J. A. S. B.* New Series, Vol. IV (1908), pp. 285-88 and *J. A. H. R. S.* Vol. II, p. 91) or Bāḷa, i.e., West Bengal.

⁸ Pp. 303 ff.

⁹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy, Madras, for 1907*, para. 65.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ No. 323 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1906.

during summer and firewood during winter in the *maṇḍapa* at Gōvindaṛāḍi,¹ besides making provision for feeding 15 Brāhmanas daily. The three taxes specified in B were evidently his levy, as the chief of the region, the proceeds of which he made over for the upkeep of the tank constructed by him and called after his surname Paramaṇḍalādittan.²

As stated in inscription A, Iṣvaraṇḍichōṇṇa belonged to *Tigai* or *Tilai-gīyirai-taiṇṇāṇṇu-ṇaṇṇe*, a trading corporation of South India whose activities extended even beyond the borders of India. An inscription in Tamil dated in Śaka 1010-1088 A.C. at Lobos Toewa, Baros, Sumatra,³ mentions this body which is also known as *Nāṇḍāḍi*,⁴ *Paḍinay-cikāyattār* or *Paḍinay-ḷḷāṇṇ*,⁵ *Tilai-gīyirai-taiṇṇāṇṇu-ṇaṇṇe*. In an inscription⁶ from Vinñāchipuram, North Arcot District, members of this body are mentioned as "merchants of the 18 countries trading in the four directions." The present inscription is one of the few early records mentioning this body.

From its appellation, this organisation may be taken as one containing 1,500⁷ or 500 members, but an inscription from Kalasapākkam⁸ (North Arcot District) favours the latter interpretation. This inscription records an endowment of land by the *Nāṇḍāḍi* for feeding people during the annual festival of the local temple in the *maṇḍapas* called *Nāṇḍāḍi-ḷḷāḷ* and *ḷiṇṇāṇṇu-ṇaṇṇalain*. Generally in lithic records, this organisation is introduced with an elaborate string of *birudai* and its members enjoyed a considerable measure of autonomy, owing no exclusive political allegiance to any king in particular.

Of the taxes specified in B, the meaning of *Paḍā-nāḷi*⁹ is not clear. It also occurs in the form *Paḍā-nāḷi*¹⁰ and *Paḍāḷi*.¹¹ *Paḍā* means a door and the term may be interpreted to mean a levy of 1 *nāḷi* on each house. *Urpoḍin-kāḷi*¹² may be taken as a levy of 10 *kāḷi* of grain due to *Ur*, i.e., assembly or village. *Kappāḷakkāṇam* is a fee of one *kāṇam* (of gold) received on every marriage occasion.¹³

The territorial division, *Paḍavūr-kōṭṭam*, comprised portions of the modern *taluka* of Arkonam, Walajapet, Vellore and Gudiyattam of the North Arcot District.

A. TEXT

Front Side

1 Śākarai¹⁴ai yāṇṇu¹⁵88-

2 8-ṭṭāṇḍu Paḍavūr-kō-

3 ṭṭattu Puṇṇaṇṇu¹⁶

¹ *Ibid.*

² Nos. 267 and 323 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1906.

³ Above, Vol. IV, p. 293; *Annual Report on Epigraphy, Madras, 1892*, para. 11.

⁴ No. 82 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907.

⁵ Nos. 193 and 402 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1939-40. People of the 18-countries and *Nāṇḍāḍi* are mentioned in No. 387 of 1936.

⁶ No. 195 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1939-40.

⁷ A body called *Ayṇṇṇṇu-ṇaṇṇu* is noticed in a record of *Māraḷaḷaṇṇu* from Tirupattūr in the Ramnad District (Nos. 136 and 138 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1908).

⁸ No. 291 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1939.

⁹ It is also mentioned in the Larger Laiden Grant (above, Vol. XXII, p. 234).

¹⁰ *Tappanōṭṭam Plates*, *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 321, text l. 32.

¹¹ *Vāḷṇṇāḷaṇṇu plates*, *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, 300, text l. 32.

¹² Cf. *Ur-ḷaḷaṇṇu-ḷiḷi* and *Ur-ḷaḷaṇṇu* in No. 113 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1896 (*S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 970, text-line 42).

¹³ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 263.

¹⁴ The letter *ṣ* is engraved in Grantha.

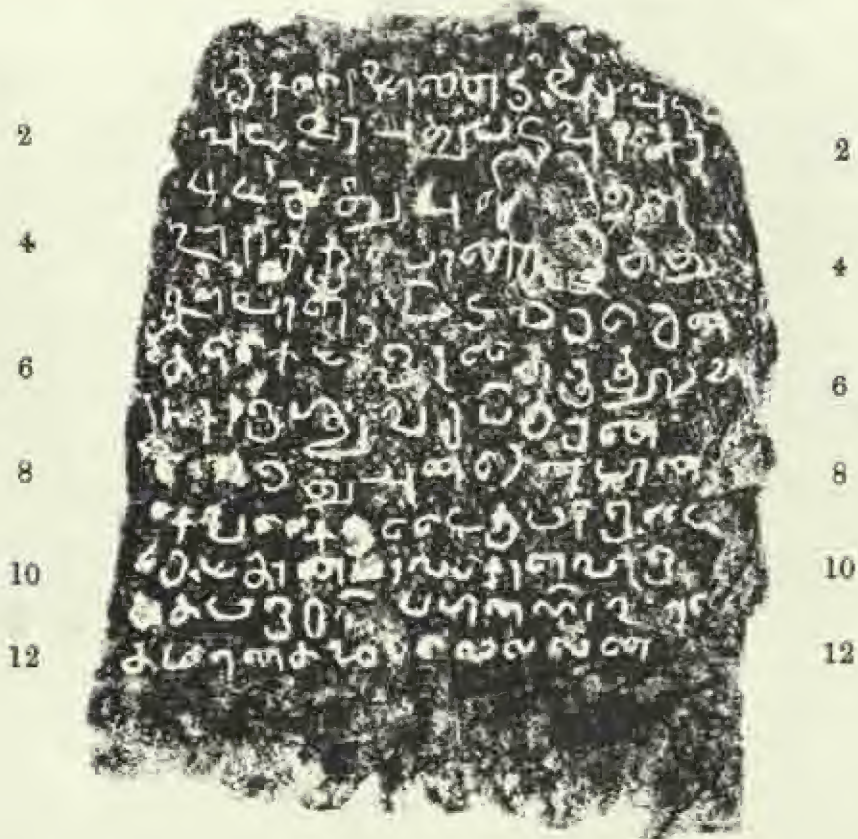
¹⁵ The letter *r* is engraved with a circle at the top.

¹⁶ The sign for hundred after the first figure 8 is peculiar.

TWO TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS FROM PUNGANUR

A

Front Side



Back Side



Front Side



Back Side



- 4 ūṛṅku Poṅ ku[du]ṭṭu
- 5 Ū[ra*]var ā[ri] viḍuvichchēṅ
- 6 Tigai-yāi(yi)ra [t*]taiññūṛṛ'n-
- 7 nagara I'sva(va)ra'pichchan
- 8 . . 'idū aṇṇēnbāṅ
- 9 Gaṅḡai-idai Kumari-idai
- 10 ēydaṅ pāva[ā*] ko/vā [n*] i-
- 11 tta[n*]mam ira'[ksh]ippāṅ sri(āri)pā-¹
- 12 dam en talai mēlla(la)ṇa [l*]

Back Side

- 13 ittaṇma[m*] [idai]
- 14 vilāṅgi aṇṇāi-
- 15 kōvukku nīadāṁ k[ā*]l
- 16 poṅ daṇḍipada o-
- 17 [ti] kuḷuttōm [Pa] n-
- 18 [ga]ṇṇūṛ Ūrōm (Ūrōm) ira-
- 19 [ksh]ippār āpādāṁ en talai
- 20 [mē]l-āṇa [l*]

B. TEXT

Front Side

- 1 [Sva*]ṇi kēi [□] Śakara yā-
- 2 [c]ḷḷu 9 t-āraṇḍi Ilā-
- 3 ḍarāyaṅ Tattālai ma-
- 4 gaṅ Aṇalyammapē-
- 5 n Puṅṇaṇṇūṛ nāṅ ka-
- 6 ḍa Paramaṅḍalā[ḍittap*]-
- 7 pēṛērikkū ivvūṛ ku-
- 8 ṇālakkaṇamum Ūrppa-
- 9 dīṇkāḍiyum pīlānāiyum

Back Side

- 10 ivvūṛ-Paramaṅḍalā]-
- 11 [ḍittap] pēṛērikkū nī. ²
- 12 aṇṇāṅgaḥ-che [ydeṅ Ilā]-
- 13 ḍarāyaṅ Aṇalyamina-
- 14 poṅ [l*] id-ālippār [Gaḍ]-

¹ The letter ā is written abnormally.² Read *Ilāra*.³ The letter r is engraved in Grantha.⁴ Two letters are crossed here. Probably the letters nā were originally engraved.⁵ The letters ra and rēpa are in Grantha.⁶ The slab is broken here.⁷ The slab is so split into two that the beginnings of lines 6 and 7 are on the top piece, while the ends of those lines are on the lower piece.⁸ This portion may be filled up with the letters pā da.

- 15 gai-yidai-kumari-yidai
 16 [a] yidai-śeyda pāvat-
 17 tir paḍuvār i-dhanmam' rakahi-
 18 ipār-aḍi yēṇ nūḍi mēlaṇa [1*]

TRANSLATION

A

(In the) Śaka year 883, Iśvarapichchan (a member of the trading corporation) Tigai-yāyira- [1*]taiññūrru-nagar, released the tank of the *Grant* (by) giving gold to the assembly (*Ur*) of Punganūr in Paḍuvār-kōṭṭam. He who says 'nay' to this shall incur the sins committed (by the sinners) between the Gaṅgai and Kumari. The sacred feet of him who protects this charity shall be on my head.

If this charity be violated, the *Grant* of Punganūr agree to be liable for a penalty of a quarter pay daily to the reigning king. The sacred feet of those (who) protect (this charity) shall be on my head.

B

(In the) Śaka year 9, I, Apaiyammaṇ, son of Nāḍarāyan Tattāḷan, made a gift of (the taxes) Kaṇṇālak-kāpam, Uṇṇadī-kāḍi (and) Pida-nāli (derived from) this village (i.e., Punganūr) to Paramaṇḍalādittap-pērēri (which) I constructed at Punganūr.

(I), Nāḍarāyan Apaiyammaṇ (assigned this) gift to Paramaṇḍalādittap-pērēri (of this) village. Those (who) destroy this (charity) shall incur the sins committed by the sinners between the Gaṅgai and Kumari. The feet of (those who) protect this charity shall be on my head.

No. 44—TWO GRANTS OF BHANJA KINGS OF VANJULVAKA

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND, AND P. ACHARYA, BHUBANESWAR

More than five years ago, two sets of copper-plate inscriptions were secured by Dr. Rādhā Charaṇa Paṇḍā, a medical practitioner of Bāṇagāon on the Bengal-Nāgpur Railway in the Puri District of Orissa. Ultimately the inscriptions found their way to the Orissa Museum, Bhubaneswar, where they are now lying. On examination it was found that both the charters belong to the Bhaṇja rulers of Vanjūlvaka, a hitherto unidentified city in the present Ganjam region. One of the grants was issued by Śilābhāṇja II who was so long known only from the records of his descendants, while the other was issued by king Nēṭṭabhaṇja Tribhuvanakalāśa who is as yet unknown from any other sources. No information was supplied to us in regard to the findspot of the records and the story of their discovery.

A.—Plates of Śilābhāṇja Tribhuvanakalāśa

The inscription is written on a set of three copper plates. The outer sides of the first and third plates are blank. The plates measure each 6.6 inches by 2.9 inches. The central plate has

* The letters *dhanma* are engraved in Grantha.

* Engraved in Grantha.

slightly raised rims and is a little thicker than the other two. The plates are not in a very satisfactory state of preservation. Small bits have broken away from the first and third plates together with a few letters at the end of the last line on Plate I and at the beginning of the last line on Plate III. The plates are strung together on a copper ring about 2.11 inches in diameter and .25 inch in thickness. The hole in the plates for the ring to pass through was apparently made after the plates had been engraved, as a few letters are found partially cut off by it. A circular brass seal (1.25 inches in diameter) is soldered on the joint of the ring. The upper part of the surface of the seal is occupied by the figure of a lion depicted as moving towards the left but having its face turned to the front. Its tail is curled above its back. As is well known, this was the emblem of the Bhaṇjas of Khūṇḍjalimaṇḍala ruling first from Dhritipura and then from Vanjulvaka. Below the lion emblem is the legend in two lines: (1) *Śrī-Siṁhābhaya*, (2) *Ājādevasya*. The subscript of *ya* has been so lengthened towards the left that the second line of the legend looks like having two straight limbs below it. The three plates together weigh 50 *śukla*, while the weight of the ring with the seal is $8\frac{1}{2}$ *śukla*.

The characters employed in the inscription belong to the East Indian variety of the Northern Alphabet of about the tenth century A. C. and closely resemble those found in the records of the Bhaṇjas of Khūṇḍjalimaṇḍala, issued from Dhritipura and Vanjulvaka, and other Orissan inscriptions of about the same period. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, although there are many errors of both language and orthography. In these respects, also, the record under discussion resembles many other inscriptions of about the same age found in Orissa. The palaeography and orthography of our inscription do not thus call for any special mention.

The charter is dated in the first regnal year of king Śilābhāṇjadēva who issued it. As will be shown below, this king flourished about the end of the tenth century A.C. The grant has therefore to be assigned to a date in the above period.

The charter begins as usual with the symbol for *aiddham* and the word *evasti*, which are followed by the well-known verses, *Jayati kusumadhīpa*, etc., and *Śaśādhara*, etc., found in all the Bhaṇja records issued from the city of Vanjulvaka. A short prose passage following the second verse actually says that the grant under discussion was issued from the victorious Vanjulvaka. Then follows another well-known verse, *Asi jaya-śrī-nilayaḥ*, etc., which is found, with slight variations, in most of the Vanjulvaka records to introduce the reigning Bhaṇja king under one of his secondary names. The secondary or coronation name of the donor of the grant, disclosed by the verse under notice, is Tribhuvanakalāśa which was so long unknown from the epigraphic records of the family. Lines 8-10 mention the king, who was in good health, as the *Parameśvārāra* (devout worshipper of Mahāśvara or Śiva) Śilābhāṇjadēva, described as the son of Diśābhāṇjadēva and grandson of Rapabhaṇjadēva who was an ornament of the Bhaṇja family. Lines 10-14 say how the king addressed the *nāga*, *rājanaka*, *rājaputra*, *vishayapati*, *dāndapātika* and other officers that were or might in future be put in charge of administration in the *Salvaḍa* *vishaya* as well as the village-folk of the district headed by the Brāhmaṇas and Karakas. The mention of the Karakas together with the Brāhmaṇas at the head of the local population is very interesting as it speaks not only of their crystallization into a caste group, but also of their social position.¹ After declaring, in the style of the records of the Bhaṇjas of this particular branch, the all-round prosperity of the king to the addressees, the charter goes on to inform them (lines 14-22) that the village of *Dōḷadḍa* in the above *vishaya*

¹ Cf. *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. X, pp. 280-84. The Karakas appear to have been originally an East Indian tribe. They gradually merged themselves in the community of scribe-accountants possibly for their predilection for the profession in question.

(district) was granted as a permanent revenue-free holding in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Lumvā-dēva who belonged to the Kaundinya gōtra and the Kaundinya, Vāsiśṭha and Maitrāvaruṇa pravara as well as to the Vājasaneyya charaṇa and the Kāpva śākhā (of the Yajurveda). The donee was the son of the agnihōtrīn Agudēva and grandson of the agnihōtrīn Gōlasvāmin. The grant was made by the king for the increase of merit to his parents and himself. It was free from all obstacles and was endowed with the privilege indicated by a-chāṣa-bhaṣa-pravēśa.

The grant proper is followed in lines 22-25 by a verse containing the donor's request to his own descendants and others, who might be in charge of the district in future, for the protection of his donation. Then follow some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas (lines 25-33) introduced by the passage *uktāṁ cha dharmā-līlāṁ*. The last three lines of the document (lines 33-35) give the names of the persons responsible for the preparation of the document and the execution of the grant. It is said that the order (for the issue of the charter) emanated from the king himself. The *dātaka* or executor of the grant was Bhajja Stambhadēva who is already known from the records of Nēṭṭabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalāśa I and Vidyādharaḥhaṇja Amōghakalāśa belonging to the same branch of the Bhaṇja family.¹ The writer of the document was the *Sandhivigraha* (minister for war and peace) Māṇju, while the engraver of the plates was the *akṣatāṭika* (the same as Telugu *agaṣṭi* meaning 'a goldsmith') Durgadēva. The same goldsmith is already known to have engraved some other charters² of the family issued by Nēṭṭabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalāśa I, Vidyādharaḥhaṇja Amōghakalāśa and Nēṭṭabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalāśa II. The document was *lācchhita*, i.e., registered with a seal, by Dēvarājā. The date of the record, viz. year 1 of the issuer's reign, comes at the end.

Śilābhaṇja Tribhuvanakalāśa, who issued the present charter belonged to the royal family known as the Bhaṇjas of Khinjalimaṇḍala owing to the claim of the earlier members of the family to have been rulers of Khinjalimaṇḍala or of Ubhaya-Khinjalimaṇḍala (i.e., both of the two Khinjalimaṇḍalas). As there was another later Bhaṇja line ruling from Kōlāśa and claiming to have ruled over Khinjali, they are more particularly called the earlier Bhaṇjes of Khinjalimaṇḍala. The charters of Bāpaka Śatrubhaṇja Gandhaṭa (son of Śilābhaṇja I Āṅgaddi, the progenitor of the line) and of his son Rāṇaka or Mahārāja Rapaḥhaṇja were issued from Dhritipura. Most of these records have come from the old Sonpur, Bandh and Daspalla States of Orissa.³ The town of Gandhatapāṭi, named after Śatrubhaṇja Gandhaṭa, is the modern Gandharāṭhi in the old Bandh State. The family was Vaishṇava down to the earlier years of the reign of Rapaḥhaṇja who became a Śaiva in the later years of his reign. Rapaḥhaṇja's descendants, however, are known to have issued their grants from Vaṅjūlvaka and the records have come from the Ganjam area (including the old Nayagarh State).⁴ It is clear that after Rapaḥhaṇja the Bhaṇjas of Khinjalimaṇḍala were driven from the region of Bandh and its neighbourhood by some undetermined circumstances to the Ganjam District. So long we knew of the following descendants of Rapaḥhaṇja to have issued charters from Vaṅjūlvaka in the Ganjam area: (1) *Paramamāhēśvara Rājan* Nēṭṭabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalāśa, son of Rapaḥhaṇja; (2) *Paramamāhēśvara Mahārāja* Vidyādharaḥhaṇja Amōghakalāśa son of Śilābhaṇja (II), grandson of Digbhaṇja and great-grandson of Rapaḥhaṇja, and (3) *Paramacāṭhapa* Mahārāja Nēṭṭabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalāśa II, son of Vidyādharaḥhaṇja Amōghakalāśa.

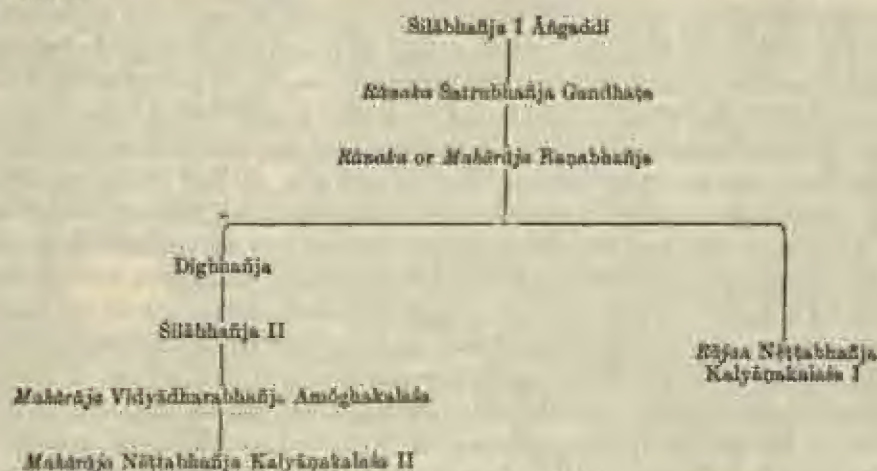
¹ Cf. Bhattachar, *Loc. cit.* Nos. 1497, 1500, 1501.

² Cf. *Ibid.*, Nos. 1497, 1498, 1499, 1502. Read *Durgadēva* in place of *Dogadēva* in No. 1502. See also *J.K.H.R.S.*, Vol. I, pp. 288 ff.; above, Vol. XXIV, p. 178.

³ Bhattachar, *op. cit.*, Nos. 1400-96, 2035.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 1497-1502; above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 174 ff.; *J.K.H.R.S.*, Vol. I, pp. 288 ff.

Bhandarkar thus rightly drew up the following genealogy of the earlier Bhañjas of Kñiñjalimaṇḍala¹:



The inscription under review was issued by Śilābhañja Tribhuvanakalāsa, son of Diśābhañja and grandson of Rāgabhañja. There is no doubt that he is to be identified with Śilābhañja II of the above list. The present charter is thus the only record of the king so far discovered. An interesting fact known from our record is that Rāgabhañja's son, Digbhañja, was also called Diśābhañja which is apparently a variant of the same name. Whether, however, he was an elder or a younger brother of Nēṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalāsa and whether he actually ruled or not are facts that cannot be satisfactorily determined in the present state of our knowledge. The name Diśābhañja endowed with the title *Mahārāja* occurs in an inscription (painted on a rock) recently discovered at Siṭabhinjī in the old Keonjhar State.² It is possible that this Diśābhañja is identical with Digbhañja-Diśābhañja of the Kñiñjalimaṇḍala branch of the Bhañja family. If this suggestion is to be accepted, we have possibly to assume that Digbhañja-Diśābhañja actually ruled either before or after his brother Nēṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalāsa. The discovery of his inscription in the old Keonjhar State may suggest that he ruled before the family was driven to the Ganjam region, that is to say, before Nēṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalāsa. It may also lend some colour to the suggestion of those scholars who believe that the modern name *Keonjhar* is a corruption of the old *Kñiñjuli*.³

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 379. Another recent attempt to determine the genealogy of this family is that of Krishnamachari (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 17) whose views, however, are absolutely unwarranted.

² A photograph of this small record was shown to us by Mr. K. C. Panigrahi, Curator of the Orissa Museum, Bhubaneswar, at Nagpur where we assembled to attend the Indian History Congress in December 1930. The characters of the inscription belong to the Kaṭapī script which is known from a number of copper-plate grants coming from the Ganjam area and assignable to dates between the eighth and eleventh centuries. See Bühler, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, Appendix, pp. 66-70; cf. Table VII, Column XIX, Table VIII, Columns X-XII; Ojha, *Prākṛita-lipi-mālā*, 1918, pp. 92 ff., Plates LVII-LXIX. The inscription has been recently published with a Plate in *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 191 ff. Its ascription to the fourth century A.C. (*ibid.*, p. 192; cf. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XIII, p. 69), on supposed palaeographical grounds, is entirely inadmissible. Other records of the same place, published with the above with inaccurate transcripts and assigned to the sixth century, are also not earlier than the tenth century.

³ It appears that Kñiñjalī was originally the name of a tract covering parts of the Bhañh, Sonpur, Daupalla and Keonjhar regions, where these Bhañjas at first ruled, but that the name was applied to their new kingdom in the Ganjam area after the loss of their territories in Upper Orissa. Whether the Ganjam region formed a part of the dominions of the earlier rulers of the family and was one of the two Kñiñjalis mentioned in some records cannot be satisfactorily determined in the present state of our knowledge. This is however not altogether impossible in view of the fact that these Bhañjas may have claimed descent from Nēṭṭabhañja of the Ruseṭikunda plates edited above, pp. 358 ff.

As to the chronology of these rulers, we have elsewhere seen that Ragabhañja ruled about the middle or the third quarter of the tenth century, since he was a contemporary of the father and grandfather of the Kadamba chief Dharmakheji who is known from his records dated in the Śaka year 917 (995 A.C.) and the Gaṅga year 520 (1016-18 A.C.). It should also be noticed that the town of Gandhatapāṭi, founded by Śatrubhañja Gandhaṭa, was apparently the headquarters of the Gandhatapāṭi *maṇḍala*, in which a village granted by the Sōmavarāṇśī king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I (circa 970-1000 A.C.)¹ was situated.² This fact not only suggests that Śatrubhañja Gandhaṭa flourished sometime before the end of the tenth century but also that it was the Sōmavarāṇśīs (probably Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I himself) who drove out the Bhañjas from Upper Orissa to the Ganjam region. Another inscription of the same Sōmavarāṇśī king records a grant made in favour of an inhabitant of Śilābhañjapāṭi in the *Ōḍra deśa*³, which seems to have been a town built by and named after Śilābhañja I Āṅguddi. These facts are valuable for the chronology of both the Sōmavarāṇśīs and the early Bhañjas of Khijjalimaṇḍala. Since Bhaṭṭa Stambhadēva and Akhaśāhika Durgadēva served no less than three of Ragabhañja's descendants, viz. (1) Nēttabhañja Kalyāṇakalāśa I, son of Ragabhañja, (2) Śilābhañja II Tribhuvanakalāśa, grandson of Ragabhañja, and (3) Vidyādharaḥhañja Amoghakalāśa, great-grandson of Ragabhañja, while the goldsmith further served Nēttabhañja Kalyāṇakalāśa II, son of Vidyādharaḥhañja, it seems that all the above rulers had short reigns. At least Digbhañja-Diśabhañja and his son Śilābhañja II Tribhuvanakalāśa, whose reigns are characterised by a paucity of records, appear to have had very short reigns. It is thus possible to assign the reign of Śilābhañja II Tribhuvanakalāśa, who issued the charter under discussion, to a period about the close of the tenth century A.C.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the record, Vañjulvaka, which was the capital of the later members of the royal family in question and apparently lay somewhere in the Ganjam region, has not been satisfactorily identified. We have not succeeded in identifying the village of Deñlaḍḍa and the district of Śalvaḍa either.

TEXT*

[Metre :—verse 1 *Mālinī*; verse 2 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; verse 3 *Āryā*; verse 4 *Vasantatīlākā*; verses 5-8 *Anuakṛtubh*; verse 9 *Pushpāṅgā*.]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham||¹ Svasti ||² Jayati-Kumunava(bō)ṇa-prāṇa-vikalāśbha-dakhaṇa-ava-kiraṇa-pari-
- 2 vāśhō(sh-au)[r]jitya-jitṛa-ṇdu-lōkhaṇi(kham) tribhuvana-bhavan-āntar-dyōta-bhāvat-
- 3 kasha-gauram³ vibhru-nātraṇ Haraṇya ||1*⁴ Śāk-āhēr-iva y[ā] phāṇā pravila(sa*)jaty-ud-
- 4 bhāsva-ṇdu-
- 5 tvishab||⁵ prō[ī]yāchala-srīṇa-k[ā]ṭṭaya-iva-tvaṅganti yō-tyunnatāḥ | nṛit-āṭṭō(ō)-
- 6 pa-vigha[ṭṭi]ṭā-iva bhujā rājanti yō āmhbhavā-tē sarva-āgha-vighātinaḥ
- 7 sura-sarit-tōy-ōmmayāḥ pā[ntu] vāḥ || 2*⁶ vijaya-Vañjulvakāt[]⁷ Aśi-jaya-ā-

¹ *Proc. I.H.C., Cuttack*, 1949, pp. 127-29.

² *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXII, p. 307.

³ Above, Vol. XI, p. 56 where the name has been read as *Gauḍa*.

⁴ Above, Vol. III, p. 333.

⁵ From the original plates.

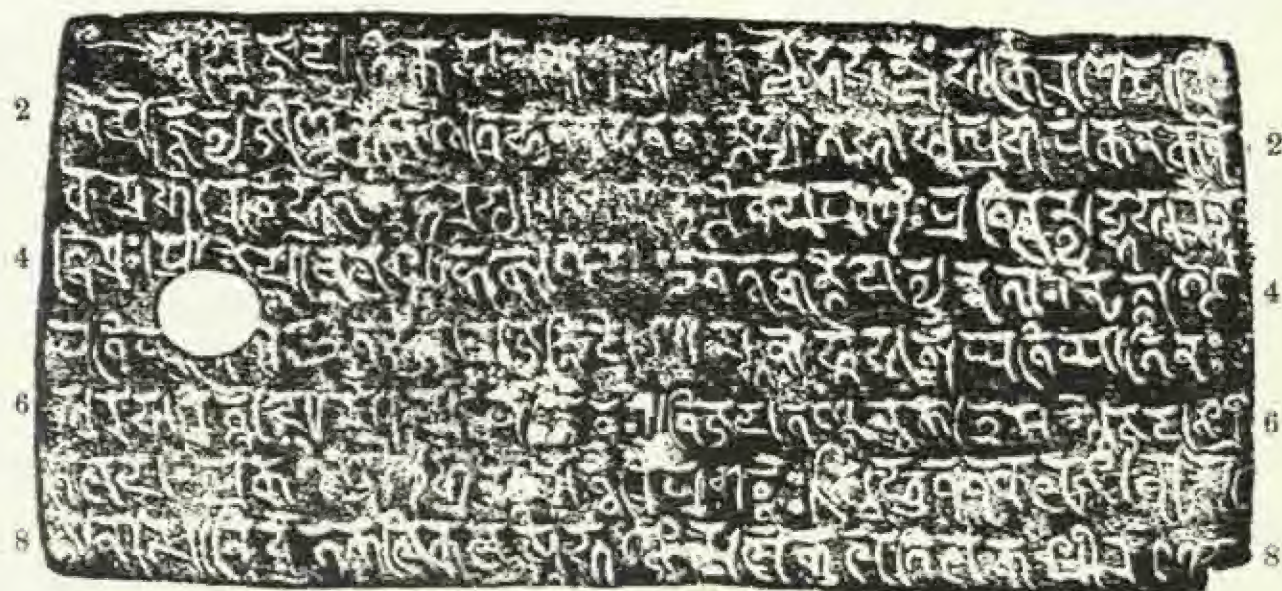
⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ In the *opus context*, we have *āntar* in other inscriptions.

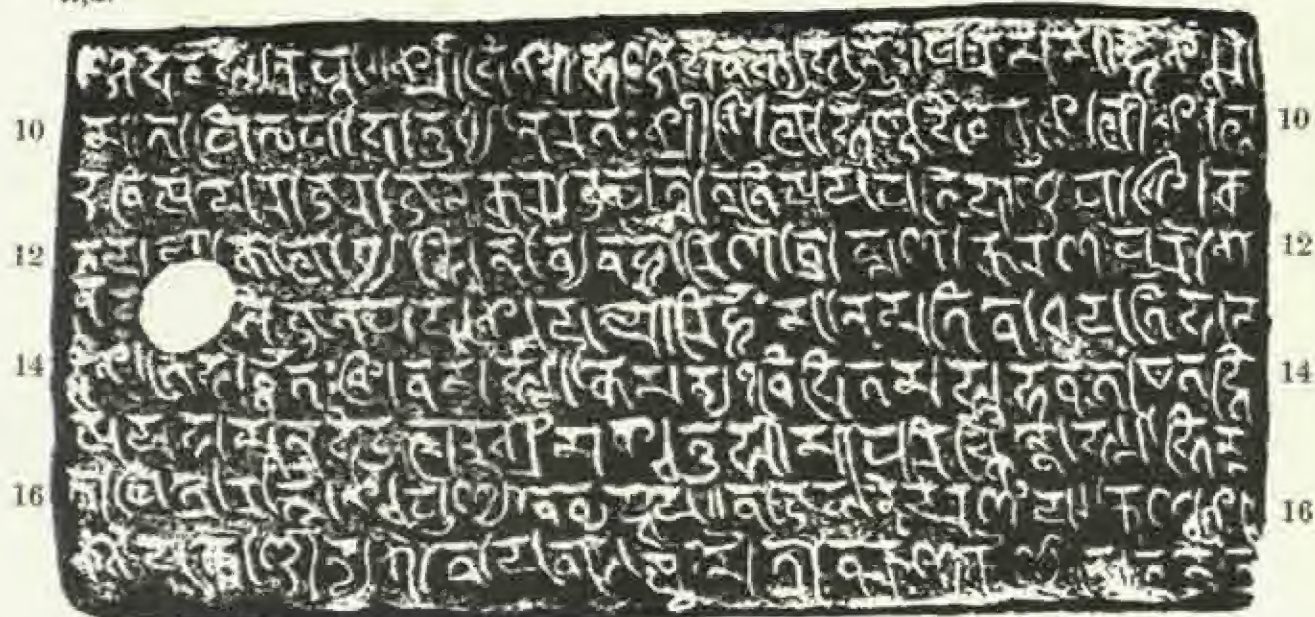
⁸ The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

TWO GRANTS OF BHANJA KINGS OF VANJULVAKA
A—PLATES OF SILABHANJA TRIBHUVANAKALASA

i.



ii, a.



- 7 nilayaḥ prakṣaṭa-g[ū]ṇa-gra[sta]-sarvva-ṛipu-garvvaḥ [| Stri(Tri)]bhuvana¹kalaśa-nāmā
8 jñānā² nirvô(rdhū)ta-kali-kalusha[h(3*)] Bhañj-āmalā-kula-tāla-śrī-Bhaṇa[bha]-

Second Plate : First Side

- 9 Ńjadēvasya naptā [| * śrī-Diābhañjadēvasya su(sū)nuḥ | * parama-māhēsva[ḥ]
10 mātā-pitri-pād-ānudhyāna-rataḥ śrī-Śilābhañjadēva[h(*)] kuśali-śalva-
11 ḍa-vishvayā rāja-rājanaka-rājaputrāt(trān) vishvayaputī-dāyāpāṣāik[ā]-
12 n ya[thā]-kāl-ādhyāsinō vyavahāriṇō Vra(Brā)hmanā(na)-Karapa-purōgā[n*]
13 n[ī]vāsī-jaṇapadātās-cha yathāriham³ mānayati vō(bō)dhayati. sa[mā]-
14 dīśati sarvvaṭaḥ śivam-samākam-anyaṭ viditam-astu bhavātām(tām) | śrad-vi-
15 shaya-samvandha⁴-Dāulad[agrū]māś-chaṭa[h*]-āimā-parichchhinnō-amāhī(r-mmā)-
16 tā-pitrōr-ātma[na*]-ś-cha jany-āva(bhi)vyiddhayaḥ [| Vājasinō[ya*]-charapāya [| Kā(Kā)-
gva-śā-
17 khāya Kauṇḍī(nḍi)nya-gōtrāya Vasiṣṭha-Maitravarapa-K[au]ṇḍī(nḍi)nyat⁵ Mai(trā)-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 18 Vasiṣṭhat pravara Maitravarapat anupravara [| Gōlasva(svā)mi-⁶agnī(gni)-
19 hōtri [| aya⁷ naptā(patrē) Agudēva-⁸agnī(gni)hōtrīsiya(nah) s[ū]ta⁹ Bhaṭṭa-Lumvādēva¹⁰ sa-
20 lila-dhārā-[pu]raḥsarēṇa vidhinā pratipādītō-amāhīh[ā] a[ś]-chand[ra] ā-
21 rka-tārā yāvat a-chaṭa-bhaṭa-prav[ā]ṇa sarvva-vā(bā)dhō-parihārō-ā-karatvō-
22 na bhūñjadbhir-dīharmma-gauravāt na kōmachid-vyāghātaniyam(yam) | | Asmat-kula-
23 krama[m-u]dāram-udāharadbhir-anyaś-cha dānam-idam-ādhyanumōdanī(nī)-
24 yam(yam) [|] lakahmyās-taḍit-salila-vu(bu)ḍva(dhu)ḍa-chaḍchalāyā dānam phalāṁ para-
yaka[n*]-
25 patipālanaś-cha [| (*)]uktāś-cha dharmma-śāstrē [| (*)] Va(Ba)hubhir-vyasaṇdhā dattā rājābhi-
[h*]
26 Sagar-ādibhi[ḥ] (bhiḥ) [|] [ya]ya yaaya yadā bhū(bhū)miś-taya taya tadā phala[m](lām) [ḥ]

¹ Read *Śrī-Trishanusa* for the sake of the metre. (Even this would not help. Better read *Trishanusa-kalasa-nāmā*.—Ed.)

² Read *śāśā*.

³ The *śāśā* are superfluous.

⁴ The *śāśā* is unnecessary.

⁵ Read *patā-dhāś*.

⁶ Read *ambidhā*.

⁷ The *śāśā* are superfluous.

⁸ The medial *sa* to *śāśā* is imperfectly formed, as of the three (left, right and top) members of the sign, only the top member has been summed.

⁹ Read either *Kauṇḍīnya-Vasiṣṭha-Maitravarapa-janyatvā* or *Vasiṣṭha-pravara-Maitravarapa-anupravara*. The occasional use of *t* at the end of the names is apparently owing to the alternate style of citing the *pravara*, e.g., *Kauṇḍīni-Vasiṣṭha-Vasiṣṭha*.

¹⁰ The rules of *śāśā* have not been observed here.

¹¹ Read *śāśāśāśā*. The *śāśā* are superfluous.

¹² Read *śāśāśā*.

¹³ Read *śāśāśā*.

Third Plate

- 27 Mā bhūd-a-phala-sāṅkī vaḥ para-datt-ōti-pārthivāḥ[*] sva-dānāt-phalam=ā-
 28 nantyaṁ para-datt-ānupālanaḥ(nā)[6*] Sva-dattām para-dattām-vā(ttām vā) yō harēta
 vaundharāḥ(rām |)
 29 sa viśh(hāyāṁ kṛimīr-[bhū]tvā pītṛbhīḥ saha pachyatē[7*] Shashṭhi(ṣṭi)-varaha-saha(srā)-
 30 nī sva(rgē) mōdeti lūn(bhū)madah | ākshāptā ch=ānumantā cha sa sva narakath vra-
 31 jōti[8*] Iti kaṣṭhala-dal-āmva(mba)-vīṇdu-lōlām śriyam=annachintya ma-
 32 nashya-ja(ji)vitaṁ=cha[*] sakalam=idam=udāhṛitaṁ=cha vu(ba)dhvā nahi puruṣaḥm-
 (ahaiḥ) para-
 33 kīrtayō vīlōpyā[9*] svayam=ādishṭō rājā(jā |) vu(dā)takō=tra śri-Bhaṭṭa-Stambhād-
 34 va[10*] likhitaṁ=cha sandhivigrahaḥ(ā) Māṇḍu(nā*) utki(tki)ṛggaḥ=cha akṣhaḥlīkēna
 Durg(g)a-
 35 [dāvēna][lāñchhitam Dēvarājēna][*] Samva 1[11*]

B.—Plates of *Nettabhaṅga Tribhuvanakalāṭa*

The inscription is written on a set of three copper plates (each measuring 6.85 inches by 4 inches), strung together on a copper ring 2.75 inches in diameter and .3 inch in thickness. The first and third plates have writing only on the inner sides, while the second plate is inscribed on both the sides. The writing is in a fairly good state of preservation, although a small bit has broken away from the last plate together with a few letters at the beginning of the last line of the inscription. The circular bronze seal soldered on the joint of the ring is 1.6 inches in diameter. The seal closely resembles that attached to the grant of Śīlābhāṅga II Tribhuvanakalāṭa edited above (A) and the upper part of its surface bears the figure of a lion depicted as moving towards the left with its face turned towards the front and its tail curled above its back. Below the lion is the legend in two lines: (1) *Śrī-Nettabha*, (2) *Ājadēśya*. The weight of the three plates together is 112½ tolas and that of the ring with the seal is 34 tolas.

The characters of the inscription resemble those employed in the charter A, although they have to be assigned to a slightly later date. On the grounds of palaeography, supported by the internal evidence of the inscription, the charter under discussion may be assigned roughly to a date in the eleventh century A.D. The language of the record is Sanskrit and there are numerous errors of language and orthography, the latter exhibiting considerable influence of the local pronunciation. The charter is dated in the 13th regnal year of its issuer and not in the year of any era.

The style of the record is similar generally to that of the other grants of the Khinjalmapāḍala branch of the Bhāṅga family and particularly to that of the charter A above. The inscription begins with the symbol for *siddham* which is followed by the verse, *Jayati kusumabōpa**, etc., and *Śākhāḥ-iva*, etc. The word *seanti* is, however, put after the above verse and before the short prose passage speaking of the victorious *Vaṅgulvaka* as the place whence the charter was issued. Next follows the stanza, *Asi*, etc., which differs in form only slightly from the third verse in the record A. But it is interesting to note that the secondary or coronation name of the issuer of the grant introduced in this verse is also Tribhuvanakalāṭa as in the other epigraph. The following passage in prose (lines 9 ff.) says how the *Paramarājādēva* (devout worshipper of Viṣṇu) *Rājaka Netta-bhāṅgadēva* of the Bhāṅga family, who was the son of Rāyabhaṅgadēva and grandson of Prithvi-

* The figure is engraved below the akṣhaṭṭa as in the lower part of the akṣhaṭṭa in the previous line occupied the space in front of *seanti*. Read *Saṁvāt 1*.

bhañjadēya, addressed the village folk of the Nānākhañja¹ *vishaya* (district) including the *sāmantas* (subordinate rulers) and *bhōgins* (*jāgirdārs*) together with their *barāyas* (i.e. *ādīkaraṇas* or officers)². In the style of the charters of the branch of the Bhañja family in question, the king first informed the addressees of his all-round prosperity and next of the grant of *Sēdāgrāma* in the above district together with another locality called *Rāigrāma*, made by him in favour of a Brāhmana named **Bhaṭṭa Dāuli**. The donee was the son of Bhaṭṭa Siḍḍa and grandson of Bhaṭṭa Balubhadra. He belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* having the *Āngirasa pravara* and the *Rāhaspatya anupravara* and was a student of the *Chhandōga śhrutya* and *Kaṭhuna śāśā* (of the *Sāmaveda*). He is described as a resident of *Kōlakhaḷi*, although the original home of his family is given as *Vātala-viḷḷima*. Lines 18-20 say that the above gift was made a permanent revenue-free holding by means of the copper-plate charter. Some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses are then quoted in lines 24-33. In this connection, the well-known verse, *Sarvān-śāśa-bhārināḥ pāṭhi-mēndolā*, etc., is quoted with the substitution of the donor's name, *Nēṭṭabhañja*, in place of the usual *Rāmabhaṭṭa* and a prose passage introducing the stanza says that the grant was made on Monday when the *tithi* was the *śukla-śrāvastī* and the *mukshata* *Rēvati*. As all the *śrāvastī* (the twelfth *thithi* of either half of the lunar month) are associated with the god Viṣṇu³, the *śāśa-dēvatā* of the donor, it is difficult to determine, in the absence of any indication regarding the month and the fortnight, the particular *śrāvastī* referred to in the passage. The details are thus insufficient to calculate the exact date of the grant. Of the following two verses quoted in lines 36-39, the one beginning with *amān-śāśā kṣaya-kṣhīṇā* is found in numerous other Orissan records. The concluding lines (lines 40-42) give the names of the persons associated with the grant: The charter was registered with a seal (*lāṅchhita*) by *Jivalōka-mahādēvi* (or less probably, *Śrījvalōka-mahādēvi*) who seems to have been a queen of *Nēṭṭabhañja Tribhuvanakaḷāśa*, issuer of the charter. We know of many other similar instances of the mention of queens in connection with the function indicated by the word *lāṅchhita* especially in records coming from the Ganjam area⁴. The grant is said to have been approved (*anumata*) by Bhaṭṭa Arkadēva, while it was taken to the donee's home or executed (*praveśita*) by the *Pratihāra* (officer in charge of the palace-gate and head of the palace guards) *Rāula*. It is further said that the grant was assented to (*anujāta*) by the *Vārguḷi* (bearer of the king's betel-box) *Mahindapa* who seems to have been a witness or worked on behalf of the executor of the grant, *Rāula*. The plates were engraved by the *arṣasthī* (i.e. *akṣasthī* or goldsmith) *Napa*. The document was written by the *Saṁsthānigrahī* (minister for war and peace) whose name was *Pānā*. The date of the grant, viz. year 13 of the donor's reign, comes at the end of the inscription in line 42.

There is no doubt that *Rājaka Nēṭṭabhañja Tribhuvanakaḷāśa* who issued the charter under discussion belonged to the family of the earlier Bhañjas of *Khiṇḍjalimaṇḍala*. This is suggested not only by the king's names and the issue of the grant from *Vanjulvaka*, the later capital of the rulers of that family, but also by the very style of the document. The genealogy of the family quoted above would show that there is hardly any space for *Nēṭṭabhañja Tribhuvanakaḷāśa* and for his father and grandfather in the family before *Nēṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakaḷāśa II*. The secondary or coronation name ending in *kaḷāśa* was a style unknown in the family before the sons of *Raja-bhañja*. The expression *praveśita*, used in connection with the execution of a grant, is found in the

¹ It may be suggested that the passage *śāśa-bhārināḥ vishaya* means "in the various subdivisions and districts (of the kingdom)". But the description of the gift village in line 14 below as "attached to this district" seems to presuppose the mention of the name of the *vishaya* in the passage under consideration. Note also the singular use in *vishaya*.

² Cf. *J.B.A.S.B., Letters*, Vol. XVI, p. 117.

³ See *Siddhantaśaṅkara*, s.v. *śrāvastī*. The *Viṣṇu-sūkt* (XLIX, 1), however, lays special stress on *Mārgaśrīṣṭha* and 12, which may be the *tithi* intended in our record.

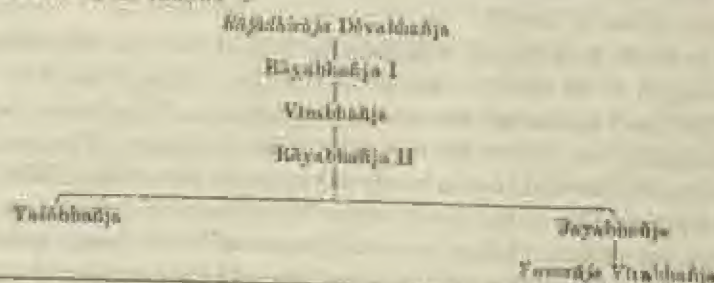
⁴ See *Bhandarkar, List*, Nos. 1500-02.

family's records only of the time of Vidyādharaḥṣaṇja Amoghakalāśa and Nāṭṭabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalāśa II. The officers of the king mentioned in the grant as associated with it are also not found in any other record of the family. These facts would suggest that Nāṭṭabhaṇja Tribhuvāṇkalāśa, who issued this charter, flourished sometime after Nāṭṭabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalāśa II and may be tentatively designated Nāṭṭabhaṇja III. This suggestion seems to be supported by his epithet *Paramamahāpāra*, as Vaiṣṇavism was reintroduced as the family's religion by Nāṭṭabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalāśa II. Whether Prithvībhaṇja and Rāyabhaṇja, father and grandfather respectively of Nāṭṭabhaṇja III Tribhuvāṇkalāśa (II), actually ruled cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. It seems however that Prithvībhaṇja was not far removed from Nāṭṭabhaṇja II and may have been the latter's son or grandson. It is difficult to determine whether the title *Rājaka* adopted by Nāṭṭabhaṇja III had any special significance. The seal of all these rulers bears the emblem of a lion moving to the left.

Another later member of the same family was Śatrubhaṇja Maṅgalarāja who was the son of Śilābhaṇja, grandson of Mallagatahṛadēva and great-grandson of Yathāsankhadēva and who issued the Jangalpadu plates¹ in the fourteenth year of his reign. As in the case of Nāṭṭabhaṇja III, the relationship of Śatrubhaṇja Maṅgalarāja with the known members of the family of the earlier Bhāṇjas of Khinjāḷamāṇḍala is unknown. Whether the father, grandfather and great-grandfather of Śatrubhaṇja Maṅgalarāja were actual rulers is also not known. The place of issue of Śatrubhaṇja's charter is, however, not mentioned and he may have been a member of the same family ruling side by side with the ruler of Vaṇḍulvaka. But the Śalvādja or Sulevādja *visaya*, in which the village granted by Śatrubhaṇja Maṅgalarāja was situated, seems to be no other than the Śalvādja *visaya* of the grant of Śilābhaṇja II edited above (A).

Another Bhāṇja king making grant of a village in Khinjāḷamāṇḍala and ruling in the Ganjam region was the *Paramamahāpāra Mahāmāyādityava* Nāṭṭabhaṇja who was the son of Rāyabhaṇja and grandson of Nāṭṭabhaṇja and issued a charter from Kumārapura.² The style of this record is quite different from that of the charters of the Bhāṇja rulers of Vaṇḍulvaka. The emblem on the seal is also not the lion but a *kalāśa* taken by some as *pūrṇa-kumbha* and by others as *aṇṭikāghaṇa*. He must have represented a different branch of the Bhāṇja family just as the later Bhāṇjas claiming to have ruled the Khinjāḷi country from the Kōḷḷa *kāṭaka*³ did. The *yasaṇṭja* Rāyabhaṇja mentioned in this inscription may have been the son of the issuer of the charter.

The genealogy of the later Bhāṇjas of Khinjāḷi, as known from their two records so far discovered, may be tabulated as follows⁴:



¹ Inaccurate transcripts of this inscription have been published in *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 287 ff., and *J. K. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, 181 ff. We have recently re-edited the record for the *Epigraphia Indica*. The first three verses of this record are the same as those in the epigraphs edited here.

² Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 12 ff.

³ Cf. Bhanderkar, Nos. 1304, 2006. Kōḷḷa seems to be no other than modern Kōḷḷa near Russelkoppa, which was the headquarters of a family of Bhāṇja chiefs as late as the British period. The celebrated Orissa poet Uppendrasaṅga belonged to this family. It is possible to think that this family was an offshoot of that of the later Bhāṇjas of Khinjāḷi ruling from Kōḷḷa-kāṭaka.

⁴ Bhanderkar, *Lit.*, p. 272.

R—PLATES OF NETTABHANJA TRIBHUVANAKALASA

[illegible]

電話：(五)

12 12
14 14
16 16
18 18
20 20

[illegible]

32 कै वल्लि न व वृक्षि नृणां हि नृपः प्रवृत्तिं विधि न मृदाः 32
 34 विटा न कुलीना नृपः नृणां नृपः नृपः नृपः नृपः नृपः 34
 36 नृपः नृपः नृपः नृपः नृपः नृपः नृपः नृपः 36
 38 नृपः नृपः नृपः नृपः नृपः नृपः नृपः नृपः 38
 40 नृपः नृपः नृपः नृपः नृपः नृपः नृपः नृपः 40
 42 नृपः नृपः नृपः नृपः नृपः नृपः नृपः नृपः 42

Only two copper plate grants of this family, one of Yaśōbhāṣja and the other of Jayabhāṣja, both from Antirigam in the Ganjam District, have so far been discovered. Yaśōbhāṣja, said to be the lord of the whole Khijāli country, is described as the conqueror of Jagadēkamalla who has been identified with the Western Chālukya king Purna-Jagadēkamalla II (circa 1128-51 A.C.).¹ Jayabhāṣja's grant is dated in his third regnal year when there was a lunar eclipse on Jyēṣṭha sudi 15. Bhandarkar, who assigns Yaśōbhāṣja's contemporary Jagadēkamalla to circa 1139-49 A.C., says, "The first lunar eclipse in Jyēṣṭha after this date came off on Friday, 22nd May 1164. Jayabhāṣja therefore came to the throne in A.D. 1161." Unfortunately this is wrong as Bhandarkar confused in many cases the full moon with the new moon in the calculation of dates for his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*.² As however, the exact date of the end of Yaśōbhāṣja's reign is unknown and as lunar eclipses occurred on the Jyēṣṭha *pauṣṇamāsī* in 1143, 1145, 1147, 1164, and 1165 A.C., it is impossible to determine the exact date of Jayabhāṣja's accession on this basis. The fact that these petty rulers of the Ganjam region must have owed allegiance to the early imperial Gaṅgas of Kaṭiṅganagara (modern Mukhalingam near Srikakulam), who were themselves subordinate allies of the great Chōḷas, would suggest that the battle against the Western Chālukya king was fought by the Bhāṣja king in the train of an early imperial Gaṅga monarch and on behalf of a Chōḷa emperor.³ The identification of Jagadēkamalla with the Western Chālukya king Jayasinha I Jagadēkamalla (circa 1015-42 A.C.), who is celebrated in history for his conflict with the mighty Chōḷa monarch Rājendra I thus does not appear to be altogether improbable. It should, however, be admitted that the ascription of Raṇabhāṣja's reign to the third quarter of the tenth century and the number of succeeding rulers belonging to his own family and to the branch lines represented by Nāṭṭabhāṣja of Kumārapura and Jayabhāṣja of Kōlāja favour Bhandarkar's view regarding the date of Yaśōbhāṣja and Jayabhāṣja about the middle of the twelfth century, unless it is believed that some of the rulers of Vaṇjulvaka, Kumārapura and Kōlāja were ruling contemporaneously. The problem of the chronology of these rulers cannot be satisfactorily and finally settled until further evidence is forthcoming.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Vaṇjulvaka, as already pointed out, has not yet been identified. Nor can the district called Nānīkhavḍa and the villages called Śāḍā-grāma, Rājgrāma, Vāṭalavijima and Kōlakhalī be identified with certainty.

TEXT⁴

[Metre:—Verse 1 *Mālinī*; verse 2 *Śāntilavikīrṇita*; verse 3 *Ūṭī*; verses 4-9, 11 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 10 *Sālīnī*; verse 12 *Puṣṭpātāgrā*.]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham]⁵ Jayati kṣumavā(hā)ṇa-prāya-vikahōbha-dakṣa[m]⁶]]⁷ sva-kirāṇa-pari[vō]⁸ḥ-an-
- 2 [[i](r)]iya-rj[ḥ]ṛṇḍu-lākhana(kham) | tpi(tri)-bhuvana-bhavan-āṭṭa(nīa)r-dyōta-bhāva-

¹ Sewall, *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 236.

² Such confusions are due to the fact that the tables in Swaminathan Pillai's *Indian Calendar* (the same as in *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, part I, pp. 200-70) were consulted without sometimes noticing that they offer a list of new moons and not of full moons.

³ See on this point my paper on the Alagun inscription to be published in this journal.

⁴ From the original plates.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ The *ṭapa* is superfluous.

18 IRJA

- 3 ka-nikaaba-gaurah¹ va(vi)hru-nātram Harasya[1*] Sā(Śa)h-āhār-iva yā phapāh pravilasa-
 4 uty=ndbhāvad-indu-tviahah prālēyāchala-ari(ā)ṅga-kōtta(ṭa)ya iva tvaṅgati yā-tyunna-
 5 tāh[]* nṛity-āttā(ṭā)pa-vighaṭṭitā iva bhujā rājanti yā Sā(Śa)mihavā-tā savv-ā(rev-ā)-
 gha-vi-
 6 ghātinaḥ sura-sarit-tōy-ōmma(ruma)yaḥ pāntu vah[2*] svastī vijaya-Yaḥju-
 7 Ivakād² Asti śri-vijaya nilaya[h*] prakatṭa(ṭa)-gaṇa-gaṇa-grasta-samasta-
 8 ripa-vargah[]* Śri-Tribhuvanakaśāsō(śa)-nāma(mā) rājā nirḷhu(rḷhū)ta-kāli-ka-
 9 lasha-kalmashah[3*] Śri-Pṛthivibhaṭṭajadēvasya p[au]tra[h*]⁴ Śri-Rāyabhaṭṭajadēvasya
 10 autah Paramavaishnavō mātā-pitri-pād-ānandhyāta-Bhaṭṭj-āmala-ku-

Second Plate : First Side

- 11 la-tilaka-Rānaka-ari-Nēṭṭabhaṭṭajadēvah kuaa(ka)ll Nānākhaṇḍa-
 12 viśayā[4*] yathā-nivāsi-sva(sa)karapa⁵ [6*] sāmanta-khōgy-ādi-janapadān ya-
 13 th-ārharṁ māmayati vō(hō)dhayati samādha(ṭa)ṭi[cha*] vivī(di)tanu astu bhavatiām
 14 sarrataḥ si(hi)van-asamākan-anyata⁶ [7*] tād-vishaya-samva(mba)ddhah Sējāgrāma-
 15 ā-chaṭṭah-simā-parichohhūn[ṇah] mātā-pitṛō-ātma[na*]k-cha paṇy-ābhīva(vi)ddha-
 16 y[ō][4*] sājila-dhātā-putah[sarēṇa*] viḷhinā Bhāradvāja-gōtrīya Āṅgi-⁷
 17 sa-pravarāya Vōrihastā⁸ anupravarāya Chohhāndōgya⁹ charāṇā-
 18 ya Kai(Kau)thuma-ākh-ādhyāyine Vātalaviḷima-vinirgata-Kōlakha-
 19 li-vāstavyāya Bhaṭṭa-Va(Ba)ḷabhadraaya p[au]tra¹⁰ Bhaṭṭa-Siḷa-mātāya Bhaṭṭa-Dā-
 20 uli¹¹ Rāigāma-samanvita[h*] tāmvra(mra)-sā(śa)smikṛitya pradattaḥ
 21 yāvach-chaṇḍ-ārka-tārakāḥ a-chaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa¹² prayōṣō(ṭō)na savv-ā(rev-ā)vā(hā)dhā-va-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 22 ji(rī)ṭān-ā-karavēṇa hūṣjādabbir-dhatma-gauravāt-pratipāṇiyah a-
 23 amat-kula-kramam-nāharedbhīr-anyaīs-cha(ā-cha-ā)ma[ḍ*]-dānam-idam-anumōda-
 24 nīyah(yam) āktān-cha dharmā-sā(śa)strēshu[7*] Va(Ba)ḷabhir-vasudhā dattā rājabbih Sa-
 25 gar-ādhībbih[1*] yasya yasya yadā bhu(hū)mis-tasya tasya tadā phalaḥ [lam][4]
 26 Mā bhu(bhū)ḍ-a-phala-sa(śa)ṅkā vah para-datt-ōi pārthivāḥ [ava-dattā-
 27 taphalam-ānantiyān para-datt-ānupāṇāḥ [5*] Sva-dattām-para-dattām-vā(ttām) vā]

¹ In the same context, we have tānava in the other records.

² A verse follows this short passage in prose.

³ Omit *gana* for the sake of the metre. [Read *Astī* *śrī-jyoti-nidagah* *pratikṣa-gaṇa-grasta-sura-ripa-garvā* as in the foregoing record.—Ed.]

⁴ [Read *Tribhuvanakaśāsō* *nāma* *rājā* *nirḷhata-kāli-kalmashah*.—Ed.]

⁵ The medial *sa* in *pus* is imperfectly formed, as out of the left, right and top members of the sign only the third one has been engraved.

⁶ The *ānava* is superfluous.

⁷ *Karvā* here may be a contraction of *adbhikarvā* or *adbhikarvā*.

⁸ Read *aspa*.

⁹ Read *ājyāna-grasatya*.

¹⁰ Read *Bāṛhaṇḍya-anuprāya*.

¹¹ Read *āḷāndōya-chaṇḍāya*.

¹² Read *paṇḍya*. The medial *na* in *pus* is imperfectly formed as in *pus* in line 8 above. See also as in *śar* in line 30 below.

¹³ Read *ṭyā*.

¹⁴ Read *a-cha-ā-kāḥ*.

- 28 yā harita vasundharāṁ(rām) | sa viśṭhāyāśa kṛimīr-bhū(r-bhū)tvā pāṭribhīḥ saha pa-
 29 chyatē || [6*] Śaṭyaṁ yujā-hutaṁ ch-aiva yat-kī[ṁ]chid-dharma-samachayan(yah) | arddh-
 āṅgulī-
 30 na śmāyāśa harayāna praṭasya(śya)ti || [7*] Śhaśṭhir-va(śṭi-va)śha-sahasrāṇi
 31 sa(eva)rgē vaṁti bhū(bhū)madah || | a(ā)kshāptā ch-ānumantā cha tān-aiva¹ nara-

Third Plate

- 32 ka[m*] vrājēta(jēt[8]) Nandan[1] tasya pitarāḥ pravaganti pītāmahā || [9*] bhū(bhū)-
 33 mī-dātā kulē jātāḥ sa stas-[tr]jātā bhaviśhyati || [9*] Dēv-ōṭṣava-dvāda-
 34 ayā(śyā)ṁ Sōmasya dīnā rēvali(tī)-nakshatrēṇa² Sarvān-ōṭṣan-bhāvināḥ pāṭhī-
 35 vēndrān-bhāyō bhāyō yāchatā Nā[1]tā*[1]bhāṣ[1] || [9*] sāmānyō-yam dharma-sōtur-ṣṭipāṇā-
 [m*]
 36 kālē ka(kā)lā pālāniyō bhavadbhīḥ || [10*] Asmīn-vaśas(n-vaśas) kabh(kaha)yō(ya)-kahlēṣ-
 yō-nyō rā[1] ||
 37 bhaviśhyati | tasy-āhaṁ-pāda-lagnō-ami mayā dattam na lōpayeta || [yēt] | Iti kama-
 38 la-dal-āṁva(mba)-[bāndu*]-lō(lō)lāśa śrī(śrī)yaṁ-anuvichintya³ manushya-jīvitāḥ-cha |
 iti⁴ sakala-
 39 m-idaṁ-ndāhṛī[ta*]h-cha vudhivā (haddhivā) as hi puruṣa[1]h pāra-kīrttayō rīlau(lō)pyāḥ ||
 [12*] lā-
 40 āchhītam śrī-Ji(Ji)valōka-mahādēvyā | anumatam Bhaṭṭa-⁵Arkaśēvōna pra-
 41 vēś(śi)tam prathīhāra-Rāṇēna anujātam vārgulī-Mahendapāna
 42 [u]kīrṇa [6] arkasālinā Napāna | likhītam Sandhivigrahī(hi)-Pānā⁶ | Samva(Sahva) 13 || [9*]

No. 45—MAHADA PLATES OF SOMESVARADEVAVARMAN : YEAR 23

D. C. Sircar and M. Venkatarāmāya, Ootacamund

The above-mentioned plates were edited in this journal⁷ in 1913-4 by the late Mr. B. C. Majumdar under the heading 'Mahadā Plates of Yōgēśvaradēvavarman.' Since then the record has not aroused further interest among scholars, although two more charters of the same family of chiefs, to which the donor of the Mahadā plates belonged, were subsequently discovered and their contents reviewed in this journal and elsewhere. They are (1) the Patna Museum plates of Sōmāś-varadēva II⁸ and (2) the Kumārāśinhā plates of Chōlakula-Sōmāśvaradēva.⁹ In the light of these charters, latterly discovered, it seems now possible to assign a more specific date to the Mahadā plates than what Mr. Majumdar suggested, viz., the 16th century A.C. Further it is also possible to draw certain conclusions in respect of the chronology, genealogy and history of the rulers represented in the above charters, the scene of whose activities lay in South Kōśala with their capital at Suvāmpura (Sonepur) in Orissa.

¹ Read *āṅgulī*.

² This poem passage containing some astronomical details regarding the date of the grant is followed by verse.

³ Read *anuvichintya*.

⁴ Omit *iti*.

⁵ The rules of sandhi have not been observed here.

⁶ Read *adhivāra* and omit the *dupda*.

⁷ The name appears without the third case-ending required by the context.

⁸ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 218 ff. and plate.

⁹ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 97 ff. and plate.

¹⁰ J. K. H. R. S., Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 29 ff. and plate.

The said Mahāṣṭa plates are now the property of the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art attached to the University of Calcutta. They were obtained for examination through the kindness of Mr. D. P. Ghosh, the Curator of that Museum. On a careful examination of the original plates, it was found that a number of very important passages of the record were not properly read by Mr. Masumdar in his edition of the record. In the first place, the name of the donor of the charter is not Yōgēśvaradēvavarman but Sōmēśvaradēvavarman (line 24).¹ Secondly, the name of the father of the donor is to be read as Dhāralladēvavarman (lines 16-17) and not Dhārayadēvavarman, as made out by Mr. Masumdar. Thirdly, there is no mention in the inscription of Vaṇḍhapura which has been identified with modern Bandh and taken to have been the capital of the issuer of the charter. Lastly, the date of the record is not the 33rd regnal year of the issuer's grandfather (Sōmēśvaradēvavarman I) but really the year 23 (written both in words and in numerals in line 11) of his own reign. Hence the very title of the record has to be changed as the 'Mahāṣṭa plates of Sōmēśvaradēvavarman' since Yōgēśvaradēvavarman, in reality, did not exist at all. In view of all these important factors now brought to light on a re-examination of the plates, the record is re-edited here for the benefit of scholars.

After the introductory *siddham* symbol and the word *maśi* the inscription introduces, in lines 1-10, the reigning king Sōmēśvaradēva, who is called *pañcā-mahāśāla-samanta, mahā-mahimayadēvara, mahā-bhūpatī* and *chakravartin*. Of these titles, the first is known to have been used by feudatories and the last by paramount sovereigns. This combination of subordinate and imperial titles shows that the issuer of the charter owed only nominal allegiance to the overlords of his predecessors.² The same conclusion is further suggested by the titles *mahā-mahimayadēvara* and *mahā-bhūpatī*, which were apparently deliberate modifications respectively of the feudatory titles of *Mahāmayadēvara* and *Mahābhūpati* used by another member of the same family who issued the Kumārasiṃhā and the Patna Museum plates. Other interesting titles used by the issuer of the Mahāṣṭa plates are *divakara-kula-nandana* (i.e., son of the solar dynasty), *Karikāl-ācārya* (i.e., of the house of Karikāla), *Kāśyapa-gōtra*, *Kāvēri-nātha* (i.e., lord of the river Kāvēri) and *Varmārapuravarasūktācārya* (lord of Varmāra or Uraiyūr, the traditional capital of the Chōḷas), all of which refer to the descent claimed by the Telugu-Chōḷas from the celebrated Chōḷa royal family. The epithet *Sauka-dharmja-lācchhana* may be either a modification of or a mistake for *rakta-dharmja-sūcā-lācchhana* of the Kumārasiṃhā plates. The expression *Ayōdhyā-nirīggata-simbhāna-maṇimukha-paṭṭa-sarīrāna-dvijarāja-lācchhana* seems to suggest that the issuer of the Mahāṣṭa plates claimed to have been enjoying the privilege of using certain insignia brought from Ayōdhyā, the ancient capital of North Kāśa.³ This, no doubt, has a bearing on the claim that the family belonged to the solar race, the main branch of which represented by the epic hero Rāma ruled at Ayōdhyā. Another interesting epithet of the king, viz., *Śrī-Pāṇḍyanātha-pāda-pāṇḍya-dharmara*, speaks of his devotion to god Vāṇḍyanātha (Śiva) whose temple lies on the river Tel, about 12 miles from Sonepur. The mention of the deity also in the Kumārasiṃhā and the Patna Museum plates shows that he was the tutelary deity of the Telugu-Chōḷa ruling family of South Kāśa.

The date of the charter is recorded, in lines 9-13 in the following words : *Śrī-Sōmēśvaradēvara pravarddhamānau-vijayavāṇḍya-mahātmasambhava-śrī-maṇḍana 23 vāhī Māghā māsi śukla-pakṣe Nīlani saptaṃśatī malara-śtithi śuklari mīmā-rāsi-śhita-chandramasī Ravaṇa Rāsatyāgān-ampita-gōṣṭi*.

¹ Mr. K. G. Goswami of the University of Calcutta, who examined the plates in the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, also suggested the same reading of the king's name.

² *Ahorā*, Vol. XXVII, p. 320; *J. O. B.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 45.

³ The passage may also be suggested to stand as *Ayōdhyā-nirīggata[?]* *simbhāna-maṇimukha-paṭṭa-sarīrāna-dvijarāja-lācchhana[?]*. In that case, we may think that the king's emblem was with the lion and the deer-king (the moon or Garuda).

There is considerable Telugu influence on the language, although there are grammatical errors. The 23rd regnal year of the king is given both in words (*iraṇṇi-muṇḍāni* for Telugu *iraṇṇi-muṇḍu* or *iraṇṇi-muṇḍu*) and figures.

The details of the grant are given in lines 13-24. It was made by the king when he was standing before Lakṣmīvarṇaka on the bank of the river Chitrōṭpalā (i.e., the Mahānadi).¹

The genealogy of the donor as well as that of the donee are traced to their respective grandfathers. The donor, king Sōmēśvaradēvavarman, is described as the son of Dhātallādēvavarman and grandson of Sōmēśvaradēvavarman belonging to the Kāśyapa *gotra*. The donee of the grant is described as the Brāhmanya Madhusūdana, who belonged to the Vata *gotra* and was the son of Puruṣhottama and grandson of Gaḍādhara. The object of the donation was the village of Chāṭṭapā-malla with the five *paṭṭāṣṭi* named Mahuḍā (the final spot of the present plates in old Somapur State, still retaining its ancient name), Atāgṛeṭā, Mōḍhakā, Khōḍna and Kūkaṭṭēya. The grant is stated to have been made for obtaining the favour of the god Vaidyanātha and for the increase of longevity, health and royalty of the donor, Sōmēśvaradēvavarman, in the 23rd year of whose reign the record was issued.²

Lines 25-30 of the inscription quote some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. This portion is rather abruptly followed by three verses, of which two are in the *Uṣṇīṣi* and one in the *Indravajrā*(1) metre. These apparently form a part of an elaborate *pramāṇa* of the Telugu-Chōḍa family of South Kōṣala. The employment of these verses, which are really unalloyed for, reminds us of such records as the Guakula plates of king Indrapāla³ of Prāgyōṭṭha, in which the engraver is found to have felt the necessity of filling up some blank space at the end of the charter. Since the script of the last lines of the plates does not differ from that of the rest of the record, there is little doubt that they are coeval with the date of the gift. The first and second verses do not relate to the same person, for the second verse beginning, as it does, with the words *yasya āvayāḥ*, 'in whose language', referring to the person described in the first, introduces another chief who, being referred to as *ēṣa bhūpatiḥ* 'this king', could be none other than the donor of the charter, Sōmēśvaradēvavarman. He is again described as *Yasōgaja*⁴ and as a lion to hostile kings. The third verse describes the king's sport in the river Chitrōṭpalā (Mahānadi). Here the stanza, stating that when the king sported in the Chitrōṭpalā, which was associated with Svarnavati (*Svayānti-gaṇī*), seems to imply that Sōmēśvaradēvavarman had his capital at Svarnapura, of which Svarnavati may be a feminine form. In a verse from the *Rājāśāṣa* (VI, 48), to which Mr. Maumular draws our attention in this context, precisely a parallel sense is conveyed as the mention therein of Mathurā on the Kāṇḍī implies its being the capital of the Śārasana⁵ king. Mukunda mentioned in one of the verses no doubt refers to the god Viṣṇu and not to a later Rājā of Puri.

¹ The passage *Chitrōṭpalā-gaṇī-lakṣmīvarṇaka-samudhaya* reminds one of such similar passages as *Alkāra-Vāṇasaka-Bhagavāṇa-lakṣmīvarṇaka-samudhaya* in records like the *Ṣaṅgī* plates of Anantabhadra III. It is not clear if there was a duty of Lakṣmīvarṇaka or whether the king made a solemnity to the holy spot of Lakṣmīvarṇaka itself. The modern Lakṣmīvarṇaka, a *ḥṛdya* in the bed of the Mahānadi at Somapur, seems to have been referred to as Lakṣmīvarṇaka in the inscription.

² That the actual donee Sōmēśvaradēvavarman and the king Sōmēśvaradēvavarman in whose reign the charter was issued were one and the same is apparent, although the text of the record does not explicitly say so. The fact that the donation is made for the increase of the royalty of the donee shows that it was the reigning king who was the actual donor.

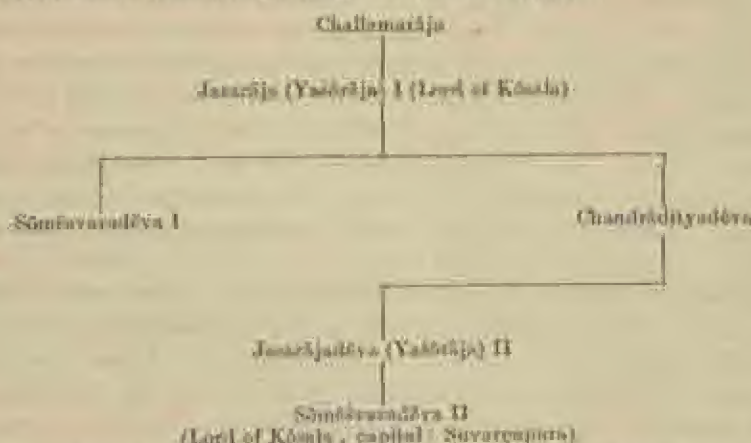
³ *Ādityapala-samudhaya*, pp. 120 ff.

⁴ This word can be read as *Yasōgaja*; but this does not suit the metre. The first is, however, metristically faulty even as it stands.

⁵ The word *śāṣa* used in the verse seems to be derived from *śāṣa*.

⁶ Mathurā was the capital of the Śārasana. See B. C. Law, *Soma Mitakṣana Kāṇḍīya Texts*, Vol. I, p. 33.

Both the palaeography and contents of the Patna Museum and the Kumārśiṃhā plates indicate that they were issued by one and the same king, Sōmēśvarādēva II, lord of Kōśala, from his capital at Savarnapura, the former in the 17th year of his reign and the latter in the 11th year. Both the charters were written by the same person, the *vyāpārī* Lōkanātha. While the Patna Museum plates do not specifically mention the name of the grandfather of Sōmēśvarādēva II, the Kumārśiṃhā grant names him as Chandrādityādēva. Since Jasurājādēva II of the former grant is clearly stated as meditating on the feet of Chandrādityādēva, we have here an indication that Chandrādityādēva was perhaps his father¹ and this is confirmed by the other grant which specifically says so. Hence the donor of the two charters is identical and the genealogies supplied by them can be combined to form a single family tree as shown below²:



Before the correlation of this line of chiefs with the one in the Mahādā plates is established, the chronological position of the rulers of the line has to be determined. And in this respect we are on much surer ground than what palaeography alone can furnish. The palaeographical dating of the Patna Museum plates, so far attempted, has been divergent. B. D. Banerji, who edited the plates, assigned them to the 14th century A.C., while Krishna Sastri thought the characters of the record were referable to the 11th century, a view with which Dr. Hirananda Sastri was inclined to agree. Indeed the palaeography of the record is not so late as Banerji suggests, since the letters show definitely much earlier forms than those found in the charters of the 13th or 14th century, of which we have instances in the Kēndupātṭā plates of Gaṅga Narasimhadēva II of Orissa, dated Śaka 1317 (1295 A.C.)³ They are also even earlier than the characters of the Bhuvanēśvar bi-lingual (Oriya-Tamil) inscription of Vira-Narasimha of the 13th century A.C.⁴ and those of the Lāgarāja Temple inscription of the Gaṅga king Narasimha I of Śaka 1165.⁵ On the other hand, they have very close resemblance with the Bhuvanēśvar stone inscription of Svapnēśvara, a general of the Eastern Gaṅga king Aniyāśakabhinna who ruled in the 12th century A.C.⁶ The only difference noticeable between the records of Sōmēśvarādēva II under study and the afore-mentioned inscription of Svapnēśvara is that the alphabet of the former shows rounded forms while the characters

¹ Suggested by Banerji, *above*, Vol. XIX, p. 67.

² Krishna Sastri thought that Chandrāditya was perhaps identical with Chalamarāja, *Ac. Rep. of the Ar. Surv., Eastern Circle*, 1916-17, p. 4. G. Rayachaudhuri (*Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 231) identifies Chandrāditya with Jasurāja I, a view with which we do not agree. The wording of the Kumārśiṃhā grant is clear in indicating that Chandrāditya was the grandfather of the donor Sōmēśvara.

³ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXV (1894), plates VIII to XVIII, now re-edited in the same journal, Vol. XVII, pp. 33-39.

⁴ *Bhandarkar's Ind.*, No. 1627; *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XX, p. 41 and plate.

⁵ *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. III, p. 122 and plate.

⁶ *Above*, Vol. VI, pp. 128 ff. and plate.

of the latter are straight and angular in shape, a difference which is perhaps due to our records being on copper plates while the other is on stone. It is therefore permissible to conclude that the Patna Museum and the Kumārisimhā plates of Sōmēśvaradēva II were issued in the 12th century A.C. and that the five generations of kings figuring therein flourished during the 11th and 12th centuries A.C. It is found that the facts of contemporary history of the locality fully support the above chronological position for these chiefs.

Of the kings figuring in the genealogy, Chandrādityadēva seems identical with the Telugu-Chōḍa prince Chandrāditya who is described as a subordinate of the Nāgavarmā Śūnda king, Dhārāvārsha of Chakrakōṣa in two Telugu inscriptions dated Śaka 985, Śārvatī, Kārtika su. 5, Monday, corresponding to October 2, Monday, 1060 A.D., at Barasur and Potinar in the Bastar State.¹ This chief is introduced with the same Telugu-Chōḍa *prabandhi* commencing with the words *anukorddharitara*, etc., which Sōmēśvaradēvavarmān of the Mahādā plates and Sōmēśvaradēva II of the Kumārisimhā plates adopt. An additional detail found in Chandrāditya's *prabandhi* is that he is called the lord of Ammagānapura. This city may be identified with Ambegunne in the Jeypore agency, Koraput District, Orissa. The village lies about 75 miles east of Jagadhpur, capital of Bastar.² But both the charters of Chandrāditya's grandson, Sōmēśvaradēva II, were issued from Suvānapura (Sonepur). Whether Sōmēśvara II himself transferred his headquarters to Sonepur cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge; but there is no doubt that the Telugu-Chōḍa occupation of Sonepur followed the rule of the Sōmavarmās in that region. Thus Sōmēśvara II must have issued his records from Sonepur sometime after the Kelgā (Sonepur) plates of the Sōmavarmā Kumāradhīrāja Sōmēśvara³ had been issued from that city. It has been shown⁴ that the rule of the Sōmavarmā Sōmēśvara should be assigned to the close of the 11th century A.C. and the beginning of the twelfth. The rule of Telugu-Chōḍa Sōmēśvara II at Suvānapura should therefore be relegated to a period about the commencement of the 12th century A.C. Since Chandrāditya was living about 1060 A.D., the approximate dates of the members of his family might be: Chāllamarāja (c. 1025 A.D.), Jamarājadēva I (c. 1040 A.D.), Sōmēśvaradēva I (c. 1050-75 A.C.), Chandrādityadēva (c. 1055-80 A.C.), Jamarājadēva II (c. 1080-1105 A.C.) and Sōmēśvaradēva II (c. 1105-1130 A.C.).⁵

These conclusions in respect of the chronology of the family of Sōmēśvaradēva II of Suvānapura would now help us to correlate this line with that of Sōmēśvaradēvavarmān, the donor of the Mahādā plates, who as shown above, must have flourished about the 12th century. Since both the sets of rulers belonging to the same Chōḍa stock are found flourishing in the same age and locality they apparently belonged to the same family, and, in all probability, Sōmēśvaradēvavarmān, the grandfather of the issuer of the Mahādā plates, is identical with Sōmēśvaradēva II of the Patna Museum and Kumārisimhā plates.⁶ The main reason for identifying him with Sōmēśvaradēva II instead of Sōmēśvaradēva I is the following. The modification of the feudatory titles and the

¹ *Inscriptions in the C. P. and Bastar* (1932), Nos. 269 and 270; *As. Rep. S. I. E.*, 1899, part II, plate 95; *S. I. I.*, Vol. X, Nos. 644 and 645.

² There is another place called Ambegun in the Chanda District, Madhya Pradesh, about 120 miles north-west of Barasur. Whether this was the place referred to as the seat of Chandrāditya cannot be affirmed in the present state of our knowledge.

³ *Aluka*, Vol. XII, pp. 237 ff. A revised edition of the inscription is being published in this journal.

⁴ *J. R. O.*, Vol. XXII, p. 207.

⁵ The Kumārisimhā plates of King Sōmēśvara II date to a lunar eclipse in the month of Mṛṣṭī of the king's 11th regnal year. In the period to which we have assigned this king, the above details tallied on three dates, viz., Pōshary 1, 1124 A.C.; January 26, 1125 A.C.; and January 10, 1126 A.C. The intended date may be any one of these.

⁶ Pandit Bhanuak Mishra suggested the identification of the king with Sōmēśvaradēva I, the elder brother of Chandrāditya (*J. R. O.*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 148 and note).

ATTENTION

The obituary note and the relevant illustration appearing in this issue may be removed and inserted in the beginning of the volume (Vol. XXVIII) at the time of binding.



DR. STEN KONOW
 LATE GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA, 1906-1908
 BORN 17TH APRIL 1867 DIED 29TH JUNE 1948

M. OR. CHOLLAH.

SHIRDI IN HYDRABAD, CALCUTTA.

STEN KONOW

Dr. Sten Konow, the celebrated Indologist, passed away at Oslo on the 29th June 1948. In his death, philological research, specially the branch concerned with Old Central Asian languages, Sanskrit learning and Indian epigraphy, have sustained a very great loss indeed.

Dr. Sten Konow was born on 17th April 1867. His father was a Norwegian pastor. He studied in Christiania under Sophus Bugge and took a Degree in 1891 in Classics and German Philology. For some time he was a pupil of Fiebel in Halle where he took his D.Phil. in 1893. He served as Assistant Librarian in the Royal Library at Berlin from 1894 to 1896. From 1896 to 1899 he was Lecturer and Assistant Professor in Christiania. He collaborated with Grierson from 1900 to 1903 in the editing of the volumes of the *Linguistic Survey of India*. Later on he was appointed Government Epigraphist for India. In that capacity he edited parts i, ii, vi and vii of Volume X, part vi onwards of Volume XI, the whole of Volume XII and a portion of Volume XIII of the *Epigraphia Indica*. After his service as Government Epigraphist for India, he returned to Oslo where he became Professor of Indian Philology and continued there till his death, except from 1914 to 1919 when he served as Professor at Hamburg and in 1924-25 when he was a Visiting Professor at Santiniketan.

He was a member of several learned societies in Europe: an Honorary Member of the German Oriental Society; a Corresponding Member of the Berlin Academy; an Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland and also of the Société Asiatique de Paris.

The range of his scholarly pursuit was as varied as it was extensive. In the field of epigraphy, his monumental work on the *Kharoshthi Inscriptions* (C. I. I., Vol. II, Part I) is by far the most outstanding contribution. Other branches of research have been equally enriched by his facile pen.¹

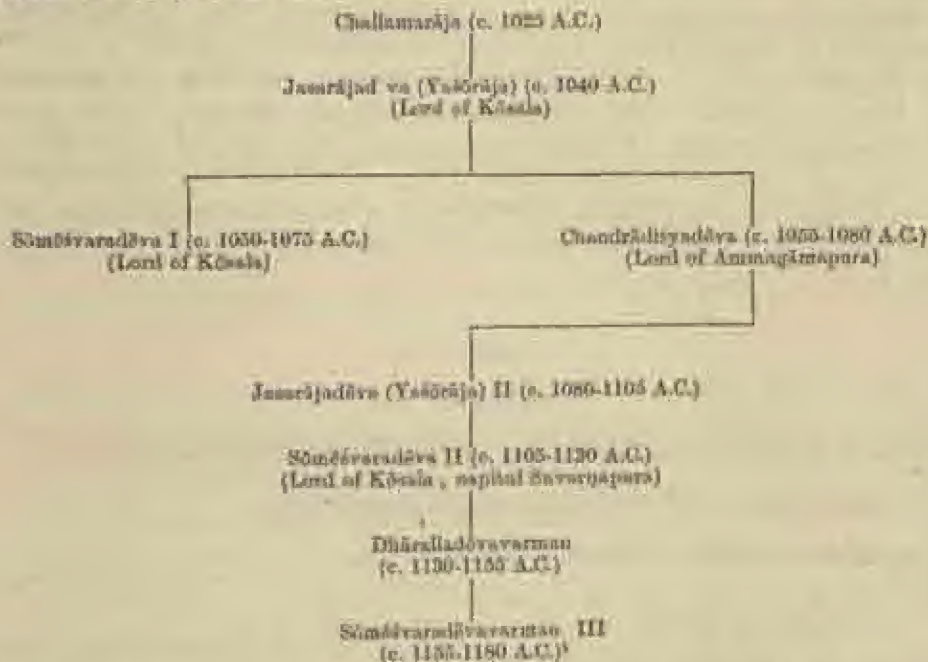
DR. STEN KONOW'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE *EPIGRAPHIA INDICA*.

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| Volume IX | 1. Madras Museum plates of Vajrahasta III. |
| | 2. Kharar plates of Maha-Sudeva. |
| | 3. Two Buddhist inscriptions from Sarnath. |
| | 4. Arigon Sarada inscription of Ramadeva. |
| | 5. Chandravati plate of Chandradeva. |
| | 6. Sarnath inscription of Kumaradevi. |
| Volume X | 7. Karamlanda inscription of the reign of Kumaragupta. |
| | 8. Sunao Kala plates of Samgamasunha. |
| | 9. Balara plates of Mularaja I. |
| | 10. Peshawar Museum inscription of Vanshadaka. |
| Volume XI | 11. Five Valabhi plates. |
| | 12. Naraspatam plates of Vajrahasta III; Saka Samvat 967. |
| Volume XII | 13. Hansot plates of the Chahamanas Bharatiraddha; Samvat 813. |
| Volume XIII | 14. Talegaon copper-plates of Krishna-Raja; Saka 690. |

¹ See *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. XX (1948), pp. 164s-194s; *J. R. A. S.*, 1950, pp. 99-102.

- Volume XIV 15. Ara inscription of Kanishka II ; the year 41.
16. Sanjan plates of Buddhavarasa.
17. Taxila inscription of the year 136.
- Volume XVIII 18. The so-called Takht-i-Bahi inscription of the year 103.
- Volume XIX 19. Zeda inscription of the year 11.
20. Shahdair inscriptions, one apparently of the year 80.
21. Rawal spurious inscription of the year 40.
- Volume XXI 22. Sado rock inscription of the year 104.
23. Mathura Brahmi inscription of the year 28.
24. Kalawan copper-plate inscription of the year 134.
- Volume XXII 25. Kharoshthi inscription on a Begram las-relief.
26. A note on the Mamane Dheri inscription.
- Volume XXIII 27. Hidda inscription of the year 28.
28. Allahabad Museum inscriptions of the year 87.
- Volume XXVII 29. Note on the Bajaur inscription of Merandros.

assumption of the imperial title of *Chakravartin* by the issuer of the Mahadā plates, to which attention has already been drawn, as well as the influence of Telugu on the language of the record, as noticed from the revised text published now, would suggest that the donor of the Mahadā plates is later than the issuer of the Kumārisinhā and Patna Museum plates in which the above characteristics are absent. The grandfather of the issuer of the Mahadā plates being probably identical with Sōmēśvara II who issued the Kumārisinhā and the Patna Museum plates, Sōmēśvaradēvavarman who issued the Mahadā plates may be styled as Sōmēśvaradēva III. If the identification suggested above is correct, as it seems to be, the pedigree of the entire family of the Telugu-Chōḍa chiefs of Suvarṇapura (Sonepur) would stand as under :



The advent of these Telugu-Chōḍa chiefs into the South Kōśala country may be envisaged in this manner. We have stated above that Chandrādityadēva of the Kumārisinhā plates may be identical with Chandrāditya, a subordinate of the Nāgavahāli ruler of Chakrakōṭa (Bastar). Jagadēka-bhūṣaṇa Dhārāvaraha, in 1060 A.C. Dhārāvaraha's son Sōmēśvara I is credited with the conquest of Kōśala in one of his records.² Jasurājadēva I, the father of Chandrādityadēva, is likewise described as having become the lord of the entire Kōśala country as a result of victories in battle. It is just possible that Jasurāja I took part in the campaigns of the Nāgavahāli Sōmēśvara I in Kōśala and, as a reward for his services, was made the ruler of that country or parts of it to administer on behalf of the Nāgavahāli kings.³

If it is admitted that the advent of these Telugu-Chōḍas into Kōśala took place through the agency of the Nāgavahāli Sīndas of Chakrakōṭa (Bastar), it would be necessary to explain how the family came to be associated in the first instance with the Sīndas. For, it is obvious that they must

¹ The Mahadā plates of this king are stated to have been issued on Sunday, Mēgha Sudi.7, when the sun was in Makara and the moon in Rēvati during the 23rd signal year of the king. In the period to which we have assigned this ruler, there are several dates on which the above details tallied, viz., January 1, 1156 A.C.; January 9, 1165 A.C. and January 2, 1182 A.C. The date quoted in the inscription might have been any one of these.

² Above, Vol. X, pp. 26-7, Karampal Stone Inscription, text line 20.

³ Cf. I. H. Q., Vol. XXII, p. 505.

have been emigrants from the Telugu country where they had their original home and where a number of Telugu-Chōḍa chiefs who were distinguished by the same *birudas*, *ariduriddharavara*, etc., flourished in different parts of the Cuddapah, Anantapur and Kurnool Districts of the Madras State.¹ Some other princes of the same stock are found, at a later date, as subordinates of the Chālukya kings, Sōmēśvara I (1043-68 A.C.) and Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126 A.C.) administering parts of their dominions. These were Bācharasa, Gōnarasa and Bhīmarasa (1058 A.C.) in the Bellary District,² Śaṅkarasa (1059 A.C.) in the Anantapur District,³ his son Rēvarasa (1059-88 A.C.)⁴ and another prince Chudrapakarasa (1062 A.C.).⁵ Since so many of these chiefs were subordinates of the Western Chālukyas in different parts of their kingdom it is likely that still another branch of the same stock, viz., that of Chāllamarāja, found its way into Bastar and came into contact with the Sindas evidently in the time of his son Jasarājādēva I (1040 A.C.) as Western Chālukya generals in the wake of the conquest of that country effected by Vikramāditya VI as *Yuvarāja* during the reign of his father Sōmēśvara I.⁶ The name Sōmēśvara held by the princes of the Sinda family and the Chōḍas of South Kōsala might perhaps be taken to indicate their vassalage, at least for a time, under Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara I. The title *Ayyanagandhanvāsa*, assumed by Telugu-Chōḍa Sōmēśvara II, might be taken as an indication pointing in the same direction, since it was a well-known epithet of the generals and subordinates of the Western Chālukyas.⁷

TEXT*

First Plate

- 1 {Siddham||} Svasti ||* paśchamamahāśāḍva(ḍa)samanvita-mahāmahi?mapjālē-
- 2 āvara-ariduriddharavarabhūjāśibhāśu(śa)raprachaspadaprōdyadī-
3. nakarukulanandana-Kali(ri)kālānvaya-Kāśyapagōtro-

¹ Above, Vol. XI, p. 243 and note 3, and p. 244.

² *S. I. J.*, Vol. IX, Pt. I, No. 122.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 123.

⁴ No. 434 of 1920 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁵ No. 416 of 1920 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁶ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 178-9; *Ibid.*, Vol. XLVIII (1910), pp. 119, 136, 140 and 142. Besides the testimony of Bilhana to the campaigns of Vikramāditya VI in Chakrāḍṭa, there are other grounds to substantiate the same. The Kaṭapet Dargah inscription of the Kālāṭya chief, Bāta II (c. 1075-1100 A.C.), furnishes the information that Bāta's father Prōḷa I (c. 1050 A.C.) conquered the Chakrakṛta-vishaya and the same record further states that he obtained the Annakonda-vishaya from king Traṭṭakyanalla (Sōmēśvara I). See *Hpt. Arch. Series*, No. 48; *Corpus of Telugu Inscriptions*, No. 7, text line 8 ff.; *Bhārat*, Vol. XVIII (1941), Part II, pp. 160 ff. It is clear, therefore, that Prōḷa should have effected the conquest of Chakrakṛta (i.e., Chakrāḍṭa) in the reign of this Chōḍa king, evidently as a vassal-follower of *Yuvarāja* Vikramāditya VI.

It may be contended that the advent of the Telugu-Chōḍas into Kōsala might have taken place during the invasion of that country by Rājōḍra Chōḍa I. This is not likely in view of the fact that the Telugu-Chōḍas of this period were on terms of enmity with the imperial Chōḍas, witness Telugu-Chōḍa Bāma being killed by Rājōḍra I, the father of Rājōḍra Chōḍa I in c. 1080 A.C. (*Colas*, Vol. I, p. 217). Later, a king of Pottapi (i.e., a Telugu-Chōḍa) was killed by Vīraṭōḍra in c. 1067-8 A.C. (*Ibid.*, p. 225). It seems best, therefore, to view the Telugu-Chōḍa advent into Kōsala as having taken place through Western Chālukya-Sinda agency.

⁷ *Hpt. Arch. Series*, No. 1, Nagai Inscriptions, pp. 3, 25, 32, 33, 37. The title was assumed by Kāḷimarasa and Madhavarasa, both subordinates of Vikramāditya VI. For a similar epithet, *jālanagandhanvāsa*, see *S. I. J.*, Vol. IX, pt. I, No. 100 (1052-53 A.C.) of the time of Sōmēśvara I.

* From the original plates and from the facsimile published above, Vol. XII, between pp. 220-1.

* Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁰ The word *mahā* is omitted in Mr. Mazumdar's transcript.

- 4 Kāvērīnātha¹-kamalavaraha(bhū)śhaśa²-singha(sindha)dhvajalāchha(na³)-
 5 Varadāraparavarādhāvara⁴-Ajō(yō)dhya⁵viniggaṭasi-
 6 āghā(mhā)-anamaṇimakuṭapaṭṭavaradhamā-di(dvi)jāvō(rā)jāla(lā)-
 7 āchhana-ātrudhvaṇḍarakaśa⁶-ātrumaṇḍall(lī)ka[sa⁷]mudva[ha]ṇḍaṇḍa-
 8 satyamārittaṇḍa-dēva-āri-Vaidyanātha-paḍapa-

Second Plate : First Side

- 9 kaṁ(āka)jāhārāṁ(bhā)maṇa-māha(hā)bhū(bhū)patilla(tula)⁸ Chakravartī-āri-Sōmō-
 10 āvaradēvaru(rā)⁹ pravardhamāna-jī(vi)jaya-rā[jya]-samva[ta]māhuvullu¹⁰
 11 iruval-muṇḍ[u]ḍa 23 ārahī¹¹ Māghō māsi śukla-pakṣhō tithau
 12 sapṭamyaṁ Makara-sthithō savitari Mīna-rāśi-sthita-chandramasi
 13 Ravi(vau) Rēvatyaṁ-āmrīta-yōgā Chō(Chī)ṭōṭpalāyās-tirō Idā(La)hākāvartta-
 14 ka-saṁ(sa)anidhan Vatsa-sagōtrasya Gadādhara-nāma(h¹²) putrāya Vatsa-sagō-
 15 trasya Puruṣhōttān(tāma)¹³-nāma(h¹⁴) putrāya Vā(Kā)śya(āya)pa-sagō(gō)trasya¹⁵ āri-Sōmō
 16 svamādevavarmaṇaḥ putra(tra)ḥ Kāśyapa-sagōtrasya āri-Dhātalla-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 17 dēva(rā¹⁶)mmapaḥ putraḥ Vatsa-sagū(gō)trāya Madhuśa(sā)ḍana-nāmā(mnā) Vṛā(Bṛā)-
 18 hmapāya ā-sa(sū)trānta-haṁtra-vēda(vēda) Ru(Ri)g-vēda-mantra-vṛā(bṛā)hmag-ādhya-
 19 yinē Mahāśā-Atāṇḍrā¹⁷-Mādhakā-Khādna¹⁸-Kōkatidō[va]-
 20 paṭcha-pallikā-sahitaṁ Champāmalla-grāmaṁ chatuḥ-simā-pa-
 21 riōhhi(chōhhi)ma[di¹⁹] sa-jala-sthala(rū²⁰) sa-machchha(taya)-
 kaṭchhap-ādikā[di²¹] sa-viṭan(ta)ṇ-āmyaṁ
 22 nīlū-na(nī)kōhōpa-sahitaṁ sarva-ḍpācitra(dra)va-va(vi)vaḥi(rji)taṁ(tam) apu[trā]²²-sa-
 23 hitaṁ(tam) āyur-ārōgya-rājya-vivridhaya(dhya-a)rttha(rū²³) āri-Vaidyanātha(dēvasya-
 priti)-

¹ Mr. Marudhar read this as *ā-āh(u)l-sāhā.

² This epithet is evidently a corruption or alteration of *śaṅkha-parāśakti* which occurs among the same string of titles held by a Telugu-Chōḍa chief (No. 408 of 1922 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.)

³ Mr. Marudhar read this title as [Vā]śha(śha)para-car-āhāṭṭara.

⁴ Whether this is to be restored as *parāśaktiśha* or *parāśaktiśha* is doubtful. The latter seems to be more appropriate.

⁵ This is the Telugu honorific plural for *dhya*.

⁶ This is Telugu for *dhya*.

⁷ Read *saṁvāṭṭaṇḍa*.

⁸ Mr. Marudhar's reading is *āvaradēva-āghā-muṇḍaṇḍa-jī(vi)jaya-rā[jya]-samva[ta]māhuvullu (1).
āghā-muṇḍaṇḍa 33 *āghā*-Māghō

⁹ The *ā* sign may actually be a *h* or *h* or *h* to indicate that the latter was inadvertently omitted.

¹⁰ An *āghā* was missed and deleted above *āghā*.

¹¹ Mr. Marudhar read this as *āghā*.

¹² Mr. Marudhar's reading is *Māghō-āghā*.

¹³ This word evidently stands for *ḍpācitra*, i.e., without for failure of hairs. Cf. *nīlū-nīkōhō-ḍpācitra* in lines 21-22 of the Kumilimā plates. Mr. Marudhar wrongly reads 'jātaka' of the above passage as *śaṅkha* and offers a fanciful interpretation of the word. The expression *ḍpācitra* literally 'what is derived from punishment' no doubt means 'money exacted from offenders as fine.'

Third Plate : First Side

- 24 kāmū(h*) āri-śōmāśvarādēvavar[ṇ]mā¹ pradadē [(*)]
 25 Bhūmim yaḥ pratigrihṣāti yaś-cha bhūmim prayachohati [(*)]u-
 26 bhaa dvau (tan) pūṣya-karmāṇau niyatau(taḥ) svargga-gāminau ||
 27 Mā bhū[ḍ-a]phala-sankā vaḥ para-datt-ōti pārtthiva(vāḥ)| eva-
 28 dattāt-phalam-ānuantyaṁ para-datt-ānupālānē || Gām-ākām
 29 savarṇnam-ākūṣṭh bhūmīr-apy-oddha(vāḍha)m-aṅgul[ṇ]m*| haṣaṇ-narakam-āpinō-
 30 ti yāvad-āhūta-sāṁplavaṣ(vam) || Yad-vuṛi-bhūpāla-villāni-
 31 nām-ū(m-a)ṅkshipta-hānē(rē)yu(ahu) payōdharēṣu | aaru-pravāhaḥ pṛithu-cha(hā)-

Third Plate : Second Side

- 32 va(ru)-ya(ahu)[ṇ]m*| vin-aiva aṣṭādya samāśaṇja || Yasy-a-
 33 nvaṇ bhūpatir-ōsha jātaḥ Yaśōga² ity-ābha-
 34 rāja-simhaḥ [(*)] yasmina(ṣmān) vinikshipyā dhuraṇ-dharitryāḥ
 35 suvā(ahvā)pa vāridhau muditō Mukundaḥ || Yasy-āvarōdha-
 36 stana-chandanānōḥ prakāśalanād-vāri-vihāra-kālā | Chi-
 37 trōtpalā Svargavati-gat-āpi |³ Gaṅg-ōmmi-śa[ṇ]m*|śaktam-iv-a-
 38 vibhāti||

No. 46—TWO NISHIDHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM SONDA

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

Sōndā in the Sirsi taluk of the North Kanara District, Bombay State, is a small hamlet with few residential buildings. A dilapidated fort, some deserted temples, a few monastic establishments and ruins scattered over a large area bespeak the eminence once enjoyed by this place. Besides being the headquarters of the Nāyaka chiefs who ruled over this tract during the period of the 16th to the 18th centuries, this was once, in the heyday of its glory, a busy commercial centre with its communications extending far into the inland on one side and to the foreign countries through the activities of the Portuguese and English traders on the other.⁴ The name of the place occurs in earlier records in various forms, viz., Sōdā, Sōde, Svādi, Sōdāpuri, Sudhāpuri, etc.

In addition to the *maṭha* founded by the Mādhyama saint Vādirāja Tirtha, Sōndā contains a Jaina *maṭha* of pontifical dignity, though in a decayed condition. This is known traditionally as the

¹ Mr. Mazumdar read this name as *Yōdāśvarādēvavarṇam*. What he read as *yē* is definitely *śō* and the letter read by him as *p* is *m*. For similar forms of *m* see 'Formed in the same line and *mandala* in plate C p. line 1, of the Sonapur plates of Kanaka Śōmāśvarādēva : above, Vol. XII, p. 246 and plate.

² The text is here metrically defective.

³ The mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁴ North Kanara District Gazetteer, part II, pp. 52 and 349.

Akalankā and the Bhaṭṭākalankā maṭha¹ among the Jaina community of the Bomnaye-Karnāṭak area. At a distance of about a mile from this maṭha and in the midst of the forest is preserved a cemetery set apart for the interment of the deceased pontiffs of the maṭha. In this burial ground, arrayed in decent rows and constructed with characteristic designs stands conspicuous a large number of Jaina sepulchres known as *nishidhi*. On two of these constructions, which are more dignified and stand prominently at the commencement of a row are engraved the following two epigraphs which I copied in the course of my epigraphical survey of the Sirdi taluk in 1939-40. I am editing them below for the first time with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India. These inscriptions will hereafter be alluded to as **A** and **B** for the sake of brevity.²

A is incised on the four sides of the first *nishidhi* construction, while **B** is inscribed on a slab fixed into the front side of the second *nishidhi* construction referred to above. The figures of a reclining seat and *kamaṇḍala* are carved in the right and left corners at the top of **B**. The orthographical convention of doubling the consonant after *r* is followed in some expressions of both the records: e.g., *-āchūryya* and *svaryya* occurring in lines 4 and 9 of **A** and 5 and 11-12 of **B**. Both the inscriptions are written in Kannada characters and language which is of the post-Vijayanagara period. Except for the last two lines of **A**, which contain a Sanskrit verse in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre, the composition of the two records is in prose.

A is an epitaph announcing the death of a Jaina teacher, named Akalanikadēva, on Kārttika śu. 10, Wednesday, of the Śaka year 1530 and Pṛavadiya. This teacher bore the following titles: *Rāya-rājaguru* (royal preceptor of kings), *Maṇḍalācārya* (high-priest of the state), *Mahāvāda-vādīvara* (supreme disputant in profound discussions), *Rāya-vādi-Pāṇinaka* (god Brahmā among the royal disputants), *Sakala-vidvājjana-chaḍḍavarti* (paramount sovereign in the assemblage of the learned) and *Ballālarāya-jīvarukṣā-pālaka* (saviour and protector of life of the Ballāla king). He bore two more epithets, viz., *Dēśa-paṇ-āgraganyya* and *Saṅgītapura-sinhāsana-pāṭṭhachārya*, which show that he belonged to the *Dēśi gāya* of the Mūla saṅgha and adorned the pontifical throne of Saṅgītapura. The Sanskrit verse at the end states that the memorial vault (*nishidhi-maṇḍapa*) was caused to be erected by Bhaṭṭākalankadēva, expounder of the Syādvāda doctrine. In the context of events it would not be unreasonable to assume that this Bhaṭṭākalankadēva was a disciple of the deceased Akalanikadēva.

In regard to the date cited above, it may be noted that the Śaka year was current and the weekday was Tuesday on the specified *tithi*. Making allowance for this discrepancy it may be equated with 1607 A.C., October 20.

B again is an epitaph purporting to record the demise of another Jaina teacher, by name Bhaṭṭākalankadēva, who expired in the second *ghaṭikā* after sunrise on Kārttika śu. 10 of Śaka 1577, Jaya. This teacher also bore the titles, such as *Rāya-rājaguru*, etc., enumerated above in respect of Akalanikadēva. The expression *Dēśi* in line 4 might be an abbreviation of *Dēśa-paṇ-āgraganyya* occurring in **A** and as such it would indicate that this teacher also belonged to the *Dēśi gāya* of the Mūla saṅgha.

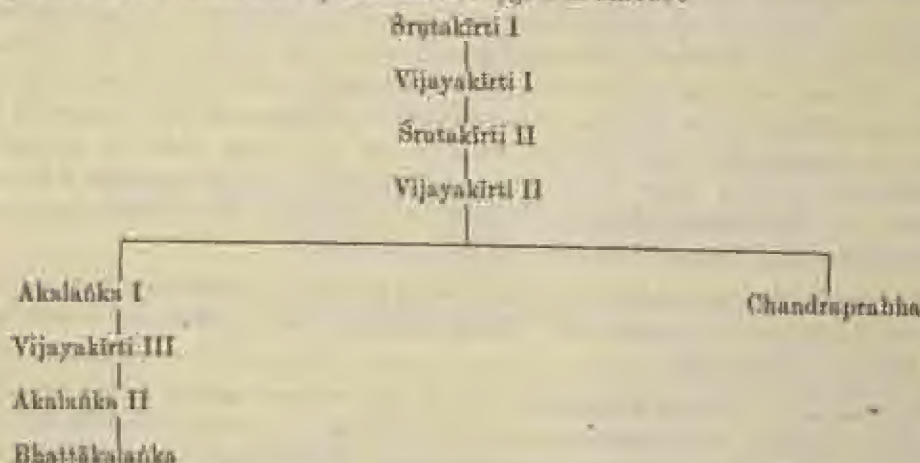
¹ At the time of my visit to the place I met the Svāmī of the maṭha and he told me that it was called the Bhaṭṭākalankā maṭha. In response to my enquiry Prof. A. N. Upadhye, Rajaram College, Kolhapur, informed me that the maṭha was known as that of Akalanika and that this traditional name was quite popular (letter dated 28-8-1944). While editing the copper plate records from Sonda, Prof. K. G. Kanchavkar observes that the maṭha took its name after its founders, Akalanika and Bhaṭṭākalanka; *Jaya Karnāṭaka* (Kannada monthly), 1925-26, p. 13. Both these traditions are in support of the identification of the two Jaina teachers proposed in the article. But the same writer is not entirely correct when he says that the maṭha was founded in the 4th century A.C. As shown in the article, the maṭha must have come into existence only during the 16th century A.C.

² These inscriptions have been registered as Nos. 77, 78 of 1939-40, *An. Rodi*, in *S. J. Epigraphy* for 1939-40 to 1942-43, Appendix E.

The date cited above is not verifiable as the week-day is not mentioned. However, we may note that the Śaka year was current, and thus the specified *tithi* would correspond to 1535 A.C., November 9, Thursday.

In order to understand the importance of these two teachers and their identification, we have to probe into the religious and political history of this region as gathered from other sources. During the period of the 14th to 17th century A. C., there flourished in the southern parts of the North Kanara District and the adjoining tract four principalities, viz., Nagire, Hāḍuvalli or Saṅgītapura, Bīlgi¹ and Sōndā. The rulers of these chiefdoms came under the powerful influence of Jainism and the Jain teachers who were responsible for this influence belonged to a particular monastic order. Two inscriptions² found in the dilapidated Ratnatraya Basadi (i.e., Jain temple) at Bīlgi in the Siddāpur taluk of the district furnish valuable information about these monks.

There flourished an erudite Jain teacher named Chārukīrti Paṇḍita who founded a monastery at Śravaṇa Belgola. He bore the titles, *Rāya-rājaguru*, *Maṇḍalāchārya*, *Mahāvādā-cōḍisvara*, *Rāya-vīḍi-Piṭāmaka*, *Sakala-vibhajjānu-chakravarti* and *Baḷlaṇṭya-jīvarakāśā-pāṭaka*. This teacher might have lived in the early part of the 12th century A. C., since, according to some inscriptions from Śravaṇa Belgola, he earned the last-mentioned title by saving the life of the Hoysala King Baḷlaḷa I (1100-1106 A. C.). This teacher belonged to the Dēśiya *gana* and *Pustaka gachchha* of the Mūla *sāgha*.³ The subsequent teachers who were connected with the spiritual heritage of this preceptor adopted these titles in their *prasaṇi*. Śrutakīrti was a later descendant in the monastic lineage of Chārukīrti Paṇḍita. The spiritual succession of Śrutakīrti as recounted in inscription No. I in the Ratnatraya Basadi at Bīlgi is as follows :



The earliest date mentioning the last named teacher, Bhaṭṭākalaṅka, as known from the above epigraph is Śaka 1010 or 1587 A. C. So on a modest calculation of about 25 years per generation we can place Śrutakīrti I approximately in the beginning of the 15th century A. C. It may be

¹ This name is spelt as Bīlgi and Bilgi also and Sanskritised into Śrīlāpura.

² I copied these epigraphs privately in 1938 and the above account of their contents is based on my own readings of their texts. These records have been published with many flaws in 1940, October-November issue of the Kannada Journal *Sarasa Sāhitya* whose editor states that he copied them in 1926. Their summaries have been published with some mistakes in the *Annual Report on Kannada Research for 1939-40*, Nos. 85, 86. The late R. Narasimhaiah referred to one of these inscriptions in his account of Bhaṭṭākalaṅka based on his copy found in the Madras Museum, *Kannada Kavicharita*, Vol. II, p. 248. But it is now seen that that copy must have been defective in parts.

³ *Kannada Śaśāstrasāra* (Bibliotheca Carnatica, 1923), Introduction, p. 5; Bīlgi Ratnatraya Basadi inscription No. I.

noted in this connection that the principality of Hāḍuvallī or Saṅgitapura also came into being approximately at this period.¹ The chiefs of Saṅgitapura seem to have accepted the spiritual leadership of these preceptors from the beginning and extended their support to Śrutakīrti I in establishing a monastery of pontifical status in their capital. Hence, as we shall see in the sequel, these preceptors were designated the pontiffs of the Saṅgitapura throne (*Saṅgitapura-vihāsaṇa-paṭṭāchārya*). The influence wielded by these preceptors over the rulers of Saṅgitapura is illustrated by the following assertion in the above epigraph. It states that Vijayakīrti I earned renown by securing the throne for Indrabhūpala of Saṅgitapura.² In regard to Vijayakīrti II, the second epigraph from Bīḷigi observes that he became eminent from his seat at Saṅgitapura.³

We may reckon a few more facts about these teachers, indicating the sphere of their influence as gathered from the first inscription from Bīḷigi and a few other records. Vijayakīrti II caused to be constructed a well-planned town named Bāṭṭakaja (modern Bhatkal) on the west coast for his pupil Dēvatāya who may be identified as the namesake elder brother of the Hāḍuvallī chief Gururāya⁴ who lived approximately in the first quarter of the 16th century. Soon after this and by the middle of the 16th century, the Hāḍuvallī chiefs lost their entity as a political unit.⁵

It was about this time that the chiefs of Bīḷigi, another principality in the neighbourhood, were rising to power. The influence of these teachers is clearly discernible on these rulers during the next few generations. Thus we are told that Akalaṅka I and Chandraprabha illuminated the path of the Jina by confiding the spiritual truths to their pupils Narasiṅka and Timma. These two chiefs were the sons of Ghaṭṭēndra I of the Bīḷigi family.⁶ This Narasiṅka's grandson Raṅgarāja was fervently devoted to Akalaṅka II and calls himself the foremost and favourite pupil of the latter.⁷ Raṅgarāja's son Ghaṭṭēndra II was equally attached to Akalaṅka II and more so to Bhaṭṭākalaṅka. Arasappa Nāyaka II, the founder of Svādī or Sōndā, another chiefdom nearby, seems now to have come under the direct influence of these teachers, more so, probably on account of his matrimonial alliance with the Bīḷigi family.⁸

Epigraphic evidence is precise to prove that the chiefs of Sōndā accepted the religious leadership of the above-noticed teachers of Saṅgitapura and revered them as their own spiritual preceptors. A copper-plate inscription from Sōndā, dated Śaka 1490 or 1567 A.C., and issued by the Sōndā ruler Arasappa Nāyaka II, recounts the genealogy of his preceptors from Vijayakīrti II of the above account, who is characterised as the lord of Saṅgitanagara.⁹ In this epigraph the chief styles himself the favourite pupil of Akalaṅka II. In the light of the above facts, it is easy to see how and under what vicissitudes the teachers who were originally at Saṅgitapura, passed on from that place to Bīḷigi and thence to Sōndā. It is in the fitness of things to assume that a monastery of pontifical status was founded for his preceptor Akalaṅka II by Arasappa Nāyaka II in his capital at Sōndā. The above review thus lends support to the prevalence of the tradition noticed in the

¹ *An. Rep. on Kan. Res. in Bom. Prov.*, 1930-40, p. 47. The genealogy of the Hāḍuvallī chiefs set forth here commences with Śijuvēndra who might have lived about the closing part of the 14th century, as his son Mallikāya has Śaka 1332 or 1410 A.C. as his last date.

² This Indrabhūpala may be identified with Indra in the genealogy of the Hāḍuvallī chiefs, who has the date Śaka 1394 or 1472 A.C. as his last.

³ The passage in question reads as follows: *Tat-samādhā-kramāṇi pītā Saṅgit-ābhyaṅga-puraṇi bhāṣaṇi dīkṣitāḥ Pī-jayakīrti-ārāyaḥ paramāgama-paṭṭāchāryaḥ ||*

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, the genealogy of the Hāḍuvallī chiefs.

⁵ *An. Rep. on Kan. Res. in Bom. Prov.*, 1930-40, pp. 45-46.

⁶ *Jaya Karnataka*, 1923-26, copper plate records of Svādī, No. 2; *Madras Ep. Coll.*, C.P. No. 2 of 1940-41.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, copper plate records of Svādī, No. 2.

⁸ *Bīḷigīya Arasappa Vanāśvālī* (Kannada work), verse 123. Arasappa Nāyaka II's daughter Viramāmbā was married to Ghaṭṭēndra II of the Bīḷigi family.

⁹ *Jaya Karnataka*, 1923-26, copper plate records from Svādī, No. 6.

beginning of this study, connecting the name of Akalaṅka and his disciple Bhaṭṭākalaṅka with the Jaina *majha* at Sōṇḍā.

Akalaṅka II and Bhaṭṭākalaṅka were the most celebrated teachers of the line; and the Bīḷgi epigraphs furnish the following information about them. They were held in esteem not only in the chiefdoms of the west coast, but were also renowned in other parts of the country on account of their profound learning and versatile scholarship. Well-versed in secular arts, a pleasing personality, of extraordinary ability and immaculate character, Akalaṅka II rose to eminence as the foremost among the circle of preceptors on account of his incessant practice of proclaiming and expounding the scriptures, tendered with affection. His disciple Bhaṭṭākalaṅka had mastered several branches of learning, was endowed with many good qualities and excelled in the art of exposition. Proficient in the treatises of his own school of philosophy as well as in those of others, constantly engaged in study and teaching, he proved himself to be an impressive figure, a critical scholar and a judicious advocate in the royal courts and in the assembly of learned men. It is stated at the end of the Bīḷgi inscriptions that they were written by Bhaṭṭākalaṅka. We can detect the personality of the learned author in these epigraphic compositions which evince scholarly treatment and literary style in its excellence.

A Jaina teacher named Bhaṭṭākalaṅka is the author of the *Karṇāṭaka-Saṁdānūśāsana*, a scholarly treatise on Kannaḍa grammar, written in Sanskrit in the *sūtra* style of Pāṇini. "This work is not only more elaborate and exhaustive than the previous ones, but also more methodical in the treatment of the subject. It may be said to be to Kannaḍa what the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is to Sanskrit and its learned commentary (written by the author himself) may in a way be compared to the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali."¹ This work was completed in 1504 A.C. From the colophon of the work, it is gathered that the author's teacher was Akalaṅka who was learned and assisted him in its composition, that these preceptors belonged to the lineage of Chāruḷīrti Paṇḍita and that they bore all the titles and epithets of the teachers of Saṅgītapura noticed above. Noteworthy among them is the characteristic title *Saṅgītapura-nishāṇa-pañḍitāchārya* which is also applied to Akalaṅka in the first *nishāṇi* inscription from Sōṇḍā as seen above.

Judging from the evidence adduced so far, it may be safely concluded that the grammarian Bhaṭṭākalaṅka and his teacher Akalaṅka are identical with Bhaṭṭākalaṅka and Akalaṅka II of the line of teachers from Saṅgītapura. We may further recognise the identity of the same two teachers in the two *nishāṇi* records from Sōṇḍā under study. The intimate connection of the grammarian Bhaṭṭākalaṅka as well as of his preceptor Akalaṅka with Sōṇḍā is attested by another authority also. This is Dēvachandra, an author of the last century, who states in his *Bīḷgiśikha* that the grammarian Bhaṭṭākalaṅka learnt all the sciences at Saṅgītapura,² i.e., Sōṇḍā, naturally under his teacher Akalaṅka.

Lastly, we may note that the above identification does not lead to any inconsistencies, although it might confer longevity upon the two teachers. The earliest date available for Akalaṅka II from an inscription³ is Śaka 1487 or 1504 A.C. and he died in 1507 A.C. according to A. This would show that he lived approximately over 60 years. Similarly Bhaṭṭākalaṅka was alive in 1587 A.C. and he passed away in 1635 A.C. according to B. So he might have lived approximately over 80 years.

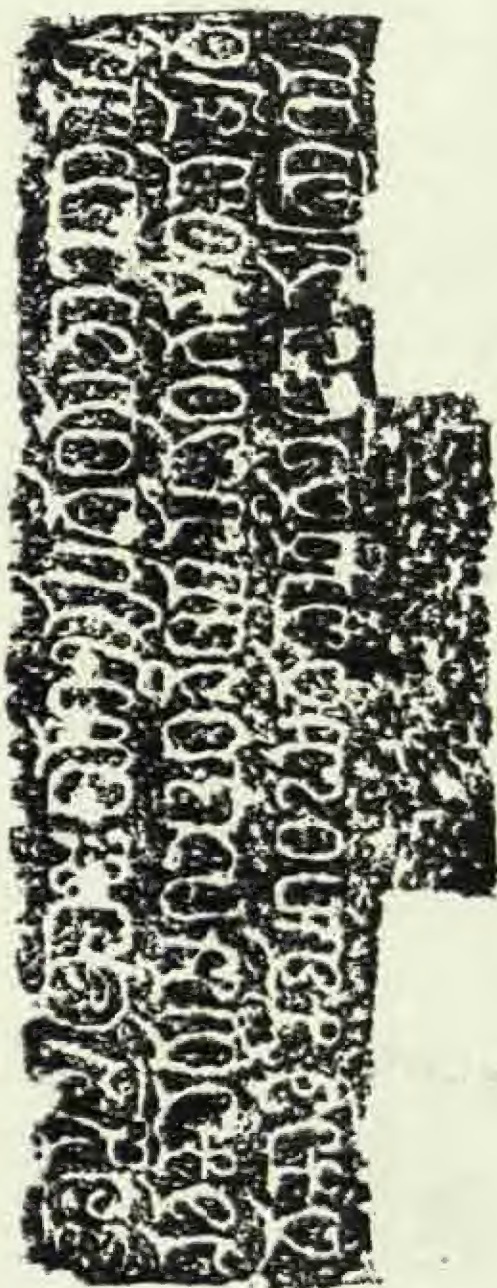
¹ *Karṇāṭaka Saṁdānūśāsana* (op. cit.), Intro. p. 7.

² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³ Akalaṅka II figures in a copper-plate record as the preceptor of the Bīḷgi ruler Raṅgarāja. The epigraph refers itself to the reign of the Vijayanagara king Sadāśiva and is dated Śaka 1487, Raktākṣi; *Jaya Kurudāta*, 1923-26, copper-plate records from Srāṅgi, No. 2.

TWO NISHIDHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM SONDA
A

FIRST SIDE



SECOND SIDE



THIRD SIDE



8

FOURTH SIDE



10

12

8

10

12

INSCRIPTION A

TEXT¹*First Side*

- 1 Śrī [i*] Svastī [i*] Śrī-jay-ābhyudaya Śālivāha-
- 2 na-Śaka-varuṣa 1530 neya Pīlavāṅga saṁvatsara-
- 3 da Kārttika śu 10 Budhavāradāni śrīmad-Rāya-

Second Side

- 4 [tājaguru-Maṇḍalāchāryya Mahāvāda-
- 5 [vādīvara Rāya-vādi-Pitāmaha Sakala-vidvaj-ja-
- 6 [na-chakravartī Raṇḍalārāya-jīvarakṣhā-pā-

Third Side

- 7 laka Dōḍi-gaṇ-āgragaṇya Saṁgītāpura-simhā[sana]-
- 8 paṭṭāchāryya śrīmad-Akalanīkadēvarugaḷu
- 9 śrī-Paṇcha-guru-charaṇa-amaraṇiyiṇḍa svarggaṇṭha-ā-

Fourth Side

- 10 [daru] [i*] Avara nishidhi-maṇṭapakke maṅgala mahāśrī [i*]
- 11 Bhāṭṭākalanīkadēvaṇa Syādvāda-nyāya-vādinā | nishi-
- 12 dhi-maṇṭapō dīpādhiḷaḷa sthēyād-ā-chaṇḍira-bhāṇ[k]arath ||

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

Be it well! On Kārttika śu. 10, Wednesday of the Śālivāhana Śaka year 1530 and Pīlavāṅga, the illustrious teacher Akalanīkadēva, bearing the distinguished titles, *Rāya-rājaguru*, *Maṇḍalāchāryya*, etc., attained heaven, meditating on the feet of the Five Teachers.² May this vault erected in his memory be auspicious! This memorial vault (*nishidhi-maṇṭapaka*) was arranged (i.e., caused to be erected) by Bhāṭṭākalanīkadēva, expounder of the Syādvāda doctrine.

INSCRIPTION B

TEXT¹

- 1 Svastī[i*] Śrī-jay-ābhya[da*]ya Śālivāhana-sa(śa)ka-va(rsha)
- 2 1577 Jaya saṁ[va*] [ta*] [ra*]da Kārttika sudh(d)ha daśami
- 3 Sū[r]yōjāyav-āda ya(e)raḍana ghaḷigoya-
- 4 Ii Dēśi śrīmad-Rāya-rājaguru Maṇḍa-
- 5 lāchyā(chā)ryyaruṇ Mahāvāda-vādīvara Rā-
- 6 ya-vādi-Pitāmaha(ha) Sakala-vidvaj-jana-cha-

¹ From impressions.

² These are the Pañcha Paramahatthas, the well known pentad of Jain theology, viz., Jina, Sūhṛa, Āchārya, Upādhyāya and Sādhu.

- 7 [kra]varttisa[|n|th Ballā]arāya-jīvarakāhā-pā-
- 8 laharum appa śrinad-Bhaṭṭākalanika-jīyā-dē-
- 9 yam
- 10 'ārī-jPaṭhaka-guru-cintara-amarā[neyitāda]
- 11 Chāra-madgha-(samaksha)ḍali-sva-
- 12 rggavanyai(nai)ḍidaru [I*] I[th]-
- 13 [t-ā] āri āri āri [I*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

Be it well! On Kārttika Suddha daśami of the Śālivāhana Śaka year 1577 and Jaya, in the second *ghaṭikā* after sun-rise, the illustrious revered teacher Bhāṭṭakalanikādēva attained heaven, while he was absorbed in meditating upon the feet of the Five Teachers in the presence of the Four-fold Saṅgha.²

No. 47—TEKKALI PLATES OF MAHARAJA UMAVARMAN; YEAR 9

(2 plates)

M. VEKATARAMAYYA, OOTACAMUND.

This set of three copper plates was received for examination in 1934 by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Mysapore, Madras, from the Deputy Tahsildar of Tekkali, Visakhapatnam District. It is registered as C. P. No. 13 of 1934-35 in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1934-5*. The Superintendent for Epigraphy reports on page 52 of the said *Report*, on the charter as follows:

"The plates measure $8\frac{1}{2}$ " by $2\frac{1}{4}$ " and have a ring-hole of about $\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter near the left margin, through which passes the ring measuring $3\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. The ends of this ring are soldered into the back of an oval seal which bears a worn-out legend on its oval counter-sunk surface measuring about $1\frac{1}{4}$ " by $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The ring had been cut when the plates were received by me. The first plate is engraved on the inner side only, while the other two plates have writing on both the sides, the second face of the third plate bearing only two lines of writing. The whole set including the ring and seal weigh 79 tolas and without these only 48 tolas. The plates are reported to belong to the Raja of Tekkali, who has published an inaccurate text of the inscription in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. VI, p. 53. The Raja does not mention the place, or history, of the discovery of the plates, but only states that a Karnaṁ of Tekkali had these in his possession when they came to his notice."

The seal of the plates is very much worn out; nevertheless traces of four letters, in a single line, are visible. Of these the last can be made out as *tha*. The Raja of Tekkali, however, reads the whole legend as *patribhaktāḥ* which is not clear in the photograph. It is not improbable that the legend might have been as read by the Raja, since we have three other instances of a similar legend which occurs on the seals of the Kōmarti plates³ and the Bobbili⁴ plates of Chāṇḍavarman and on the Chicacole plates of Nandaprabhāñjanavarman.⁵

¹ Lines 10-13 are inscribed in the top portion of the slab.

² The Four-fold Saṅgha might be the Nāma Jna, Śikṣapana Jna, Dhārya Jna and Bhārya Jna, defined in the *Prameśana Śāstrāddhāra*; *Jaina Iconography* by B. C. Bhattacharya, p. 17.

³ Above, Vol. IV, p. 142.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 29.

⁵ *Jat. And.* Vol. XIII, p. 48. Dr. Fleet, who edited this record, could not decipher the legend on the seal. This was, however, read by Dr. Hultsch as *Patribhaktāḥ*; above, Vol. IV, p. 142.

The four seals are now reproduced here, for the first time, for comparison.

The characters of our inscription resemble those in the first two grants cited above, all of which are engraved in the southern script. In some cases, like *sa* and *ca*, the letters of the present grant show a rounded appearance as compared with those of the Brihatprashastha grant¹ and the Dhavalapāṇa plates of Mahārāja Umavarman,² in which they appear angular. In all these charters including the one under study, the characters bear remarkable affinity to one another especially in the marking of the serif which is deeply cut. On palaeographical grounds the script of the above two charters of Umavarman has been assigned to the first half of the fifth century A.C.³ Our record may also be placed in the same century on the same grounds. The Superintendent for Epigraphy, however, remarks about its script as compared with that of the Brihatprashastha grant as follows: "From the more angular aspect of the script adopted in this inscription and also the more archaic form of certain letters and its orthographical peculiarities, this may have to be assigned to an earlier period. The forms of subscripts for *y* and *r* adopted in this inscription, resemble those found in later Kushāṇa epigraphs. The doubling of the consonant before the *repha* also suggests an earlier model like the Nāḷa inscriptions."⁴ It is difficult to agree with the line of argument adopted above, since it is not quite correct to compare these Kālīṅga grants which are in southern characters with the Kushāṇa records which are in northern characters.

As regards the orthography of the Tekkali plates there is nothing particular to remark. There are very few errors of composition or those committed by the scribe. A consonant after *r* is duplicated. The doubling of the consonant before a *repha* is found in *dharmma-kramma* (line 2) and *vikkrama* (line 9). *Yuddhishthira* for *Yudhishtira* (lines 14-15) is evidently a mistake. There is only one instance of the use of *b* for *v* (*sambatsara*, line 16). The phraseology of the grant is in many respects similar to that obtaining in the allied Kālīṅga grants cited above except for a few differences. Thus, the passage *dharmma-kramma-vikkramābhyaḥ(maiḥ) dānam-anupātanaḥ-ch-eti* *ēsha khalu sa dharmmaḥ* may be compared with the following one in the Brihatprashastha and other grants: *dharmma-kramma-vikkramāyām-anyatama-jigād-avāpya mahim-anuśāntam pravṛttakam-idaṁ-dānam tad-dharmmam-anupatyuddhiḥ*, etc. Towards the end of the record and before the mention of the *likhaka* there is an interesting endorsement to the effect that the charter was written by the king in his own hand and was as such capable of destroying sin. It runs, *rājāḥ svahasta-likhitaṁ lāṣanāḥ pāpa-nāśanam*. Here the word *likhitaṁ* is perhaps to be understood in the sense that the king attested the original deed of gift himself since the inscription says that the king himself was the executor (*svayam-ajñāt*). Mention is made of another person, Kāśavadeva of Pishāpura, who is also stated to have written it. The latter evidently was the person who actually wrote the inscription on the copper plates which was later engraved over.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Except the three imprecatory verses, the rest of the composition is in prose.

The object of the charter is to record the gift of a village called Antihavēra or Havēra⁵ as a tax-free *agrahāra* to a Brāhminya Yastārman of the Kāśyapa *gotra* by Mahārāja Umavarman who describes himself as *pitṛpādānuśyātāḥ*. The date of the grant is given in words as the seventh day of the dark fortnight of the month of Māgha in the ninth year (of the king's reign). The king himself was the *ajñāt*, i.e., executor of the grant. The record is stated to have been written (*likhitaṁ*) by the king himself. It is also recorded that Kāśavadeva, a resident of Pishāpura wrote (*likhitaṁ*) the charter. As explained above, the king perhaps issued the original charter in his own hand and executed it, its copy having been reduced to writing on the copper plates by Kāśavadeva.

¹ Above, Vol. XII, p. 4 and plate.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 123 and plate.

³ *AAASIK*, 1924-55, p. 52.

⁴ See below p. 202, foot-note 2.

The order conveying the gift was issued from the victorious **Vardhamānapura**.

In the century to which *Mahārāja* Umavarman of the present Tekkali plates has been assigned there ruled in Kalinga another king of the same name, viz., *Kalingādhipati* Umavarman, already mentioned, who was the donor of the Brihatprāsthā grant and of the Dhavalapāṭa plates. That both may be identical seems at first sight plausible, but it was perhaps not so. In the first place there is a marked difference in the seals attached to their respective grants. Those of *Kalingādhipati* Umavarman have the legend in four lines ending with the name of the donor in the genitive case. The one attached to the present Tekkali plates has only a single line as legend which in all probability reads *pitrībhaṭṭaḥ*. The absence of the title *Kalingādhipati* among the titles of Umavarman of the present charter may be considered as another factor pointing in the same direction of their non-identity. Whether the Umavarman of the present Tekkali plates belonged to the same family as, if he was not identical with, his namesake of the records cited above cannot also be ascertained with the evidence at our disposal. On the other hand, there is a possibility of our Umavarman being in some way lineally connected with two other kings of Kalinga who flourished in or about the same century, viz., *Kalingādhipati* Chaṇḍavarman of the Bobbili¹ and the Kōmarti² plates and *Sakala-Kalingādhipati* Nandaprabhañjanavarman of the Chicacole plates.³ In all their grants the legend on the seals is the same, viz., *pitrībhaṭṭaḥ*. A common legend like this used by several kings on the seals of their charters would indicate that it was more than a personal epithet of a particular ruler, perhaps a cognomen indicating one family. We have a similar instance of a common legend adopted by the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, viz., *Tribhuvanāśoka*. Although this occurs as a personal attribute of a number of kings of this dynasty, its adoption as a legend on the seals of their charters by different members of the family invests it with greater significance than that of merely indicating a particular ruler. Perhaps it gained importance as a common title of the family as a whole. Similarly, it may be said that the kings who used the legend *pitrībhaṭṭaḥ* were all of one family, whose dynastic appellation, if any, is not at present known. The origin of the legend can be traced to the personal epithet *pitrīpādīsudhyātāḥ* or *bappabhaṭṭarakapādubhaṭṭaḥ* by which these kings are found to style themselves. While there were other rulers belonging to different dynasties, viz., the kings of the Māthara, Pallava, Śālaṅkāyana and Viśhṇukūṇḍin families, who used the same epithet, none of them adopted it as a legend on their seals.

As stated above, king Umavarman of the present charter was not the overlord of the whole of Kalinga, as he does not bear the title *Sakala-Kalingādhipati* or even *Kalingādhipati*. He seems to have been ruling only a portion of the country from his capital at Vardhamānapura. I have stated elsewhere⁴ that *Kalingādhipati* Chaṇḍavarman of the Bobbili and Kōmarti plates should have

¹ Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 30 ff. and plate.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff. and plate.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 46 ff. and plate.

⁴ See article on the Madras Museum plates of Anantaśaktivarman, above, p. 221. The chronological position of another early king of Kalinga, viz., Viśhkhavarman, who issued the Kōṭṭaṇḍ plates (above, Vol. XXI, p. 23), remains uncertain. The script of this record resembles the characters of *Kalingādhipati* Umavarman's grants (Brihatprāsthā grant and Dhavalapāṭa plates) and those of the present Tekkali plates of *Mahārāja* Umavarman. Viśhkhavarman does not bear the title *Kalingādhipati* and his charter is issued from Śrīpura. Neither the ring nor the seal of his grant is forthcoming to help us in deciding whether he was a *pitrībhaṭṭa* king or not. To take a case from his name Viśhkhavarman, we might suppose that he was the son of an Umavarman, since Viśhkhā, i.e., Śānda, was the son of Umā, i.e., Pārvatī. If future discoveries substantiate this conjecture, it would appear that the Bappa-bhaṭṭaṭṭa for whose heavenly life he made the gift of the village recorded in his Kōṭṭaṇḍ plates (named *bappa-bhaṭṭaṭṭa-pāṭṭaṇḍa* *vara-bhāṭṭaṭṭa-muchyulāṇḍa* *śāṇḍaḥ* *pura-pṇṇaṇḍa*) is to be identified with one of the two kings of the name of Umavarman. If he was *Kalingādhipati* Umavarman of the Brihatprāsthā grant, it might be supposed that soon after his death and before Viśhkhavarman could consolidate his power, *Kalingādhipati* Chaṇḍavarman wrested the Kalinga kingdom from the young prince and thus deprived him of his lordship over Kalinga as well as of the title of *Kalingādhipati*.

acquired the kingdom of Kālīṅga soon after *Kālīṅgādhipati* Umayarman had ceased to rule. Our Umayarman, who belonged to the same family as that of Chaṇḍavarman, must have been holding sway over a part of Kālīṅga sometime after Chaṇḍavarman, that is, in the third quarter of the 5th century. Of the three kings who belonged to this line of *pitribhaktas* rulers, *etc.*, Chaṇḍavarman, Umayarman and Nandaprabhañjanavarman, only Umayarman did not style himself as *Kālīṅgādhipati*. Since the characters of Nandaprabhañjanavarman's grant belong to a period later than those found in the inscriptions of the other two *pitribhaktas* rulers, we may consider Umayarman of our grant as having preceded him but to have come after Chaṇḍavarman who immediately followed *Kālīṅgādhipati* Umayarman, whose family is not known. It would appear that owing to the causes unknown, Umayarman lost his hold on the whole of Kālīṅga. Some time later *Mahārāja* Nandaprabhañjanavarman restored the power of the family to its old position, since this king is found to assume the title *Sakala-Kālīṅgādhipati*. He was in his turn, superseded by another line of Kālīṅga rulers, *etc.*, the Vāsishṭha family to which belonged Anantavarman, Lord of Kālīṅga, who acquired the kingdom by his own prowess¹ as recorded in his Śrīpuram² and Śrūṅṅavarapukōṭa³ plates. Thus, of the three *pitribhaktas* kings, Chaṇḍavarman ruled the whole of Kālīṅga from his capital at Sindhapura. His successor, Umayarman of the present plates, administered only a part of the country from his seat at Vardhamānapura. Nandaprabhañjanavarman, evidently the last ruler so far known of this line, again exercised sway over the whole of Kālīṅga from his seat (*vīśaka*) Śārapalli as recorded in his Chioacole plates. Since this place was only a *vīśaka* or camp, he might have had his capital elsewhere.

Of the places mentioned in the present grant, *Pishtaṭapura* is well-known. The others, *Vardhamānapura* and *Astihavēra* have been identified respectively with Vaḍams in the Palakonda taluk, Visakhapatnam District, and Atava in the Sruṅṅavarapukota taluk in the same District by the late Mr. C. R. Krishnamachari.⁴ These are situated at a distance of more than fifty miles from each other.

Some of the villages referred to in the early Kālīṅga grants have not been satisfactorily identified so far. In the following list, I have tried to indicate their modern names.

Reference.	Village mentioned in the inscription.	Modern name.	Taluk and District.
1. Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 323 (Dhavalapēta plates).	Kattu[pa] in Mahendrabhōga.	Kadapustūgi . . .	Golugonda Agency, Visakhapatnam District.
2. <i>Ibid.</i> , Vol. XXVII, p. 33 (Bobhill plates).	Tirithūpa . . .	Tūgem . . .	Chirapurapalle taluk, Visakhapatnam District.
3. <i>Ibid.</i> , Vol. IV, p. 143 (Kōmarṭi plates).	Kōhetūra . . .	Kottūra . . .	Selakentam taluk, Srikakulam District.
4. <i>Ibid.</i> , Vol. XXI, p. 23 (Kāraṇapāṭa plates).	Tampōyaka in Kōraśālakapāṭaṭṭi.	Tampa ⁵ near Korasandi.	Parlakimedi taluk Ganjam District.
5. <i>Ind. Ant.</i> , Vol. XIII, p. 48 (Chioacole plates).	Śārapallivāśaka . . .	Śāripalle . . .	Visianagaram taluk, Visakhapatnam District.

¹ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 40.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 58.

³ *ASIE*, 1934-5, part II, para 2. If the name of the latter village is to be taken only as Herāra, I am unable to locate it.

⁴ This identification has already been suggested by Mr. C. R. K. Chari; above, Vol. XXVII, p. 302.

TEXT¹*First Plate*

- 1 Svasti [I*] Vijaya-Varddhāmanāpurā[ti] patipādānuddhyātā[ḥ] śrī-Mahārāj-ō-
 2 navarmanā Astihavēra²-grāmē sarva-samavētām(n) kutumbinaḥ-sa-
 3 māñāpayaty-astā vō viditām [I*] amākaṁ aya-puṇy-ā(hy-ā)yur-yyaśō-
 4 bhāvīddhayaḥ ā-chandra-tārak-āṭka-pratishṭhām-agrahāṁ kṛtvā a-

Second Plate : First Side

- 5 [ka]ragrāhika-grāmañ-cha kṛtvā sarva-kam-bhāra-parihātā[ḥ] parihā[tiya]
 6 Ya[śa]śarmmañ Kāśyapa-gōtrāya samprattā[ḥ] [I*] tad-evañ viditvā
 7 yushmābhīḥ pūrva-śchīna-maryyāday-ōpasthānam kartavyam-iti
 8 [mā]ya-hiraṇy-ādī ch-ōpanēyam-iti bhaviṣyad-rājñā³-cha vijñāpa-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 9 yāni dharmma-kkrama-vikkramābhya[maḥ] dāmm-anupālanāñ-cha-ōti ā-
 10 ssa khala sa dharmmaḥ | api ch-ātra Vyāsa-gītā[n*] ālōkān-udā-
 11 haranti [I*] Bahubhīr-vasudhā dattā yaṁ dhā vasudhā[ḥ]hipa[ḥ] [I*] ya-
 12 [aya] yaṁ ya dā bhūmi[ḥ] tasya tasya tadā phālam [I*] Shāshī-varaḥ-sa-

Third Plate : First Side

- 13 hantāpi svargg⁴ mōdati bhūmida[ḥ] [I*] ākshēptā ch-ānumantā cha tāny-ēva
 14 narakē vaśēt [I*] Sva-dattā[ti]ḥ para-dattām vā yatnād-rakṣa Yuddhi[ḥ]
 15 ah[hira] [I*] mahā-mahimātā[ḥ] śrēṣṭhā dānā[ḥ] chhōyō⁵-anupālanam [I*] Māghaya kri-
 16 shṇa-divasō[ḥ] saptañ sambhāraḥ nayanā⁶ svayam-ājñā [I*]

Third Plate : Second Side

- 17 Rājñā eva-hanta-likhitāñ sāsanañ pāpa-nāśanam-ōti [I*]
 18 Pishāpura-vāstavyēna Kēśavadēva likhitam-ōti [I*]

No. 48—PURI PLATES (SET B) OF GANGA NARASIMHA IV

(1 Plate)

D. C. SINGH, CUTTACKMUND

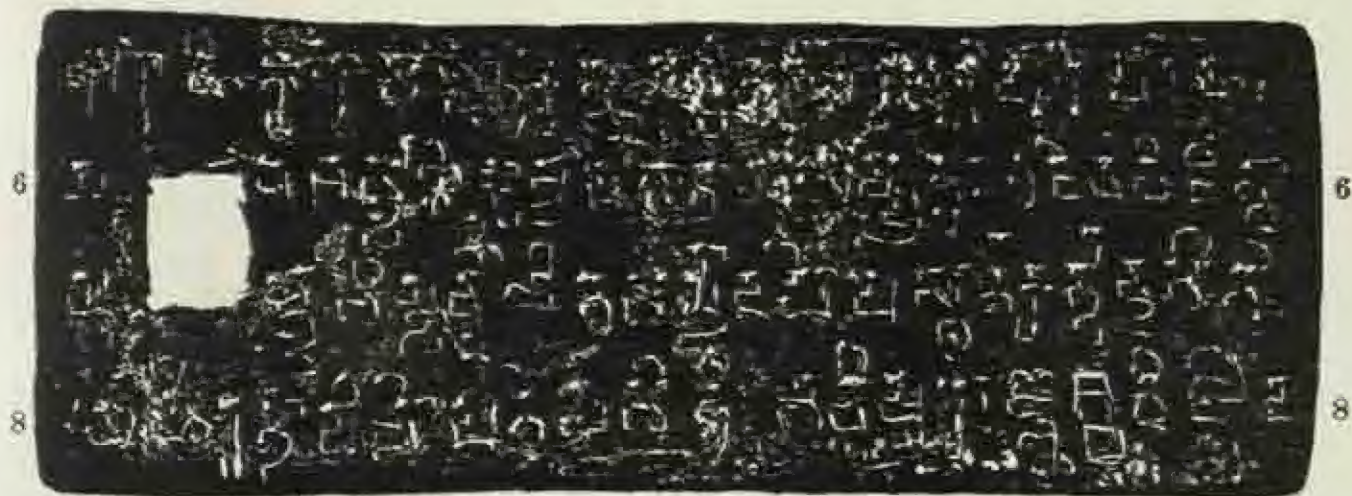
Sometime ago, my friend Mr. Paramēśanda Āchārya, Superintendent of Research and Museum, Government of Orissa, kindly sent me for examination a copper-plate inscription recently secured by him from Puri for the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. On examination, it was found to

¹ From impressions.² Possibly we have to read *astī* *Havira*, treating *astī* as an un-schistable and *Havira* as the name of the village. I owe this suggestion to Dr. B. Ch. Chakrab.³ Read *ajñāpita* or *ajñāpita* *ajñāpita*.

i.



ii, a.



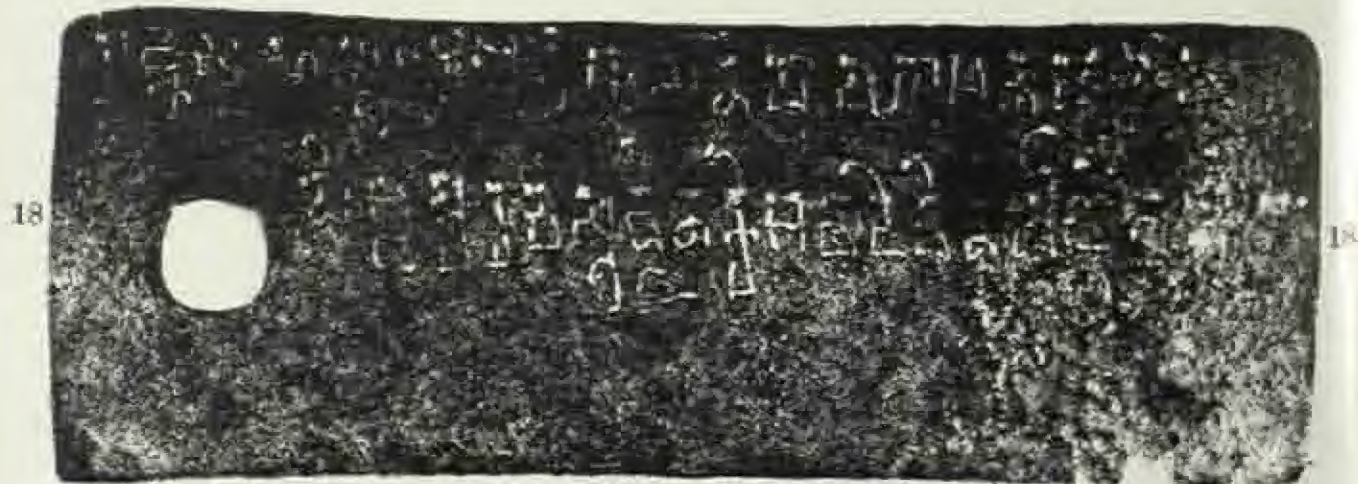
ii, b.



iii,a.



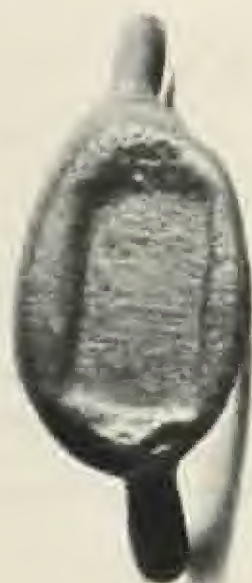
iii,b.



FOUR 'PETRIBHAKTA' SEALS



KOMARTI PLATES OF CHANDAVARMAN



BOBBILI PLATES OF CHANDAVARMAN



CHICACOLE PLATES OF NANDAPRABHANTANAVARMAN



TEKKALI PLATES OF UMAYARMAN

to the second of the two sets (A and B) of copper plates of the Eastern Ganga monarch Narasimha IV, published without facsimile by the late M. M. Chakravarti in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIV, 1895, Part I, pp. 128 ff. It was also found that considerable improvement in Chakravarti's reading and interpretation of the inscription, especially in the grant portion containing an early specimen of the Oṛiyā language, is possible. I am therefore re-editing the grant portion of the inscription incised on plate VI-VII.

Chakravarti found the inscription in the Śaṅkarānanda Maṭha at Purī, about half a mile to the south of the Jagannātha temple and close to the old palace of the Purī Rājā. It was originally incised on seven plates but the fifth one, together with the seal, is missing. That only six loose plates (without the missing fifth plate) came into the possession of the Maṭha is indicated by a modern inscription in Dēvanāgarī on the obverse of the first plate. It runs as follows:

- 1 idam tīrtha-sādhana-saṅkalan-
- 2 śrīmat-paṇḍitaśaṅkara-parivrajakāchārjya-Māgavadhana-
- 3 pīṭhādhipa-jagadguru-daṇḍī-Bālabrahmaṇḍala-Sāra-
- 4 svatī-svāmīnā padā amṛitam.¹

The plates measure each 13.3 inches by 11.1 inches. The first and the seventh plates have inscription only on the inner side, while the other plates are inscribed on both the obverse and the reverse. The plates (with the exception of Plate VII which has no writing on the reverse) were consecutively numbered, the particular numerical figure being engraved on the left margin of the reverse of each plate. The figure for 1 is of the Telugu type, while those for 2 and 3 are of the medieval Bengali type, 2 resembling modern Telugu and English 3 and 3 the Dēvanāgarī form of the same numeral. The figure for 6 is interesting to note. The figures for 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 9 also occur in the text of the inscription (Plate VI B, lines 12, 21; Plate VII, line 3). The numbers of lines on the different plates are as follows: IB—25, IIA—34, IIB—24, IIIA—24, IIIB—25, IVA—24, IVB—25, VIA—24, VIB—28, VIIA—23. The six plates together weigh 851 *tolas*.

The characters of the inscription are Gaudī influenced by Nāgarī, though a few letters (e.g. *r*) have forms approaching those of the letters in modern Oṛiyā. The engraving is carelessly done. A sibilant is often so formed that it is difficult to understand whether the engraver had the palatal or the dental in mind. In our transcript, we have sometimes ignored the forms of *s* looking like *ś* and vice versa. This is to avoid a large number of corrections in the transcript. The language of the verified portion of the inscription is Sanskrit; but the grant portion is prose: predominantly Oṛiyā. The orthography often exhibits influence of local pronunciation.² The same proper name has sometimes been spelt differently (cf. Rāgas55-Rāḍha³=⁴saō, Raktapaṭṭa-Rakata⁵, Vāruḡi-Vāruḡō, Ōḷamvōḷō-Ōḷamōḷō).

The charter was issued by the imperial Eastern Ganga monarch Narasimha IV who is known to have ruled in 1378-1402 A.C.⁶ It contains no less than three dates, the first in 1395

¹ Read idam tīrtha-sādhana-saṅkalan śrīmat-paṇḍitaśaṅkara-parivrajakāchārjya-Māgavadhana-pīṭhādhipa-jagadguru-daṇḍī-Bālabrahmaṇḍala-Sārasvatī-svāmīnā padā amṛitam.

² In Oṛiyā *ś* is usually pronounced as *s*. Note also the contractions *asa* for *asaḥ*, *pā* for *paṭi*, *gēhē* for *gēhārī*.

³ The latest definitely known date of the king is Śaka 1324 (=31st Aṅka or 25th regnal year). See *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 1019. He may not have been living in Śaka 1328 when his wife Pīrvatī-mahādēvī made a gift in favour of the god Narasimha of Simhachalam (*ibid.*, No. 731). Bopha Rao (*J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 79 ff.) takes 1414 A.D. to be the last year of the king's reign as another of his wives, named Nīladēvī, made a gift in favour of the same god in Śaka 1338 (*S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 1072). But this is uncertain as the queen seems to have been a widow at the time of the grant. A recent suggestion that the king died in 1409 A.C. (cf. *J. O. R.*, Vol. XIX, p. 135) is based on a misunderstanding of the evidence of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 1206, which belongs to the reign of Bhīma III and not of Bhīma IV as is wrongly supposed.

A. C., and the second and the third respectively in the following two years, *viz.*, 1396 and 1397 A. C.

The first five plates (including the lost fifth plate) as well as three quarters of the obverse of the sixth plate are occupied by the introductory part of the charter dealing with the genealogy of the royal family to which the issuer belonged and the achievements of the imperial Gaṅga rulers down to the issuer himself. The importance of this part has often been discussed by scholars on the basis of Chakravarti's transcript published more than half a century ago. In the present paper we are especially interested in the latter part of the document recording the grant made by Narasimha IV in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Dēvarathāchārya who was apparently the priest in charge of the worship of a god named Ugrēvaradēva.

The genealogical part of the inscription ends in line 19 on the obverse of plate VI. As one of the plates (Plate V) is lost, it is not possible to count the number of the lines in the inscription consecutively from the beginning. The end of the metrical part of the record dealing with Gaṅga genealogy is indicated by the words *śubham=astu*. The grant portion of the charter then begins with the date given in words as the expired Śaka year 1316. Line 20 says that the above year corresponded to the 22nd Aṅka year of king *Vira-śri-Narasimhadēva* (*i.e.*, Narasimha IV of the imperial Gaṅga family) who was endowed with titles like 'the lord of the fourteen worlds'. The details of the date on which the charter was drawn up are given in the next line as Tuesday, the eleventh *tithi* of the bright half of the month of Vṛschika, *i.e.*, the solar Mārgaśīrsha or Agrahāyaṇa. The date is irregular for Śaka 1316 expired; but, for Śaka 1317 expired, it corresponds to Tuesday, the 23rd November, 1395 A. C.¹ This date is said to have fallen in the 22nd Aṅka year, *i.e.*, the 18th regnal year of the Gaṅga king, Narasimha IV who is believed to have ascended the throne about 1378 A.C. and ruled at least up to the year 1402 A.C. At the time of issuing the grant the *śrī-charaṇa*, *i.e.*, the king, who purified (*śrī-śuṣhka*) himself by offering worship (possibly to the family deity Puruṣhottama-Jagannātha²) was staying in the *bhitarā-nagara* of the *koṭaka* (city or residence) of Vārāṇasī, *i.e.*, the present Cuttack. In this inscription, as in the corresponding passage of some records of the king's ancestor Narasimha II (*circa* 1273-1305 A. C.), the word *vijaya* has been used in its modified Oriyā sense of 'stay', etc. *Nagara* is an Oriyā corruption of Sanskrit *nagara* and means a city, palace, etc. *Bhitarā-nagara*, which is the same as *abhyantara-nagara* of some grants of Narasimha II, seems to refer to the king's stay in his palace at Cuttack. The following officers were then in the king's presence (lines 23-25): (1) *Mahāpātra* Kṛishṇānanda *Sāṇdhivigrahika*, (2) *Mahāpātra* Lāṅguratha *āchārya*, (3) *Mahāpātra* Gōpīnātha *Sāṇdhivigrahika*, (4) *Pātra* Siddhāvara *Jēṇā*, (5) *Dēvaraparīkṣā* Trivikrama *Sāṇdhivigrahika*, and (6) *Kināi* *Sēnādhyakṣa*. Among the official designations, the word *pātra* indicates a minister and *mahāpātra* a minister of a higher rank. *Sāṇdhivigrahika* was a minister dealing with matters relating to war and peace. The word *jēṇā* originally meant a prince of the royal blood, but later came to be a title of the nobility and ultimately a family name. The word *parīkṣā* (Oriyā *parīkṣhā*) means a superintendent, governor, etc. *Dēvaraparīkṣā* seems therefore to be the same as the *pratikṣā* (officer in charge of the palace-gate). *Sēnādhyakṣa* was a leader of the forces.

The last line (line 24) on the obverse of Plate VI says how the king (*śrī-kanta*; cf. *śrī-charaṇa* above) made a grant of (and in favour of) a Brāhmaṇa named Dēvarathāchārya in accordance with the *mudala* that had been settled before *Purō-śrīkaraṇa* Viṣṇunātha *Mahā-nāpati*. *Mudala* is a Telugu word meaning *ijā* or order and is first noticed in the records of Narasimha II. In Oriyā,

¹ Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 293.

² See *J. O. R.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 202-15. It is very probable that a substitute was installed after the original image of Puruṣhottama-Jagannātha, established in the Gaṅga palace at Cuttack by Anagabhīma III, had been carried away by Sultan Firuz Shāh of Delhi.

however, the word seems to be used in a modified sense to indicate an arrangement made according to order. That *mulala* and *āyā* were not used in Ōriyā exactly in the same sense is suggested by epigraphic passages using both of them. The Ōriyā inscriptions of the Śūryavarmanis have the following passages in a similar context: *āyāh hālā, Agniśarmā mudrāntara gōhara pālā mulalā, anadhāra ā mīyā pramānā, anadhāra āyāh vāhā mulalā, samastāka mukhāntara āyāh hālā, purā-avakāśā pīyāh hālā, āyāh vāhā hālā, etc.*² We have to note also the expressions *patānura-dīna-tri-kavāda-āg anadhāra āyā-vāhā mulalā* and *anadhāra-mulala-pramānā* occurring in the latter part of our inscription. The same modified sense of the word can also be traced in the *Mādhā Pāṇjī*³ in such passages as *tri-namrā vīp kūt mulala karālā, tri-pāda mulalā, āyāra-ś-manta mulala karā, etc.* *Mahān-ūpāl* was a high military officer, apparently higher than the *anadhāraśaka* mentioned earlier. *Śrīkaraya* indicates a scribe-accountant and *purā*, prefixed to it, may possibly connect the official with the *pura* or capital of the Ganga monarch, although it may also be connected with Sanskrit *purā* and point to a front rank among the *Śrīkarayas*. The word *purā* occurs in another grant of Narasimha IV as *pōra*, while the *Mādhā Pāṇjī* speaks of two officers of a Ganga king named Anāgabhūma as *Pōra-Pāṇjūhara-Parikshā Mithuni Paṇḍā* and *Pōra-Śrīkaraya Śūrya-Purnūyaka*.⁴

Line 1 on the reverse of Plate VI says that the land granted to Dēvarathāchārya measured one hundred *śāṭa*. It is further said (lines 1-5) that on Paṇḍitavāra (Wednesday), the 2nd of the solar month of Vriśchika (Mārgaśīrṣa) and the seventh *tithi* of the dark half of the lunar month in the 23rd Aṅka year, the *tri-charaya* (king), when he was doing *japa* (counting of beads) after having offered worship at the *kaṭaka* (city or residence) of Dēvakūta and when a number of officials were in his presence, granted two villages covering one hundred *śāṭa* of land to Dēvarathāchārya. The details of the date show that it corresponds to Wednesday, the 22nd November, A.C. 1396, a year after the grant was originally made. The officers present on this occasion were: (1) *Pātra Māhāmuni Purūḥita*, (2) *Dvāraparikṣā Trivikrama Saṁdhivigrahā* (*Sāṁdhivigrahā*), the same as No. 5 of the first list of officials quoted above, (3) *Fuḥṣāntaka Sōmanātha Vāhinipati*, and (4) *Bhitarabhāṇḍāra-adhikārī* Narahari *Saṁdhivigrahā*. In the official designation *Fuḥṣāntaka*, the word *vuḥṣā* is the same as Sanskrit *vyūḥa* (Prakrit *vuddhā*)-*mahā*, while *lāntaka* means a Śūdra servant of a king or a deity. *Vāhinipati* was a commander of the forces, possibly the same as *Śāṁdhivigrahā* mentioned in the first list quoted above. The designation *Bhitarabhāṇḍāra-adhikārī* (*bhāṭara* being the same as Sanskrit *abhyantara*) suggests that there was another officer styled *Bhāṭa-Bhāṇḍāra-adhikārī*. The *Bhitarabhāṇḍāra-adhikārī* was probably the officer in charge of the treasury or store-house in the inner part of the royal palace. On this occasion also the *mulala* or arrangement regarding the grant was made in the presence of the officer *Purā-trīkaraya Viśvanātha Mahāśūpāl*. According to this arrangement (lines 4-5 on the reverse of Plate VI), the one hundred *śāṭa* of land granted to Dēvarathāchārya were offered in the form of two villages situated in the *Madanakhayḍa viśaya* which formed a part of Kōṣṭhādēva consisting of eight *khayḍas* or divisions (like the said *Madana-khayḍa*). *Madanakhayḍa* is later referred to as *Ōḥamvōḥ* (or *Ōḥamvōḥ*)-*Madanakhayḍa*. The two gift villages are called here *Sāśāgrāma-Mākahāvara* and *Dakalapa-Rāśāśāgrāma*, although later the former has been referred to only as *Sāśāgrāma* and the latter sometimes as *Rāśha* or *raś*. The first village was a part of *Sāśāgrāma*, known as *Mākahāvara*. *Kōṣṭhādēva* or *Kōṣṭhādēva* is the name of a Pargana in the Purī District: but the expression may also indicate an area in the king's private possession.

² See J. A. S. B., Vol. LXII, 1892, Part 1, pp. 91, 93, 96, 99, 100.

³ Cf. *Mādhā Pāṇjī*, ed. A. B. Mahānt, Cuttack, 1940, pp. 27, 28, 30. Unfortunately, Mr. Mahānt has absolutely nothing to say about the meaning of such words, in spite of the fact that they are not recognised even in the voluminous *Pramāṇa Abhāṣā* (pp. 294) published in 1942.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 23. Some of the officers known from our record are also mentioned in several other inscriptions of the time of Narasimha IV. Cf. J. A. S. B., Vol. VIII, pp. 50 ff.

Lines 5-11 say how on Saturday, the Mīna-sukrānti on the eleventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the same year (*p-avāhi*), the villages Sāisā and Dakṣiṇa-Rājasaṁ (i.e. South Rājasaṁ) granted to Dēvarathāchārya were made the *deūti-bhūmi* or temple land of the god Ugrīśvaradēva of Kōṣṭhādēva. The date corresponds to Saturday, the 24th February 1397 A.C., i.e. about three months later. The king (*śri-charaṇa*) was then staying at the *kaṭaka* of Nārāyaṇapura and, while coming back from that place after having offered worship, had beside him the officers: (1) *Vuḍhā-lakkā Sōmanātha Vāhinipati*, the same as No. 3 of the second list, (2) *Bhuvanēśvara Saundhivigraha*, (3) *Lakṣmānānanda Saundhivigraha*, and (4) *Bhūta-bhaṇḍāra-odhībāri Naraḥari Saundhivigraha*, the same as No. 4 of the second list, which has been quoted and discussed above. The *mudala* is said to have been settled in the presence of *Dakṣaparikāṣa Trivikrama Saundhivigraha*, known from both the first and the second lists quoted above, and also of *Ami-Purā-parikāṣa-Mahāpātra Gatēśvaradāsa Śrīchandanā*. The word *Ami* in the official designation of Gatēśvaradāsa who had the title *Śrīchandanā* (that came to be a title of nobility), seems to be the same as Arabic *Amīn* probably indicating an officer of the revenue or judicial department. This suggestion cannot be regarded as improbable in view of the use of words like *mudāwāl* (Arabic *muqābil*, Persian *muqābil*) in the records of the Sāryavamāla, quoted above. The expression *ajāṣ-ṣūlā-mudala* (literally, "according to the arrangement made in accordance with the words of the order") may suggest that the said arrangement was made by Gatēśvaradāsa on behalf of Trivikrama. The gift land (*śāśana*), having the boundaries fixed on all the four sides and including the temple (of Ugrīśvaradēva), was endowed with a *paṭi* or *daṇḍ* (lines 10-11). Thus, although originally Dēvarathāchārya, who seems to have been the priest of the god Ugrīśvaradēva, was intended to be the donee of one hundred *ṛāṣi* of land, the god himself was ultimately made the donee of the above land as well as of the land around the temple.

Lines 11-20 describe the first of the three plots of the gift land. It was the village of Sāisā situated in Oḷamvōḷā-Medanakhayā. Its income to go to the king's revenue department (*koṭṭha-ṣyāpāra bhāga*) is given in words as 322 *māḍhas* but in figures as 322/6 in which 6 indicates a fraction (*paṇḍā*?) of the *māḍha*. *Māḍha* now indicates the weight of half a *tola* and the coin of this name referred to in the record was either of gold or silver of the said weight. It appears, however, that, in lieu of land, actually the revenue of the village called Sāisāgrāma, amounting to a little above 322 *māḍhas* possibly of silver was granted. The contraction *kaṭ*, put after the amount of money in this case, is also noticed in the latter part of the inscription in lines 21 (*śaḍ-māḍha-māḍha 127 kaṭ*) and 25 (*ṛāṣi-ṣūḷi 30 kaṭ*). It may have the meaning of the nasal expression *kaṭāṇ-āpi* which, however, is placed before the figures. Possibly it is a contraction of Sanskrit *kaṭāṇa* meaning "only." The grant seems to have been made with *vidhī* and *avādāna*. In Oḍiyā the word *avādāna* is used in the sense of a gift.¹ Thus the passage *ṣūḍhī-avādāna mudhya kaṭ* may indicate "together with the power to improve and alienate the land." But it is better to mean 'super-tax' and 'tax' respectively.² The record next enumerates the boundaries of the above village according to the determination of Thamāṭi-nāṣka(nāyaka) who was the *paṭihasta* (i.e. *pratihasta* or representative) of *Purā Śrīkaraga Viśvanātha Mahāśāhīpati*. The eastern boundary started from parts of the road to Chandraprabhā lying to the west of the *śāna* (gift village) of Bhagavatīpura and ran up to the Hiyala tree near or on the tank of or at Pōḍāpōḷā to the east of

¹ I am doubtful whether this *kaṭ* is the same as the accusative-case suffix *kaṭ* found in Fl. VI B, l. 14, Pl. VII, l. 4.

² Cf. *Avādānamāla* *śāhāśāstrīya* of *kaṭ* of *Jagannāthācārya Śrīpaṭi* (J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, 1893, Part I, p. 91).

³ For *śāṭṭha* or *śāṭṭha* meaning 'tax' in an Orissan record, see *Journ. Benc. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. VI, p. 107, to which my attention was drawn by Mr. K. B. Tripathi.

Vāṅgarisōgrāma. The northern boundary began with parts of the road to the north of the house of Chidichijī lying to the south of Vāṅgarisōgrāma and of the three-pronged cattle track going to the house of the Brāhmanas and ended in half of the waters (*udā-sā* for Sanskrit *arūha-arūhas*) of the river Vāṅgaṇī (later also called Vāṅgaṇī). The western boundary began with half of the waters of the Vāṅgaṇī river to the east of Rāḍasaḍgrāma and ended with parts of the cattle track going to Kuṣhīgāl to the south of Āmyatōḥa on the river bank of Gōpīnāthapura on the further side (of the river Vāṅgaṇī). The southern boundary began with Haṭṭagū to the north of Gōpīnāthapura and ran up to the northern bank of the river (Vāṅgaṇī) and to parts of the three-pronged cattle track going to the *śāma* (gift village) of Bhagavālpura and Gōpīnāthapura. In all (*gā*), this was one village with fixed boundaries on all the four sides.

Lines 20-26 describe the second plot of land consisting of the village of Rāḍasaḍ (*i.e.* Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍasaḍ) situated in the same *vishaya*. The grant was made with *vriddhi*, *mīlā* and *atundā*. The terms *vriddhi* and *atundā* have been discussed above; the meaning of *sakā* is uncertain. It may stand for Sanskrit *śatā* and indicate a tax collected on the basis of a hundred articles of a kind. The income of the village is given both in words and figures as 137 *māḍhas*, probably of silver. This income is qualified by a passage which seems to suggest that it was being enjoyed by the king's second queen (*manjī-ghara*) for worshipping the god Pārashōttama. The eastern boundary of the said gift village started with parts of the waters of the Vāṅgaṇī river to the west of Sāṁsōgrāma and ran up to parts of the road going to Rakatapaṭā (or Raktapaṭā) to the south of the temple land (of Ugrāvaradēva). The northern boundary began with parts of the road to Raktapaṭā to the south of the temple land and ended in parts of the waters of the Vārōgū (or Vāragū) river. The western boundary started from parts of the waters of the Vārōgū river to the east of the Vijayalakṣmīpura *śāma* (gift village) and ended in parts of the cattle track below the embankment called Sudunḍāḥa in the Gōpīnāthapura *śāma*. The southern boundary seems to have begun with parts of the cattle track on the river bank to the north of the Gōpīnāthapura *śāma* and to the west of Āmyatōḥa and ended in parts of the waters of the Vāṅgaṇī river. In all (*gā*), it was one village with settled boundaries on all the four sides. As in the case of Sāṁsōgrāma, only the income of the village seems to have been granted to the donor.

The third piece of the gift land, situated in the same *vishaya*, is described in lines 26 ff. It consisted of 30 *vaḍis* of land apparently around the temple of Ugrāvara. The eastern boundary of this land, called a *grāma* without mentioning its name, ran from the Vāṅgaṇī river to the west of Vāṅgarisōgrāma to parts of the cattle track on the river bank to the east of Vallāgrāma. The northern boundary ran from the Vāhāla road (possibly indicating a road marked by a Vāhāla tree) at the head of a field to the south of Vallāgrāma to parts of (the waters of) the Vārōgū river. The western boundary seems to have started from parts of the waters of the Vārōgū river to the east of the Vijayalakṣmīpura *śāma* and ended in a point which is left out owing to inadvertence. The southern boundary ran up to parts of the road going to Rakatapaṭā to the north of Rāḍasaḍgrāma. Line 2 on Plate VII says that the above land was in all (*gā*) one *grāma* having fixed boundaries on all the four sides. The next line says that the gift altogether consisted of three *grāmas* of which the *jā*¹ or income was 449½ *māḍhas* and the land measured 30 *vaḍis*. It may be pointed out that 322½ *māḍhas* and 127 *māḍhas* would make actually 449½ *māḍhas*.

The above gift land was granted, according to lines 3-5, to Dēvacūḥāchārya to last as long as the moon and the sun would endure by means of the deed of gift, together with (*madhya kari* water, land, fish, tortoise, tree and forest and with the temple of Ugrāvaradēva and the land around it. Lines 5-8 say partly in repetition of what was said above that Narmādhadēvavarman

¹ From Telugu-Kannada *jita* (from Sanskrit *jitā*), 'pay, wages'. The *Mahāli Pāṭṭi* (op. cit., p. 29) also uses *jita* in the sense of revenue-income.

of the Ātrēya gōtra granted the two villages of Sāisī and Dakṣiṇa-Rājasū, situated in the Oḍḍānā-Madanaśhaṇḍa rishaya and having the boundaries specified above, to the Brāhmaṇa Dāvatathāharman of the Ātrēya gōtra, a student of the Kāya branch of the Yajurveda, as a permanent rent-free holding, together with water, land, fish, tortoise, tree, forest, sand and bhūṣī (homestead land). It is interesting to note that the Gaṅga king adopts the Kshatriya name-ending varman as his ancestor Bhānu II does in his Purī plates.¹ The *Tārīkh-i-Firūshāhī*,² while describing Sultān Firūz Shāh's invasion of Jājnagar (i.e., the Gaṅga kingdom of Orissa) during the reign of Bhānu III, speaks of the Rāis of that country (i.e., the Gaṅga kings) as Brāhmaṇas. It thus appears that the Gaṅga monarchs claimed variously to be Brāhmaṇas or Kshatriyas of the Ātrēya gōtra, although basically they must have been Dravidians. As I have shown elsewhere the claim to the Ātrēya gōtra was essentially connected with the genealogy of the Gaṅga family, fabricated by the court-poets of Anantavarman Chōḷagaḍga.³ According to lines 8-9, the *Tāmrādīkāra* (the same as the *Sāmanādīkāra* or keeper and writer of records), Nandhari *Saṁdhiśraha*, appears to have received as his perquisite one *vīṣī* of land out of the gift land, according to an arrangement approved of by the respectable people of the villages. The next line says how the *Tāmrādīkāra* (engraver of the plates), Gurulāsa *Senāpati*, received half of the area of land received by the *Tāmrādīkāra*. Gurulāsa, however, appears to have been ten big an officer to engrave plates and it is possible to think that he got the work done by a cooper-smith.⁴ The charter proper is followed in lines 10-18 by nine of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. The above verses are followed by three new stanzas in lines 18-23. The text of the verses is extremely corrupt.

A number of geographical names are mentioned in the inscription. The different orders of the king in regard to the grant recorded here were issued when he was staying at Vārāṇasī (modern Outback), Dēvakūṭa and Nāṭyānapura. Of the three plots of gift-land, the first consisted of Sāisī-grāma (also once called Sāisīgrāma-Mokhaśharara) and the second of the South Rājasū-grāma (also called Rājha' and 'saogṛāma), both situated in the rishaya called Kōshṭhadōsa-Madanaśhaṇḍa or Oḍḍānā (Oḍḍānā)-Madanaśhaṇḍa, while the third plot consisted of 30 *vīṣī* of land belonging to the temple of the god called Kōshṭhadōsa-Ugrēśvaraśaiva. In describing the boundaries of Sāisīgrāma, mention has been made of Bhagavatīpura-śāsana, Chandraprabhā, Vāṅgarisogṛāma, Vāṅgaṇī-nadi, Rājāsū, Gōpīnāthapura-śāsana, Āmratōṣā, Kushiāḡāi and Harāḡaṇ. In the description of the boundaries of Dakṣiṇa-Rājasū-grāma, mention is made of Sāisīgrāma, Vāṅgaṇī-nadi, Raktapaṭā, Vārāḡ (or Vārāḡō)-nadi, Vijayalakṣmīpura-śāsana, Gōpīnāthapura-śāsana, Sudmāḡhāi and Āmratōṣā. In connection with the boundaries of the third plot of land, are similarly mentioned Vāṅgarisogṛāma, Vāṅgaṇī-nadi, Vāṅgrāma, Vārāḡō-nadi, Vijayalakṣmīpura, Rājāsū and Raktapaṭā. The three plots of land were adjacent to one another. M. M. Chakravarti located the villages approximately at 85° 56' 45" long. by 20° 10' 17" lat. on the left side of the Bhārgavī river and close to the P. W. D. Bungalow at Khirkhā. The Survey of India sheet map No. 73 H 3 B shows, between the rivers Bhārgavī and Dhannā, the locality called Ugrēśvar Deul having the Bhārgavī in the west, Bangura (Vāṅgarisū) Śāsan in the north, Gōpīnāthpur towards the south and Bhagavatīpur towards east-south-east. As a result of the grant under discussion, the old names, viz., Sāisī and Rājāsū, appear to have given place to the new name, viz., Ugrēśvar-dēul, suggested by it.

¹ See J. R. A. S. B., Letters, Vol. XVII, pp. 19-26.

² Cf. Bay. D. H. N. I., Vol. I, p. 492.

³ See my paper on the Nagari plates of Anantavarman III, above, pp. 225 ff.

⁴ The officer may have written the document on the plates with ink or paint to facilitate the work of engraving. Cf. Indian Antiquary, Vol. V, p. 5.

TEXT¹

Sixth Plate : First Side

Lines 1—18.....

- 19Śaṅkham-satu ||² Śaka-nṛpatiṛ-atiśo-hu śhoṇaś-ādhikēśu trayōdala-ata-saṁvatsarē-
shu cha-
20 turdaśa-bhu(va)*jo-sūhpati-ṛy-ādi-virud-āvali-virājamāṇaḥ Ścī-vira-Nra(Nara)ḥ||m*||hada-
(dē)va-nṛpati||h*|| sa(ava)-rājyaas(aya) dvāvimsaty-aṅkē abhūlikhya-
21 mānē Vichhā³-śukla-śikṣāyām Madgala vārē Vārūpaś-kaṭakē ścī-charaṇē bhitarā-navarē⁴
pūj-āna||ta||ram-a-raja(h*) tatra vi-
22 jaya-samayē pūrāvē māhāpātra⁵-Kṛi(śh)ojnanda sū(m*)jdhivigrahika⁶ māhāpātra-Lāṇḍuratha-
yā(ā)chārya mahāpātra Gōpāthā-sādhivigrahi-
23 ka pātra-Bhuvanānanda-sū(m*)jdhivigrahika pātra-Siddhōṣvara-jēnā dvāraparikha-Trivi-
kraṇa-sū(m*)jdhivigrahika Kinā-senādhikṛyakaśa ātēshu
24 sthātēshu purō-śrikaraṇa-Viśvanātha-mahāsēnāpati||ti||-gōcharē(charē) avadhārīta-mudalā(ā*)⁷
ścī-hastēna usargya⁸ Dēvarath-āchāryāya bhūm||mi||-||dā||||hāh*||⁹

Sixth Plate : Second Side

6¹⁰

- 1 datta(m*) bhū||mi||¹¹ ata-vāḥ-parimita bhūmi-nimittam aminā rājya-trayōvimsaty-aṅkē
Vichhā¹²-dvitīya-kṛishṇa-saptami-Paṇḍitav-
2 rē Dēvalōṭa-kaṭakē ścī-charaṇē pu(pū)||-ānava(ata)rē japa-samayē pūrāvē pātra Māhāmuni-
purōhita dvāraparikshā-Trivikraṇa-sandhi-
3 vighraha vṛdhālōkē-Sōmanātha-vāhinipati bhitarā-bhaṇḍāra-adhikāri-Narahari-sandhivi-
graha thān purō-śrikaraṇa-Vi-¹³
4 Viśvanātha-mahāsēnāpti¹⁴-gōcharē avadhārīta-mudalē Dēvarath-āchāryaku ātha-khaṇḍa-
Kōshthadōśa-Madānakhaṇḍa-n-vishayē Śāhō-
5 grāmi-Mōkshōṣvara Dukahiṇa-Rāja-śō-grāma ē dui grāma tāsana kārī(ri) bhūmi(mi) ścī
vāḥ|| dēva || ē-||a(ā)hī|| Mīna-saṅkṛānti-kṛishṇa-ākā-
6 dāl Śanivārē Nārāyaṇpura-kaṭakē ścī-charaṇē pu(pū)|| utāra vijē karī ścīva-samayē
pu(pū)||rāvē vṛdhālōkē-Sōmanā-
7 tha-vāhinipati Bhuvanāṣvara-sū(m*)jdhivig aha Lakshmanānanda-sū(m*)jdhivigraha bhitarā-
bhaṇḍāra-adhikāri-Narahari-sandhivigraha thā-

¹ From the original plates and their impressions.² Sanskrit *Vṛichhāśa*-*śāḥ*-*śikṣā*-*śāḥ*.³ Sanskrit *śikṣā*-*śāḥ*-*śāḥ*.⁴ Orīyā māhō etanā for Sanskrit māhō.⁵ The letters *gr* and *ba* had been omitted originally but were later inserted, the former below the line and the latter compressed between the preceding and following letters.⁶ The reading may be *achārya*. In that case, *achā* is used for *achā* found elsewhere in the same context.⁷ Sanskrit *sthitā*.⁸ In the left margin. This has a different form than that of *ś* at the left margin of the reverse of Plate VI of the Kendrapur plates (set I) of Narasimha II (*J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXV, 1896, Part I, Plate XVIII).⁹ The letter *ścī* had been originally omitted and was later imperfectly formed between the preceding and following letters. The word *śāhī* is, however, unnecessary in the context.¹⁰ Sanskrit *Vṛichhāśa*. The letter *dei* has really been written with *d* having both medial *i* and *a*.¹¹ This *vi* is redundant. *Thān-śāḥ* *śikṣā* of Plate VIA, lines 23-24.¹² Sanskrit *śāhī*-*śāḥ*.

- 8 n dvārapatīkshā-Trivikrama-sa[m]hādhivigraha-gōcharē avadhārīta-mudalē ā āmī-patī-
patīkshā-mahāpātra-Gaṭṭōvaradāsa-sri.
- 9 chandara-āgē aya[dhā*]rīta śāgā[ī]nā-vāṭā-mudalē Dēvarathāchāryara Sāisō-Dakshīṇa-
Bādasaō va[ā] dui grā-
- 10 ma Kōshthadhā-Ugrēśvaradēvafakara dēulī p' bhū(bhū)ni dēula madhyē kari chatuḥ-simā
samākṛānta-sāsanaka
- 11 paṭā dēvā | Ōdamvōḥ-Madanakhapda madhyē Sāisō-grāma vri(vri)ddhi-avadāna madhya
kari kōṭha-vyāpā-
- 12 rata bhāga tiri-sa-vāṭa māḍha 322/6 kal ||* purō-śākaraga-Viśvanātha-thē²-māhāśānā-
patira pa-
- 13 dhahā[sta]-Thamaṭhī-nāḥkara simā-kālē pramāḥē ā-grāmara pūrva-simā(mā) Bhagavat pura-
śāsanara paśchīma Chandrapu-
- 14 bhā-dagḍā-adha ādi kari Vāgān[ī]ga[rī]sō-grāmara pūrva-kōṇa Pōḍāpōḍā-pōkharira bhāla-³
paryantē(nē)kē simā ||* ā-
- 15 ta(tta)ra-si[ā]mā Vāgān[ī]ga[rī]sō-grāmara dakshīṇa Chōḷchhī-vāṭira uttara-dagḍāra adha
Vrā(Brā)hmīna-vāṭira ti-tu-
- 16 pōi-gōpatha-adha ādi kari Vāṅgaḷ-nadi-Vāṅga[ṇi*]p' adhā-sōi-parya[nē]kē simā paśchīmā-
(ma)-simā | Rāḍa-
- 17 saō-grāmara purō(vē) Vāṅgaḷ-nadira adhā-sōi ādi kari nai-pāri-Gōpīnāthapura-śāsanara
nadi-taḍā
- 18 Āmvatōjāra dakshīṇa-kōṇa Kuchīgāira gōpatha-adha-paryantēkē simā | dakshīṇa-simā ||*
Gōpīnāthapurara uttara Harāgaḥ
- 19 madhya⁴ kari Bhagavatipō(pa)ra-śāsanara Gōpīnāthapū(pa)ra-śāsanara ti-muṇḍi-gōpathara
adha na[ā]na(tta)ra-ka(kā)ḍa-paryantēkē simā | gō(gā) chatuḥ-
- 20 simā-samākṛānta-grām-ēka | ā-vishaya-madhyē Bādasaō⁵ vri(vri)ddhi-sāḥē-avadāna madhya
kari māḥi-ghaḍa(ra)ra Purnaś[ā]bōḥ-uttara-prasāda-navara-bhā-
- 21 pa saō-utāṁsa-māḍha 127 kal ||* ā simā-kālē-pramāḥē ā-grāmara pūrva-simā ||* Sāisō-
grāmara paśchīma-Vāḷḡgaḷ-nadi-adhā-
- 22 sōi ādi kari dēulī-bhūmīra dakshīṇa Rakatapaṭā-dagḍā-ariha-paryantēkē simā | na(tta)ra-
simā dēulī-bhūmīra dakshīṇa Rakatapaṭā-dagḍā-
- 23 ra adha ādi kari Vārōḡ-nai-adhā-sōi paryantēkē simā | paśchīma-simā ||* Vijayalakshimpura-
śāsanara pūrva Vārōḡ-nai-adhā-sōi
- 24 ādi kari Gōpīnāthapura-śāsanara Sudunāghāi-va[ā]mādhā-taḍa-gōpatha-adha-paryantēkē simā |
dakshīṇa-simā | Gōpīnāthapū(pa)ra-śāsanara uta(tta)-
- 25 ra...⁶nai-kūḷē Āmvatōjāra paśchīma gōpathara adha⁷ Vāṅgaḷ-nāra adhā-sōi-paryantēkē
simā⁸ gā chatuḥ(tuḥ)-si-
- 26 mā-samākṛānta-grām-ēka | ā-vishaya-madhyē Ugrēśvara-dēvakam[ā]kara dēulī avadhārīta-
mudalā-pramāḥē bhūmī trīda vūṭi 30 kal ||* ā-simā-

* Better read dēulī-śāḥāni | cf. line 22 below. But the text as it is may also be justified; cf. line 28 below.

² The letter th is redundant.

³ I prefer bhāla to dē-jāla at the suggestion of Mr. K. B. Tripathi.

⁴ The name of the river is unnecessarily repeated.

⁵ Possibly dēi karī is intended.

⁶ I.e., Dakshīṇa-Bādasaōgrāma.

⁷ The space expected to be covered by the name of the river referred to is left blank with the only exception of small stroke. Apparently it was intended to supply the name later.

⁸ Possibly we have to add the expression dēi karī after māka.

vi.a.



vi.b.



27. kalā-putrāṇāṃ ś-grāma-pūrva-sīmā Vāgama(ṅga)riśā-grāmata paśchīma Vāiṅgaṇ yā-nai ādi kari
Vāliā-grāmata pūrva nai-ko(kū)la-
28. gōpatha adha-parvāntāś-sīmā | u/a(tta)ca-sīmā ||* Vāliā-grāma-lakṣhiṇa khēta-muṇḍara
Vāhila-dapḍā ādi kari Vāragō-mūli-

Seventh Plate

1. ra ariddha-payō(rya)ntākā-sīmā | pakṣhi(śchi)ma-sīmā | Vāja*|yalakṣmīpū(pu)ta-sāana||* ra
pūya Vāragō-mūli adha-sōi ādi* (kā) sīmā |
2. lakṣhiṇa-sīmā ||* Rājhaśō-grāmata uttara Rakatapaṭā-dapḍā-ariddha-parvāntāś-kā* sīmā |
gā chatuḥ-sīmā-samākṛānta|grām-aika-
3. gāmā(ṅgrāma)-tūkti jita chāri-sa-rū(chā)ḥṣa-na-māḍha 449/5 bhu(bhū)mi urisa-vāṭiki
chatuḥ-sīmā-samākṛānta* ya |ja|la-stha(la*)-
4. machchha-kachchhapa-pāḍā(da)p-ā-ayya madhya kari ā-chandī āka-thi; kari Dēvaratha-
āchāryaka dēni Ugrēva(na*) de(na*)|la madhya kari
5. chatuḥ-sīmā-sā(samā)krānta-sāna data paṭāka | Ātra(trē)ya sagōṭā(trā)ya Ya'a(ju)rvēvrā-
(d-ā)ntargata Kāpa-sākh-aika-dōśa(ś-ā)dhyaśyina Dēvaratha-
6. samma(ema)ṇā Vā(Brā)hmapāya Ātrēya-sagōṭaḥ śrīmāna(mān) śrī-Nacisi(nha*)dēva-
varmā Odamālō-Madanakhaṇḍa-vishaya-madhya-madhyā-
7. sīmā*) yathā-likhita-chatuḥsīmā-samākṛānta sa-|ja*|la-sthala-machchha-ka(chchha*)|pa-
pāḍap-ā(na*)jya-vāṭikā-bhīṭā-sahana Sāśō-grāma-Da-
8. kṣhiṇa-Rājhaśō-grāma ātat(d) grāma-dvayaṃ ā-chandī-ārka-akāś(ri)krīya prādāta(dāt)|
śūlhaṇṭa-satū(ō) naya Sāsanasy-āṅgatayā
9. tām-ādhipikāriṇō Narakuri-samimigrāhikasya||* Ma(d*)-grāma-mahāja(na*)-bhāga-vyavasthaya
ākāśa*
10. ā(ta*)-tāmra-lākhaka Gurudāsa-sāpāṭā ātat-ariddha | Mad-dāna-phala-siddhy-arthā(n*)
tād-rakṣā-phala-siddhayaḥ | |* |
11. mad-dha-mah paripālō(hyō)-yam bhu(bhū)mi-ā-chandra-taraka(kam)||* Mā bhu(bhū)da-
phala-mam(kam)kani(kā) tē para-datt-āti pāthiva | sva-da-
12. tād-adhika(n*) payya(n*) para-datt-ānpālāni(lanā) ||*| Sva-dattā(n*) para-dattāch
va(rā) yatnād-rakṣa Yūdhish(hira) | mahi(bhū) mati-
13. matā(n*) śrē-ḥṣha dānā* śrēyō-ānpālānam(nam) ||* Sva-dattā(n*) para-dattā(n*) vā
yō harāśō(ta) vaṇ(n*)dhara(rām) | sa vishṇūyā(n*) kri-
14. mī(n*) bhūtvā pūṭibhiḥ sa(ha) pashyatē ||*| Nīrjanē prā(n*)tārō dāśō śūlha-kāpā-
lānāḥ | kṛīṇya-sarpā hi jāyanti

* The difference in the forms of some letters on this plate from those of the previous lines may suggest that this plate was engraved by a different person. There are numerous errors in the writing on this plate.

* The *danda* are unnecessary.

* It seems that the reading intended was *ādi kari*, i.e. *parvāntāś-sīmā*. Thus some further indications regarding this boundary appear to have been inadvertently omitted. In *māḍ*, *ā* looks like *dhā* which is the form of *dh* in the Kalinga script. As to *āśi* (*āśi*), it may be pointed out that *āśi* is often written for *āśi* in Gajaputran inscriptions.

* Possibly *śrēyō-ānpālānam* was intended as in other places.

* Read *pūṭibhiḥ* *āśi*. The *danda* are superfluous.

* Possibly the reading intended is *āśi-āśi* or *āśi-āśi*.

* The metre of this verse and the following four verses is *Anuṣṭup*.

* Read *āśi-āśi*.

* Read *āśi-āśi*.

- 15 yē karatti(ati) vasaṇḍharāḍi(tān) Gām-ābhāṇ svarāṇam-ēkaṁ cha [¹ bhū(tāh)wēr-ayf-
aridham-a[gu]hah(lam) | haran-natakam-āp[ō]ti yāvad-āha(bhā)ta-
- 16 sē(sam)plavare [(yam)] Sātrug-āp[ō]ti ka(kri)ta(tā) dharmasā pālanīyā mahīpatih(tā) |
sātrug-ōva hī sātrug-āyād-dharmama[ḥ]² | sātrug-āyāsaṁ kasyachā [³]
- 17 Mad-vashā[ā]h para mahīpati-va[m*]hājō vā pāp[ō]ti(tā)āp[ō]ta-manasā hīrvi bhāvi-bhūpāh |
yō pālayanti mama dharmā(rma)m-inam samā[sa]m[m*] tāsā[ḥ]d[ḥ]⁴ mayā(yā) vi-
- 18 rachitā-[m*]jālir-ēsha mūrdāhni [⁵ Mad-vashā[ā]h para-va[m*]hājō rā(rā) yāh kaśchi(kā)hā-
nīpatir-bhāveta(vēt) | may-āha[m*] kara-lagnah sū(syā)h yō mat-kirtti(r-*) na lūmpa[ti]
[o]⁶ Kāhīr-
- 19 mvu(mba)dhī(r-*)jagati madgalama(m-ā)tanōtu yata(tā) śrīyā(yā) kākaka-kōna(ta)ka-
patrakānyā(karṇyā) | śī(śū)hāh svapan-Muzaripur-mī(r-ma)ditā(tō-m)janābhae-tōyāh
pīva(ba)nta(n-na)va-gha-
- 20 na-taḍit-ēva bhāti [⁷]⁸ Jātah Sattu(m)hā-āro-dhita-tūtri)patihagā-vārishu⁹ ha[ḥ]d[ḥ]sa-
śrīyā(yā)h va(hi)hā(bhā)h-tāsyā kul-dara(cē) tri-jagati-āstr-ā(r-ō)chāhā(tā)va-
chandramāh | yō-
- 21 oha(yā)h kāsti(nu)ri(vi)hāna-ra(vair)gana-ābhā dāḥ param sō[ḥ]ravā k[ḥ]r[ḥ]jāti(r-*)dīkshu
ri(vi)hājī(rjā)yan-īva mālā[ḥ] vō(vyō)m-ā[ḥ]r[ḥ]gana(nā)h gāhatō [¹⁰]¹¹ Bhūda(dō)ra(va)-
as(va)jati-vāda[ḥ](s-ta)-
- 22 rayatu durita(dī*) mō[ḥ](rjā)h(rā)h) santu santah) santu prandh-āri-vīra-vraja-vijaya-ka[ḥ]
āli)hāh kahōpālāh | ārā(āhā)h vidvach-chākīra-ārama-hara-
- 23 na-chamatkīri kāvya[ḥ]r[ḥ] karṇām-matu vyāmōha-sāntih sra[ḥ]jati hīdi mundaṁ
vīśa[ḥ]vāh¹² hāndrachī[ḥ]hāh [¹³]¹⁴ sūbhām-as a bhava¹⁵ jagatah [o]

No. 49—METHI INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA KRISHNA : SAKA 1176

(I Plate)

P. B. DESAI, DOTAUMUKD

Sci. N. Lakshminarayana Rao, officiating Government Epigraphist for India, copied this inscription¹⁶ in the course of his official tour in November 1949 at the village of Methi which is about 30 miles from Dhulia, the headquarters of the West Khandesh District, Bombay State. As a member of the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, I had an opportunity of studying the epigraph and I edit it here¹⁷ with the kind permission of the above authority.

¹ The *daḍa* is superfluous.

² The letter *sa* is imperfectly formed.

³ Metre: *Vasantatilaka*.

⁴ Metre: *Aśvādhā*.

⁵ Metre: *Vasantatilaka*.

⁶ Read *vīkṭu* for the metre's sake.

⁷ Metre: *Sarāḥavīrīkṣā*. The language of the third foot of this verse is faulty.

⁸ Read *vaṁśa*.

⁹ Metre: *Śrīgharā*.

¹⁰ The intended reading seems to be *śura* or *śāḥ*.

¹¹ It is registered as A. E. No. 228 of 1949-50 of the Government Epigraphist's office collection.

¹² The inscription has been published in the Marāṭhi journal *Samājikānta*, Vol. VI, No. 3 (1937, October), pp. 214-17. But the published text contains misreadings and the study lacks scientific treatment.

The inscription comprising 13 lines is engraved on the lintel of the entrance to the central hall of the Vishnu temple near Haribā's well, popularly known as the Anantāyana temple. The inscribed area measures 59' long and 12' broad. The record is in a good state of preservation. The characters are Nāgarī of the 13th century A.C., being normal for the period. The average height of the letters is ¾".

The *prishthamātrās* are used to denote the medial *ai* and *au* in general. The occasional use of *u* for *b* and vice versa may be noted ; e.g., *Vrahmā* for *Brahmā* in line 1 and *carbī* for *caru* in line 2. Noteworthy also is the substitution of *śh* for *kṣ*, as in *Vīśhṣha* for *Vīśhṭha* in line 2 ; and vice versa as in *śkṣhī* for *kṣhī* in line 13. The orthographical convention of doubling the consonant after *r* is not generally followed except in a few cases, e.g., *varṣṣanāth* in line 7 and *utkīrṣṣa* in line 13. There are a large number of clerical errors, the majority of which constitute the improper use of the *visarga* : e.g., the *visarga* is used superfluously in the following cases, *namaḥ-sribhū** in line 1 and *athaḥ* in line 7 ; the same is wrongly omitted in the following instances, *Rudrā* for *Rudrāḥ* in line 1 and *vīśvarūpa* for *vīśvarūpaḥ* in line 2. *Nṛisimha* is written as *Nṛisimgha* in line 8.

The language is Sanskrit and the composition is faulty in many places. The words *muni* and *dhūmi* are spelt as *muni* and *dhūmi* for the sake of metre in lines 2 and 4. The expression *chārima* in the compound *chitra-charitra-chārima-chamatkārūḥ* (1.5) is obscure. The form *yaśahya-* is incorrectly used for *yaśasya-* (1.7). Metrical flaws may be detected in the use of the proper names *Dhādipaka* and *Vīraṅgi* in line 4. Such defects have been corrected in the body of the text and in the foot-notes. The major part of the record comprising lines 1-8 and 12-13 is composed in verse and the rest in prose. The verses are duly numbered and each half is denoted by a *dhṛṣṭa*. The poetry is not of high order.

The epigraph commences with an invocation to god *Vāśudēva*. God *Vishnu* and his universal form (*vīśvarūpa*) are praised in the next two verses (vv. 1-2). Then comes the date and a brief statement of the gift (v. 3). The genealogy of the prince who was born in the lineage of *Krishna*, i.e., the *Yādavas* of *Dvāgiri*, is summarised in the two following verses (vv. 4-5). Verse 6 is devoted to the eulogy of *Krishna*, the reigning king of this family, who is said to be brave, diplomatic and handsome. This ruler made a free gift of the village *Kurukavāṭaka*. Half the income derived from this was to be utilised for the daily worship and offerings, etc., of the god *Bhadrachari* and the remaining half to be bestowed upon the *Brāhmaṇas* engaged in the performance of sacrifices (vv. 7-8). In the next verse is described the temple of *Bhadrachari* who appears to be identical with god *Nṛisimha* (v. 9). Then follows a list of particular *Brāhmaṇas* who were beneficiaries of the endowment (lines 8-11). A person named *Gaṅgādhara* is said to have made over houses, land and money, possibly for the convenience of the *Brāhmaṇas* (v. 11). Verses 12-13 are imprecatory. Verse 10 contains a reference to a person named *Siddha Śāraavata* of the *Kāśyapa* family who appears to have cut the stone suitably for inscribing the record. In the last verse which is however left unnumbered, it is stated that the god's image was fashioned with due dimensions according to the prescribed code and that the record (*praśasti*) was incised by the sculptor *Hāmadēva*¹ (v. 14).

The date expressed in chronogram is stated thus : *Saka 1176, Ananda, Viśākha* (i.e., *Vaiśākha*), *ṣu. Jayanti, Sōma*. *Jayanti* appears to be the name of the *Ekādaśī* or the eleventh day of the fortnight. As such if we equate *Jayanti* with the 11th *tithī*, the date would regularly correspond to 1254 A.C., April 29, Wednesday, if we treat *Sōma* of the original as a mistake for *Saumya*. It is to be noted in this connection that all the twenty-four *Ekādaśīs* of the Hindu

* This *Hāmadēva* has been identified with the famous minister and scholar *Hāmadri* by Mr. Kulkarni, *ibid.* This is ridiculous.

alendar are given specific names, such as Kāmādā (Chaitra su. 11), Varūdhinī (Chaitra ha. 11), etc., though this particular name is not found in the list given by Swamikaṇṇa Pillai.¹

The genealogy of the Yādava kings of Dāvagiri is recounted in a cursory fashion and mutual relationship of the princes enumerated in the series is not explained. There is a remark, however, at the end of the account to the effect that they were born in succession. These names are as follows: Dṛiḍhaprakāra, Sēṇna I, Dhādīpaka, Bhīllama I, Rāja I, Vādugi, Bhīllama II, Vēsugi, Bhīllama III, Sēṇna II, Rāja II, Mālugi, Kṛishṇa I, Bhīllama IV, Jaitra I, Singhapā, Jaitra II, Kṛishṇa II. Dṛiḍhaprakāra is prefixed by the expression *māra*, obviously for the necessity of metre. Sēṇna again is a metrical modification for Sēṇṇa.

A comparison of the above genealogy with the genealogical accounts of this family as compiled by the late Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar² and Dr. Fleet,³ reveals the following facts. The three generations of Vādugi II, Vēsugi II and Bhīllama IV, that intervened between Bhīllama III and Sēṇṇachandra II in the account of Bhandarkar are omitted in our list. Rāja II of our list, which appears to be a new name, has perhaps to be identified with Singhapā of Bhandarkar. Further, Kṛishṇa I of our epigraph may reasonably be equated with Karṇa⁴ of Fleet's statement. It has however to be noted that neither of these names figure in the genealogy of Bhandarkar. Mālugi and Mallugi are identical. Some more names in Bhandarkar's account are omitted in our list.

We may briefly notice here a few historical facts about some of these Yādava princes in the light of epigraphical discoveries made during the past decades. Firstly we have the Āśvi plates⁵ from the Ahmadnagar District, dated in Śaka 1020 or 1098 A.C. This record gives the genealogy of the Yādava family and introduces Mahāmayādakēśvara Irammadēva as a subordinate of the Western Chālukya ruler Vikramāditya VI. The epigraph contains errors committed by the engraver, which seem to have been increased by its unscientific editing.⁶ We may equate this Irammadēva with Parammadēva,⁷ elder son of Sēṇṇachandra II, figuring in the genealogy of Bhandarkar. The Āśvi inscription further states that this Yādava prince vanquished the invincible Bhuvanāikamalla, who must be Sōmāvara II of the Western Chālukya family, and secured the kingdom for Paramardhin, i.e., Vikramāditya VI. A similar achievement, viz., helping Vikramāditya VI against his enemies and establishing him in the sovereignty of Kalyāṇa, is attributed to Sēṇṇachandra II.⁸ From this it is gathered that both Sēṇṇachandra II and his son Parammadēva were staunch supporters of the Chālukya prince and played a prominent role in his struggles for kingship.

The disclosure made by the present epigraph by furnishing the name of Kṛishṇa I as the father of Bhīllama IV (Bhīllama V of Bhandarkar) and his identity with Karṇa of the Gadag inscription

¹ *Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. I, part I, pp. 59-65. It may be noted that Valāḍḍha in. 11 is called Mōhinī according to this authority. If the above assumption be correct, different names appear to have been in vogue for these ladies at different times.

² *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 236.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

⁴ The confusion between Kṛishṇa and Karṇa may be noticed in other cases also. For instance, among the Southern Kalachuris, Jōgama's father is referred to both as Kṛishṇa and Karṇa; above, pp. 24-25. This confusion must be due to the influence of Prakrit, particularly the southern speeches, wherein both Kṛishṇa and Karṇa yield the common form Kunna or Kaṇṇa and Kannara; cf. above, Vol. XV, p. 315.

⁵ *Bhāratā Dikṣaṇa Samādāḥaka Mandala Quarterly*, Vol. III, No. 1.

⁶ In regard to the defects in editing the following may be pointed out: (i) No facsimiles of the plates are published. (ii) The name of the Yādava founder is read as Iramma in line 30 and Ārma in line 42. (iii) This Iramma is regarded as the successor of Bhīllama, whereas it is clear from lines 23-26 that he was the son and successor of Sēṇṇachandra or Sēṇṇachandira.

⁷ I am inclined to believe that the original name is Paramma and that it is incorrectly read as Iramma and Ārma; for the latter would be a strange name for a prince.

⁸ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 215.

are important ; for it is thus established beyond doubt that Bhillama was the grandson of Mallugi or Mālugi and not his son as described by Hēmadri. The reason for this omission by Hēmadri might be due to the fact that Krishna or Karṇa died young and did not rule.¹

It would be worth while to make an attempt to identify some of the historical personages mentioned in the introductory verses (5-10) of Jalhaga's *Sāktimuktīvalī*,² which may be summarised as follows. Dādā, a commander of the elephants under Mallugi, overawed the troops of Vijjaṇa. After the demise of Dādā, his four sons, Mahidhara, Jalha, Sāmha and Gaṅgādhara, upheld the authority of Mallugi. Mahidhara harassed Bijjaṇa's forces with the prowess of his mighty arms. He appears to have encountered Bijjaṇa's army for a second time and lost his life on the field of battle. Mahidhara was succeeded by Jalha who helped Bhillama in attaining undiminished royalty.

These events, it may be noted, refer to a period of about a generation prior to the age of Bhillama, the virtual founder of Yadava sovereignty. As we shall see presently, Bhillama commenced his reign from 1185-86 A.C. Hence we may place the above incidents approximately between 1160 and 1180 A.C. Now it was during these years that the Kalachuris rose to power in Karnāṭaka under Bijjala and set up their independent rule. Hence we are justified in identifying Vijjaṇa and Bijjaṇa of the above account with the Kalachuri usurper.

Coming to the reign of Bhillama, a good many points deserve consideration. Firstly, we may consider the commencement of his reign. Different records yield different dates for the initial year of his reign, which varies from 1185-86 to 1187-88 A.C. But two epigraphs, one from Nimbāl³ and another from Muttigi⁴ in the Bijapur District, citing the cyclic years Plavaṅga and Paridhāvi as the 3rd and the 8th year respectively, prove that the initial year was Vikrāvasu which may be equated with 1185-86 A.C. Secondly, we may examine the early stronghold of Bhillama and of the Yādava family. This seems to have been in the Bijapur District, although, according to Hēmadri,⁵ he founded the town of Dēvagiri which became the capital of his family. The Nimbāl inscription mentioned above states that Bhillama was ruling the kingdom in 1187 A.C. from a place called Tadavalage which is the same as modern Tadvalgā in the Inḍi taluk of the Bijapur district.⁶ Two years later, i.e., in 1189 A.C., he figures as ruling from another place in the same district, by name Tenvalage⁷ which may be identified with the present day Teligi in the Bāgalkōt taluk. No inscription connecting Bhillama with Dēvagiri has been discovered so far. But we have the evidence of at least three inscriptions⁸ of the reign of Jaitugi showing that he was in the capital of Dēvagiri in the years 1192 and 1196 A.C. The earliest epigraphical allusion to Dēvagiri as the Yādava capital was noticed by Fleet in an inscription of 1210 A.C. of the reign of Siṅghapa.⁹ But this statement now requires revision as pointed out above. The fact appears to be that though Bhillama selected Dēvagiri as his capital and started new constructions, he could hardly settle therein and the work was completed in his son's time by 1192 A.C.

¹ At this point Hēmadri simply passes over and observes that the fortune of the Yādava family discarded the king's sons and courted the arms of Bhillama, enamoured by his excellence; *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 271, verse 57. It may be gathered from this that Bhillama, being the son of a junior prince, was not the rightful claimant and that he rose to eminence from obscurity by dint of his ability.

² Guckwad's Oriental Series, No. LXXXII, 1918.

³ Bombay Karnāṭak collection, No. 46 of 1937-38. Above, p. 94.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 108 of 1923-30.

⁵ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 272, verse 39.

⁶ Above, pp. 94-97.

⁷ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 320. This place has not been identified by Fleet.

⁸ B. K. collection, Nos. 43 of 1936-37, and 137 of 1933-34. *Arch. Surv. Ind. Rep.* for 1929-30, p. 175.

⁹ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 320.

The third point that requires scrutiny is the end of Bhillama's reign. According to Bhandarkar,¹ Bhillama was succeeded by his son Jaitugi in Śaka 1113 or 1191 A.C. and it has been suggested by Fleet² that Bhillama lost his life in the decisive encounter against Viraballāla that took place in the latter part of that year. But epigraphic evidence is now precise to show that neither of these views is accurate. The above noted inscription from Muttigi³ in the Bāṅwādi taluk of the Bijāpur District refers itself to the 8th regnal year of Bhillama and cites the date Paridhāvi, Śrāvaṇa śn. 15, Thursday. In another epigraph from Hipparagi⁴ in the Sindagi taluk of the same district, dated Śaka 1115, Paridhāvi, Bhādrapada ba, madhyāṣṭaki, Monday, Kanyāsaṅkramapa, Bhillama figures as making the gift of a village to a local temple. A third epigraph from Kaḍḍivāḍ⁵ in the same taluk refers itself to the reign of Jaitugi and is dated Śaka 1114, Paridhāvi, Pushya ba, 10, Sunday, Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti. The dates of these three inscriptions are not quite regular; however we may approximately⁶ equate them with July 26, September 1 and December 31 of 1192 A.C. respectively. Now it is easy to see that Bhillama was alive and active on the first two of these dates and that he must have died and was succeeded by Jaitugi between the last two dates.⁷

The fourth point worth examination is in regard to the identification of some of the adversaries of Bhillama. In verse 12 of Jalhana's *Sūktimuktāvalī*, which praises the prowess of Bhillama, it is said that he frightened the forces of Mailugi. This Mailugi was in all probability a little known son of the Kalachuri usurper Bijjala. He is also called Mallugi and Mallikārjuna. He figures in three inscriptions of his father's reign⁸ and three more refer to his own reign.⁹ It is gathered from the latter that he ruled for two years, 1175-76 A.C., in between the reigns of his brothers, Rāya-Murāri Sōvidhva and Saṅkama, from his headquarters at Māsanūr¹⁰ in the Shōlāpur District. It is quite likely that the two ambitious chiefs, Bhillama and Mailugi operating in the contiguous regions of the Bijāpur and Shōlāpur Districts, came into conflict with each other.

The last two lines of verse 38 in the Introduction to Hēmadri's *Vratakhanda*,¹¹ containing allusions to Bhillama's exploits, read thus :

Yō nā Maṅgalavēṣṭakam kṣitipatiṁ Śrī-Billāṇam jaghnivān |
Kalyāṇa-irigam-apy-avāpya vidadhē yō Hēcalāṅkam vyasum ||

The text of the first of these lines appears to be faulty in the light of the following facts which also help us to suggest suitable correction. Maṅgalavēṣṭaka is no doubt identical with the modern town Maṅgalavēṣṭhe near Paṇḍharpur. No king bearing the name Billāṇa is known to have ruled from this place. On the contrary considerable epigraphic evidence is available¹² to show that this

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 338.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 594 and 510-20.

³ B. K. coll., No. 108 of 1929-30.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 30 of 1936-37.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 43.

⁶ I have considered the cyclic year, the month and the *tithi* as the substantial parts of the dates, ignoring the other details. I have assumed *madhyāṣṭak* of the second record as equivalent of *aṣṭami*.

⁷ *Compass Arch. Ser. A. Rep. for 1929-30*, p. 172 and 1936-37, p. 106.

⁸ B. K. coll., Nos. 50 of 1938-39, 63 of 1936-37 and 120 of 1923-24.

⁹ B. K. coll., Nos. 96 of 1936-37 and 31 of 1937-38; *Arch. Sur. A. Rep. for 1929-30*, p. 175. This prince's rule is also referred to in the following three epigraphs of subsequent reigns: *Ep. Car.*, Vol. VII, 32, 197; Vol. XI, Dg. 44; *Sources of Med. Hist. of Dehkan*, Vol. II, p. 50.

¹⁰ B. K. coll., No. 96 of 1936-37. I have discussed at length the identity of this place in my lectures on the Kalachuris of Karnātaka delivered in February 1931 under the auspices of the Kannada Research Institute, Dharswar. Māsanūr figures prominently in the literary work *Rāśasiddhikāraśāstra Rājale*. These lectures are under publication in the Journal of the Kannada Literary Academy, Bangalore.

¹¹ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 271.

¹² Compare above, p. 27, n. 8. I have dealt with this subject exhaustively in my lectures on the Kalachuris referred to above.

place, the ancient name of which was Maṅgalivēḍa or Maṅgalavāḍa, was the ancestral seat and an important stronghold of the Kalachuris of Karnāṭaka right from the beginning until their last days. It was the secondary capital of the Kalachuri rulers even during the period of their usurpation and the later members appear to have resorted to this place after the overthrow of the Kalachuri regime. Now among the Kalachuris more than one prince is known to have borne the name Bijjala and an epigraph from Saṅkh,¹ in the Jath taluk of the Southern Satara District, discovered recently, reveals that a prince by name Vira-Bijjala, son of Rāya-Murāri Sōvidāva, was administering this area at least till 1192 A.C., November 20. It was very probably this Vira-Bijjala who was worsted by Bhīllama. In this connection a word of explanation seems necessary in regard to the interpretation of the word *jaghniēn* in the above citation. It may be taken to mean 'struck' and not 'killed'; for it is seen from the epigraphic evidence adduced above that Bhīllama and Vira-Bijjala were both alive until the latter part of the year 1192 A.C. and that the former might have predeceased the latter by a few days. This interpretation is further justified by another word occurring in the above passage, viz., *vyasa*, which cannot be interpreted in its literal sense as 'lifeless'; for the fact that no Hoysala king² was slain by Bhīllama would go contrary to such an interpretation. In the light of the above discussion the text of the first line in the above citation with its suggested correction will be as follows:—

Yā vā Maṅgalavēḍaka-kṣhīpatih Sri-Bijjanam³ jaghniēn |

Proceeding to the reign of Siṅghana a very large number of epigraphs has come to light. It is seen from these that a great amount of divergency prevails in regard to the reckoning of the initial year of his reign which varies from 1197 to 1210 A.C. We have therefore to conclude that Siṅghana was actively associated with his father in the administration of the kingdom long before the latter's demise, although he must have assumed sovereignty independently in 1210 A.C. only after the event.⁴

Siṅghana is known to have been succeeded by his grandson Krishna actually in 1247 A.C.; but there are inscriptions which show that he was associated with his predecessor's rule one or two years prior to this date.⁵ Inscriptions of Krishna are found in the Districts of Belgaum, Bijāpur, Dhārwar and Bellary and further south in the Mysore State. It is seen from this that he held under his control major part of the regions conquered by his grandfather in the course of his triumphant southern expedition. Krishna himself, as known from other sources,⁶ directed military expeditions against his enemies though the present epigraph is silent about them.

We may incidentally note that besides the four major dynasties of Yādava extraction that ruled over the areas of Karnāṭaka, viz., the Rāshtrakūṭas⁷, the Hoysalas, the Yādavas of Dēvagiri

¹ B. K. coll., No. 108 of 1940-41. The date of this inscription is irregular and its approximate Christian equivalent only is used here.

² Dr. Bhandarkar suggested that the Hoysala king Narasimha was put to death by Bhīllama. This suggestion is unjustified as Narasimha was dead as early as 1178 A.C.; *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 238 and *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 351. One more instance requiring similar interpretation would be the expression *uccāḍiḍe* occurring in the Gadag inscription of Vira-Ballala. It has to be translated as 'having defeated' and not literally as 'having destroyed.' Compare *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, pp. 300 and 303 and above, Vol. III, p. 215.

³ According to another reading Bijlaṅga would be substituted by Vajraṅga. In this case Vajra may be taken to be the Sanskritization of Bijjala. Compare above, p. 28, n. 1.

⁴ The following inscriptions among others would yield 1197 A.C. as the initial year of Siṅghana's reign: B. K. coll., Nos. 68 of 1928-29, 89 of 1929-30; also compare *Arch. Surv. Sn. Rep.* for 1929-30, p. 172. B. K. Nos. 181-82 of 1933-34 yield 1198 A.C. as his initial year.

⁵ A. R. No. 426 of 1926 and B. K. No. 50 of 1933-34 mention Kṛṣṇa as the third year of Krishna's reign. This shows that Parābhava or 1246 A.C. was the first year.

⁶ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 527; above, Vol. XXV, p. 204.

⁷ The following inscriptions among others refer to the Yādava lineage of the Rāshtrakūṭas: *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 68; Vol. XI, part I, No. 9.

and the Mahārājas of Mysore, there flourished a few more minor chiefs of the same lineage, though they never rose to eminence. Some of them deserve brief notice here. One was *Mahāsāmantā* Kuppeyarasa of the Yādava family¹ who was administering in the area of the Gadag taluk and the Muṇḍargi *pēṭhā* of the Dhārwar District as a feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch Amoghavarsha I in 865-68 A.C. He bore the title *Āharāditya*. Another chief named Kuppādēva who apparently belonged to the family of Kuppeyarasa, bearing the designation *Mahāsāmantā* and claiming descent in the Yādava family, figures as a subordinate of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II about thirty years later. A part of the Bellāry District was also under the rule of this chief who had his capital at modern Mōvuṇḍi in the Muṇḍargi *pēṭhā*.² From Kakkūra in the same *pēṭhā* comes an inscription³ of 1113 A.C., which introduces Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Permāḍiyarasa of the Yādava family, as a subordinate of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI. It is easy to surmise that his chief was a later scion of the family of Kuppeyarasa. This Permāḍiyarasa who was administering the tract of Māsavūḍi, bore the title *Dvārkaṭṭalipurararādhitvara* which is met with in the *pratasti* of the Hoysalas and that of the Yādavas. Another family of feudatory chiefs of the Yādava extraction appears to have functioned in the area of the Bijāpur District. This is gathered from an inscription at Bidarkundi⁴ in the Muddebihāḷ taluk of the district, which is dated in 1032 A.C. and mentions Nāgavarmarasa bearing the title *Yādava-Nārāyaṇa* as a subordinate of Jagadēkamalla I of the Western Chālukya dynasty. It is noteworthy that the title *Yādava-Nārāyaṇa* occurs conspicuously in the *pratasti* of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri.

The Brāhmanas who were beneficiaries of the endowment are twenty-five in number as mentioned in the present record. They belonged to the following fifteen *gōtras*: Agastī, Bhāradvāja, Bhārgava, Kāṣṭha, Kāśyapa, Kaṇḍīnya, Kauravya, Kauṣika, Kṛishṇātra (Kṛishṇātrēya), Lohita, Śāṇḍilya, Śākara, Vachchhapurūḍha, Vachchhi, and Vātsyāyana. Some of these names are not given in their proper forms in the original and they have been corrected here. But still there are certain discrepancies. For instance, Kāṣṭha appears to be a mistake for Kāṇḍva, i.e., Kāṇva; Vachchhapurūḍha and Vachchhi seem to bear connection with Vatsa or Vaksha.⁵ The gift village Kurukavāpaka may be identified with modern Kurukavāḍā, a village not far away from Māthī.

TEXT⁶

[Metres : Verses 1, 7-8 and 11-14 *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 3-5 and 9 *Sāṇḍilavikrīḍita*; vv. 2 and 6 *Śruṅgharā*.]

1 ॥*॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ नमःस्त्रि(मस्त्रि)भुवनोत्पत्तिस्थिति-
संहतिहेतवे । विष्णवे(वेऽ)पारससारपारोत्तारणसेतवे ॥१॥ व(व)ह्वा
दलः कुबेरो यमवरुणमरुद्वह्निचंद्रे(द्रे)दरुद्रा(द्राः) शिला नवः समुद्रा
ग्रहणम-

¹ *Bom. Karn. Inscriptions*, Vol. I, part I, Nos. 11-12; above, Vol. XIII, pp. 177-8.

² *Bom. Karn. Inscriptions*, Vol. I, part I, Nos. 22 and 20.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, part II, No. 163.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, part I, No. 66.

⁵ *Gāṅgopāraśāhāṇḍikāṇḍā*, list at the end, p. 62.

⁶ From lak-impersonation.

⁷ This letter looks like the Nāga numeral three with three anuvāyas on the top.



LEFT HALF

2 बुद्धादि तानि विद्वान्प्राप्तवन्तः तेषां गौरवित्त्वं बुद्ध्यादौ मन्त्रादिनिविसेन्ती मन्त्रास्तु तेषां
 4 उच्यते इति तेषां विद्वानां विद्वत्त्वं बुद्ध्यादौ मन्त्रादिनिविसेन्ती मन्त्रास्तु तेषां
 6 भावगिरि तेषां विद्वानां विद्वत्त्वं बुद्ध्यादौ मन्त्रादिनिविसेन्ती मन्त्रास्तु तेषां
 8 विद्वानां विद्वत्त्वं बुद्ध्यादौ मन्त्रादिनिविसेन्ती मन्त्रास्तु तेषां
 10 विद्वानां विद्वत्त्वं बुद्ध्यादौ मन्त्रादिनिविसेन्ती मन्त्रास्तु तेषां
 12 विद्वानां विद्वत्त्वं बुद्ध्यादौ मन्त्रादिनिविसेन्ती मन्त्रास्तु तेषां

RIGHT HALF

2 सप्तमस्तु तेषां विद्वानां विद्वत्त्वं बुद्ध्यादौ मन्त्रादिनिविसेन्ती मन्त्रास्तु तेषां
 4 विद्वानां विद्वत्त्वं बुद्ध्यादौ मन्त्रादिनिविसेन्ती मन्त्रास्तु तेषां
 6 विद्वानां विद्वत्त्वं बुद्ध्यादौ मन्त्रादिनिविसेन्ती मन्त्रास्तु तेषां
 8 विद्वानां विद्वत्त्वं बुद्ध्यादौ मन्त्रादिनिविसेन्ती मन्त्रास्तु तेषां
 10 विद्वानां विद्वत्त्वं बुद्ध्यादौ मन्त्रादिनिविसेन्ती मन्त्रास्तु तेषां
 12 विद्वानां विद्वत्त्वं बुद्ध्यादौ मन्त्रादिनिविसेन्ती मन्त्रास्तु तेषां

- 2 नृजा दैत्यनागैर्द्रतागाः । द्वीपा नक्षत्रतारा रविवसुमनयो व्योम भूरश्विनौ च
संलीना यस्य सर्वे(वे) वपुषि स भगवान्पातु वो विस्वरूप(सः) ॥२॥ स्वस्ति
श्रीशकवत्सरे रसमुनीसंख्या(त्रो) रुद्रे(द्रैः) शतै(तैः) धामदे सविशाष(ख)-
- 3 शुक्रजयनीसोमे मुधासुंदरे । पूजाबंदनधूपदीपचसनै ने(नै) वेद्यनृत्यः(त्य) क्रमैः
भू(भैर्भू) पाभोगविवर्धनाय नगरं भद्रेश्वर[1](र) स्थापितं(तम्) ॥३॥ वंशे-
स्मिन्वसुदेवनंदनरतिः(ति) प्राणेशकामात्मजा(जाः) ख्याता
- 4 वज्रदृष्टप्रहारनृपति(तिः) सेउन्नघाडिपको^१ । उच्चैर्भिल्लमराजवाहुगिनुपा जाता(ताः)
क्षितेर्भूषणं ओणीद्रो वरभिल्लम(मः) समभवद्देसुगिदेवाभिधः ॥४॥ भूमीभूम-
(भूमम्) गभिल्लमः क्षितिपते(तिः) सेउन्नराजाभिधो जातो(तो)
- 5 मालुगिकृष्णभिल्लभनृपा जैत्रो नृप(पः) सिवण(णः) । जैव(त्रः) कृष्ण इव^२
प्रतीतमहसा(सो) जाता(ताः) क्रमादौ(द्वे) नृपा ते(पास्ते) पां चित्रचरित्र-
चारिमचमत्कारा(रो) मुधा(धैः) श्रूयतां(ताम्) ॥५॥ स्वस्ति श्रीसौ(शौ)-
यसूर्यग्लपितरिपुवधूतववशीतासु(धु) विवः संप-
- 6 द्विधार्मसिधुज(जै) यति नयवतामगणीः कृष्णभूप(पः) । यस्मि(स्मिन्)-
श्रि(श्रुं) ग्मा(गा) रकेलीसरसि वरयशा(शः) श्रेणिहसे विलासं स्फीतं लीलावलीनां
नयनकुवलयान्वापुरामोदवन्ति ॥६॥ स कृष्णभूपति प्रा(प्रां)म ददौ धर्म-
परायणं(णः) ।
- 7 षडं भद्रहरेरुदं द्विजानां यजयाजिनां(नाम्) ॥७॥ शुद्धाभ्यन्तरमश्रोत्रं^३ नाम्ना
कुरुकवाटकं । सदहदोषसोद्वगसवृक्ष सपरिच्छदं(दम्) ॥८॥ प्रथः(थ)
प्रासादवर्णनं(नम्) ॥ किं वा नंदमहोदयो गुणनिधि(धिः) किं वा यंशःस्याय-

^१ The composition of this chronogram is incorrect and the inaccuracy is evidently due to the exigency of metre. The correct form should be *rasa-muni-sankhyā-rodhānā*.

^२ *Sandhi* is necessary here and as such the expression should read *dhām-śrīvatsā*.

^३ Read *वादीपको* or *वाडिपको* if the metre is to be honoured.

^४ Read *वेसुनि* to honour the metre.

^५ Read *भूमिभू-* correctly though it violates the metre. [*भूमी*, though uncommon, is not wrong.—Ed.]

^६ Read *इति*. There appears to be some correction about the letter *sa* in the original.

^७ The expression *अश्रोत्रं* appears to denote here, 'not owned by a *śrōtrīya*, i.e., *Brāhmana*, learned in the *Vedas*.'

^८ Read *यशःसाधनं*.

- 8 न कोर्तेमूलमिदं फलं वृषत्त(त)रोज्जि(रो: कि) वा सुधासागर(रु) ।
 श्रीम[द*]भद्रहरेरगाधमहत्तः प्रासादमुद्राविधौ मन्येयं भुवनत्रयीमुत्तिलकः कर्ता
 नृसिंघ(घ:) स्वयं(यम्)¹ ॥६॥ अयः(घ) वृत्तिवत्ता वा(त्रा)ह्यणानां(नाम्) ॥
 कौड(डि)न्यगोत्र लोलिग अग्निहो-
- 9 नो । भारद्वाजगोत्र आता पाठक । कृष्णात्रगोत्र सोमनाथ पाठक ।
 अगस्तिगोत्र नागदेव पाठक । सांकर्यगोत्र नारायणभट्ट । काडसगोत्र
 राम उपाध्या । कौड(डि)न्यगोत्र महेश्व(श्च)र ज्योतिषी । सो(शा)डिल्यगोत्र
 सारंग पाठक । कौड(डि)न्यगोत्र वासुदेव
- 10 पाठक । भार्गवगोत्र सूलहण पाठक । कौड(डि)न्यगोत्र हरदेवभट्ट । कास्य(श्य)पगोत्र
 केस(श)व अवस्थी । वच्छीसगोत्र कृष्णभट्ट । वच्छपुरोष महादेव शुक्ल ।
 कौसि(शि)कगोत्र महादेव पाठक । कास्य(श्य)पगोत्र सार(रं)य पाठक ।
 कास्य(श्य)पगोत्र कृष्णपंडित । कौसि(शि)कगो-
- 11 व जगधर पाठक । लोहितगोत्र रामदेव पाठक । वाङ्म्या(स्स्या)[य*]तगोत्र
 गांगेया पाठक । कौरव्यगोत्र विष्णु पाठक । भारद्वाजगोत्र दामोदर
 भट्ट । भारद्वाजगोत्र बोलहण पाठक । कास्य(श्य)पगोत्र सारंग² उपाध्या ।
 महादेव पाठक ॥
- 12 पौराणिकवृत्तिमवाप्य शास्वतीचकार लक्ष्मीधरपंडितोत्तमः । श्रीसिद्धसारस्वतकाश्यपान्वयी
 भद्रेश्वरे दास(स)नपट्टिकाकृति³ ॥१०॥ गंगाधरेण वे दत्तं गृहाणि वसुधा
 धनं । आचंद्रतारकं यावन्नंद(दं)तु द्विजसत्तमा(मा:) ॥११॥ व(व)ह-
- 13 नि(ः)(भि)व(वं)मुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भुक्ति त(स्त)स्य
 तस्य तदा फलं(नम्) ॥१२॥ महतामपि पापानां दृष्टा शास्त्रेषु
 निःकृ(कृ)ति(तिः) । व(व)ह्यदेयापह्नो(र्तु)णां न दृष्टा निःकृ(कृ)तिः क्वचित्
 ॥१३॥ तालमानगुणैर्युक्ता प्रतिष्ठा घटितामिमा⁴ । एसा(वा) प्रशस्तिरुत्कीर्णा
 हेमदेवेन सि(शि)ल्पिना ॥ [१४]*]

¹ The construction of this verse is faulty.

² The names of the donors are mentioned without the Sanskrit case-endings and in such forms as were in vogue, e.g., Upādhyā, Gāṅgāyā, Ās (probably a corruption of Ananta). Some of the *gāṇa* names also are not properly spelt.

³ There is an *avanta* above this letter, which may be ignored.

⁴ A blank space for about 9 letters is left out before this name. This should have contained the name of the *gāṇa* of the individual.

⁵ The metre of this verse is corrupt. Perhaps it was intended to be in the *Upajhā* metre. The sense also is not quite clear.

⁶ Better read घटिता विष्णु.

No. 50—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM KELGA

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTAGAMUND

The late Mr. B. C. Mazumdar published in this journal, Vol. XII, pp. 237 ff., a paper entitled *Sōmvar Plates of Kumāra Sōmāśvataśvata*.¹ The plates were found buried in a field in the village of Kelga² in the Uttara-tira division (i.e., the 'Northern Bank' division lying to the north or left of the Mahānadi) in the old Sonepur State in Orissa. There were altogether four copper plates strung on a copper ring to which a brass seal of the shape of a double-petalled lotus was found soldered. The ring was, however, found cut out and Mazumdar believed that two of the four plates were forged and substituted in the original document at a later date. Three of the plates, marked A, B and C by Mazumdar, were found to be of the same size and were supposed to bear fragments of a partially forged charter of the Sōmavārṣī prince Sōmāśvata, while the fourth plate, slightly smaller in size than the other three plates and marked D by Mazumdar, was supposed to reveal a forged supplementary grant in favour of the son of the donee of Sōmāśvata's charter. Mazumdar suggested that Sōmāśvata's charter consisted originally of four plates engraved on one side only, but in the place of the second and the fourth plates—now missing, two plates engraved on both sides were substituted, and one concluding line was attempted unsuccessfully to be engraved on the reverse side of the plate which was originally the third plate. He further observed, "When the original grant was first tampered with, the ring was cut open, and the plate C and another new forged plate (subsequently removed) must have been put in." The reasons for these changes or forgery are not of course now apparent. In a note on the above observations of Mazumdar, the late Dr. Sten Konow, the then editor of the *Epigraphia Indica*, suggested that probably the original charter was written on three plates of which one, inscribed on both the sides, was missing. This was because Mazumdar's suggestion regarding all the four plates being originally written on the obverse only was palpably improbable.

The said plates are now preserved in the Asiatic Museum of Indian Art attached to the University of Calcutta, and I had an opportunity of examining them through the kindness of Mr. D. P. Ghosh, Curator of that Museum. On a careful examination of the plates, it is found that the observations on them, referred to above, are mostly wrong. It was an unfortunate mistake to believe that Sōmāśvata's charter is incomplete and partially forged. There is absolutely no doubt that the three plates of equal size, marked A, B and C by Mazumdar, form a complete charter issued by the Sōmavārṣī Sōmāśvata, although they were wrongly arranged. Mazumdar's C is actually by the second or middle one of the three plates on which the whole document was engraved. Both Mazumdar and Sten Konow failed to realise that the inscription on the obverse of Plate B (really Plate III) is a continuation of that on the reverse of Plate C (actually Plate II). This is because the last word of the last line on the reverse of Plate C (Plate II) was read as *pratiṣṭāpāyāṁ* and the first three letters of the first line on the obverse of Plate B (Plate III) as *śāhāśā*, without noticing that, after *pratiṣṭāpāyāṁ*, the letter *śā* was really engraved so that the last letter on the reverse of Plate C (Plate II) and the first three akṣaras on the obverse of Plate B (Plate III) have to be read continuously as *śāhāśāśā*. In other records of the Sōmavārṣī kings also the word *pratiṣṭāpāyāṁ* is found to be followed by the expression *śāhāśāśā*, although the word *śā* was usually put between them.³ The suggestion that the original document was written on one side each of four plates is therefore entirely wrong. The charter is a three-plate record, called *tri-phallāśvata* in Sōmavārṣī documents. The first plate is engraved only on the inner side. The second and third plates have writing on both the sides, although the reverse of the third plate contains only one line of inscription.

¹ See above, Vol. III, p. 343 (text, line 23), p. 344 (text, line 10), p. 353 (text, lines 40-42), p. 357 (text, line 40), Vol. XI, p. 94 (text, line 17), p. 97 (text, line 21), *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 247 (text, line 24), p. 248 (text, lines 17-18), etc., etc.

The smaller plate, marked D by Mazumdar, is obviously the second or middle plate of another *tri-phalī-tāvara-śāstra*. This part of the incomplete inscription records a grant in favour of the son of the donee of Sōmēśvara's charter. There is no evidence in support of Mazumdar's contention that this incomplete charter is a forgery. As the donee of this grant was the son of that of Sōmēśvara's charter, it is possible to think that, for some reason unknown to us, the son took out the plate recording a genuine grant in his favour from a *tri-phalī* charter and kept it in another similar document by the side of the latter's second or middle plate recording a grant in favour of his father. The third plate of the record may have been considered unnecessary as it no doubt contained only some imprecatory and benedictory verses with or without the date. If the grant was received from the same ruler, viz., Sōmēśvara of the Sōma-nātha, the first plate must have contained matter similar to that on the first plate of the father's grant and may have been considered unnecessary, wrongly of course, on that account. The nature of the draft, which is not exactly the same as in other similar records, as well as the fact that it is part of a different record and is neither complete in itself nor fits in Sōmēśvara's grant in the father's favour would suggest that the document is genuine. The large number of mistakes in the language need not be taken as an evidence of the spurious nature of the grant, as many other early-medieval Orissan records including Sōmēśvara's charter itself are by no means free from errors.

Among other errors of Mazumdar, reference may be made to his reading *Kāśālī-śāstra**] *Maṇḍiṭṭa* (believed to speak of the Kāśala country) in line 9 of the inscription. The correct reading of the passage is no doubt *Kāśālī-śāstra*. The name of this Kāśālī *śāstra* is apparently preserved in that of modern Kelgī, the find-spot of our record. Sten Konow's suggestion that modern Kelgī represents the ancient Kamalapurā seems to be wrong. As regards the emblem on the seal attached to the charter, no photograph of which was published, Mazumdar says: "On the top surface there is a seated figure with the right arm outstretched to the knee, within the enclosure of a blossoming creeper. The figure seems to represent a goddess, and, if so, she is the representation of Lakṣmī. I may state, however, that the posture indicating peaceful meditation is hardly consistent with the figure of any goddess." The representation is, however, of the seated Gaja-Lakṣmī as on the seals attached to other charters of the Sōmavamāsi kings. The two figures of elephants were wrongly regarded by Mazumdar as the representation of creepers. In view of the numerous errors that crept into Mazumdar's article on these plates, they are re-edited in the following pages.

A. Plates of Sōmēśvara

The plates on which the charter is incised have been described by Mazumdar. The palaeography and orthography of the inscription resemble closely those of other Orissan epigraphs of about the twelfth century A. C. and does not call for special notice. The medial signs of *u*, *ū*, and *ṛ* influenced by the local dialect.

The charter was issued from Suvarṇapurā, i.e., modern Sonapat. The inscription records a grant of the village of Atāpālā in the Kāśālī *śāstra* (sub-division) of the Uttaravallī *nishaya* (district), made by the Sōmavamāsi prince Sōmēśvara in favour of the Brāhmana, Bhāṭṭaputra Udayakaraśarma, who was the son of Bhāṭṭa Vidyākara, grandson of Bhāṭṭa Jayakara and great-grandson of Bhāṭṭaputra Lakṣmīdhara, and belonged to the Kumārahārta *gṛha* having five Brāhmana who was himself learned, while his son who was not himself learned may have been called Bhāṭṭaputra. The Brāhmana donee was a student of the Mādhyandina-Kāyva branch of the

* Jayakara is called Bhāṭṭaputra in the fragmentary grant edited below.

Vajur-vēḍa. He was an inhabitant of Kamalapura, although his family hailed from Mahuvāli in the Śāvatha (Śrāvastī) *maṇḍala*. The grant was made on the occasion of an auspicious day in the month of Māgha in the first regnal year of Sāmśvara at the request of Nāgaśa Mahāpati and Bhāṭṭa Anirūḍha, both of whom appear to have been called *Mahāsandhiagrahin* (minister for war and peace) and *Rājaka* (title of a subordinate ruler). The king's order regarding the grant was addressed to the village folk including Brāhmaṇas, Bhōgias and Bhōgi-rūpas as well as to the officials including the *viśaya-pati* (ruler of a district), *bhūḍa-pati* (ruler of a sub-division of a district) and *dāṇḍapātika* (police inspector). The word *bhōgi* may indicate 'a village headman' or 'an *ināmdār*'; but the expression *bhōgi-rūpa*, which seems to mean 'one who is a *bhōgi* partially or outwardly', possibly supports the second of the two meanings of *bhōgi* suggested above. A *bhōgi-rūpa* may indicate one who is a mere title-holder but is not in actual possession of the land in question.

The list of privileges to be enjoyed by the donee included, besides the ordinary ones noticed in many charters, the *sunṛga-dāṇḍa*, *ahi-dāṇḍa*, *cattma-dāṇḍa*, *vaudāpudā*, *vijayavandīpavā*, *triṣṭ-śaka*, *śaṣṭa-āṇḍika*, *chakra-bhūṣaṇa*, *āṇḍāraṇḍā*, *pratyachāravā*, *padātī-śreya*, *śatātī*, *śatā-vaṣṭī*, *yā-paṇḍa* and *dhanyapālīya*. Although some of the expressions are not entirely unintelligible, the real significance of the privileges indicated by all these expressions is difficult to determine in the present state of our knowledge. Many of these are also known from some other inscriptions.¹

Sāmśvaradēva, the donor of the grant, is described as belonging to the Soma-kula and as a devout worshipper of Mahāśvara (Śiva). Although he enjoyed the imperial titles, *Paramaḥaṭṭāra* and *Paramakara*, he calls himself *Kumārādhirāja* (also *Kumāra*) instead of the expected *Mahārājādhirāja*. The epithet *Paścima-Lokādhipati* indicates that Sāmśvaradēva was originally the governor of *Paścima-Loka* (literally, 'the western island'), situated somewhere in South Kōśala, under the Sāmavahā king of that country. The title *Kumārādhirāja* reminds us of the similar title *Mahākumāra* adopted by some rulers of the Paramāra family.² The uncertain political condition which necessitated the adoption of the title *Mahākumāra* by some Paramāra rulers is hinted at in epigraphic passages like *śrīmaj-Jayavarmanadēva-rājā nyatīl nija-kara-dhṛita-karavāla-pṛasād-ācāpta-nij-ādhipatyā*.... *mahākumāra-śrīmaj-Lakṣmīvarmadēva*, 'the *Mahākumāra*, the illustrious Lakṣmīvarmadēva, who obtained sovereignty of his own by the favour of the sword which he carried in his hand, when the rule by the illustrious Jayavarmanadēva had passed away', *śrī-Jayavarmanadēva-ity-ānānt prithātama-prabhāṭ pṛasād-ācāpta-nij-ādhipatyā*.... *mahākumāra-śrī-Hariśchandrādēva*, 'the *Mahākumāra*, the illustrious Hariśchandrādēva, who obtained sovereignty of his own by the favour of the last ruler, before mentioned, the illustrious Jayavarmanadēva', etc. It is very interesting to note that the Sāmavahā *Kumāra* or *Kumārādhirāja* Sāmśvara is similarly said to have issued the charter after the end of the rule of Abhimanyu who had been installed in the Kōśala kingdom that is said to have been presented to him by Uddyōtakōśarin. The Sāmavahā king Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyōtakōśarin, who was the son of Mahādivagupta III Yayāśi Chagḍhara and grandson of Abhimanyu (who did not rule), is known from his Balljhari plates.³ Our inscription represents Uddyōtakōśarin as *Mahābhavagupta-pād-ānūdyōta*. It is apparently a mistake for *Mahādivagupta-pād-ānūdyōta* which is used in the same context in the Balljhari plates (cf. lines 29-33). While discussing the history of the Sāmavahā of Kōśala (South Kōśala) and Utkāla, we have suggested

¹ Cf. Balljhari plates, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1 ff. Unfortunately there are numerous errors in the published transcription of this inscription. *Tyāḍāḍa* and *Maṇḍapāḍa* are mentioned in some Orissan records in connection with land that was declared as a cent-free gift but was subject to pay more of certain taxes. See above, Vol. XII, pp. 156 ff., line 29; Vol. XXIV, pp. 15 ff., lines 33-34; *J. A. S. B.*, N. S., Vol. XII, pp. 292 ff., lines 32-33; *J. S. A. S.*, 1922, pp. 6 ff. *Gauḍa* is the same as *gāḍa* meaning 'a orchard'.

² Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, pp. 846 ff.; *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 304-05.

³ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1 ff.

elsewhere¹ that Uddyōtakēśarin, who ruled about 1000-85 A.C., possibly during the later part of his reign, made Abhimanyu, apparently a prince of his own family, a sub-king of that part of his dominions that lay in Kōśala, while he himself ruled in Utkala where we have his records at Bhujanesvar and the neighbourhood. This arrangement may have been made to check the Kalachuri as well as Chhindaka-Nāga and Telugu-Chōḍa encroachment in Kōśala and Gaṅgā encroachment in Utkala.² As to the extirpation of Sōmavamśi rule (especially of Abhimanyu's reign) from Kōśala, it may be pointed out that the Chhindaka-Nāga king Sōmāvara (c. 1020-1110 A.C.) of Bastar and Yaśōrāja I, a Telugu-Chōḍa founder of the Chhindaka-Nāgas, claim to have conquered Kōśala. Yaśōrāja's great-grandson Sōmāvara II, called 'lord of the whole of Kōśala', actually issued his Kumārisinhā³ and Patna Museum plates⁴ from Suvarṇapura. The position of Sōmāvara and Abhimanyu, mentioned in our record, in the genealogy of the Sōmavamśis cannot be determined; but the latter may have been a grandson of Abhimanyu (grandfather of Uddyōtakēśarin) and a brother or cousin of Uddyōtakēśarin. Like the Telugu-Chōḍa Sōmāvara II who issued charters from Sonapur, the Sōmavamśi Sōmāvara who issued the charter under discussion from the same city, seems to have flourished about the early years of the twelfth century. That the Sōmavamśi Sōmāvara was a contemporary of his Telugu-Chōḍa namesake may be suggested by the influence of the latter's records on passages like *Sōma-kula-tilaka-kalikā-vikāśa-bhāskara* and *tri-Sōmavamśi-pādāḥ kulaśilāḥ*. In the Sōmavamśi style, the passages would have been *Sōmakula-tilaka* and *tri-Sōmavamśi-pādāḥ kulaśilāḥ*. It is possible to suggest that the Sōmavamśi Sōmāvara of our record struggled with and was overthrown by the Telugu-Chōḍa Sōmāvara II. The greatest achievement of Kalachuri Jājalladeva (1114 A.C.) is described as a victory over a certain Sōmāvara in one record and as a victory over Bhujabala of Suvarṇapura in another.⁵ This seems to suggest that Bhujabala or Bhujabalamalla was a *cirāta* of Sōmāvara, who was a ruler of Suvarṇapura (Sonapur). This Sōmāvara, defeated by the Kalachuris established in the western part of South Kōśala, may be either the Sōmavamśi Sōmāvara of our record or the Telugu-Chōḍa Sōmāvara II of the Kumārisinhā and Patna Museum plates. But his identification with the former seems preferable. From the record under review we learn that, like the imperial Gaṅgas, the Sōmavamśis claimed to have belonged to the *Ātrya-gotra*.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Kōśalagā and Suvarṇapura are of course modern Kelgā and Sonapur respectively. The district called Uttaravallī seems to be what is now called Uttara-tira referred to above. The village of Attōḍā must have stood in the vicinity of Kelgā. The donee's family hailed from the village of Mahuvāli in Śrāvastī which was the area round modern Ser-Mabet on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich Districts of the Uttar Pradesh. The village of Kamalapura, where the donee was settled, seems to have been a locality in South Kōśala.

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 [Siddham] ॥ Svasti ॥¹ ॥ Śat-Suvarṇapurāva(nī) ॥² ॥ paramamāhēśva(śva)ra-paramabha³.
- 2 ॥ Īraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-⁴ ॥⁵ Sōma-kula-tilaka-Tri-

¹ P. H. Q., Vol. XXII, pp. 394-95.

² See, *ibid.* See also above (article on the Mahāśā plates).

³ J. K. H. R. S., Vol. I, pp. 229 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 97 ff.

⁵ Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 806-07.

⁶ From the original plates as well as impressions and the facsimile published above, Vol. XII.

⁷ Expressed by symbol.

⁸ One of the donees stands on the left of the ringhole and two of them are on the right. They are unnecessary.

⁹ There is a small donee after this letter. It is superfluous.

¹⁰ The donees are unnecessary.

- 3 kalīṅg-ādhipati-śrī-Mahābhavatapta¹ rājādīya-pāl-ānandhyāta-(śrī)(ta-śrī)-
 4 mad-Udyō(dīyō)takṣasurirājādīya-prasādi(h)kṛita-Kōśala-rājy-ābhīśi(śi)-
 5 kta-śrī-²Ahīmātya(nya)di(dī)vasy-āpta-rājyō ||³ paramamāhīśvara-pa-
 6 ramabhaḍā(tā)ka-kuma(mā)rādhirāja-paramēśva(śva)ra-Pāśahima-Laḍḍ-ābhī-
 7 pati-Sōma-kula-kamala-kalikā-vikāśa-bhājya(śka)ra-kumāra-śrī-
 8 Sōmāśvaradēvapādāḥ kusa(śa)linah ||⁴ Uṇaravallī-vishaya-saṁ-
 9 Kēśatōgā-khaṇḍiya- ||⁵ ⁶Antēpḍā-grāmō ||⁷ prativāsinō Vṛā(Bṛā)hma-
 10 pa-puḥ(pa)raḥsarāna(rā) ||⁸ bhōgi-bhōgīrūpa-pamukha-samastīja-

Second Plate : First Side

- 11 janapadāna(dān) yathā-kāl-ādhyāyī(ni)naś-cha mapḍalapati- ||⁹ viśhaya-
 12 pati- ||¹⁰ khaṇḍapati- ||¹¹ dāṇḍapāśi(śi)kādīma(dīn) samastō-rāja-pāl-ōpej(vinō
 13 yath-ārham ||¹² mānayanā ||¹³ vō(bō)dhayanā ||¹⁴ samā(jnā)payantī (cha*) ||¹⁵ vīṭṭam-astu
 14 bhavutā(m*) ||¹⁶ npari-likhita-grāmō-yan ||¹⁷ prasādha-chaṭub-śra-śvachchhina(mah)
 15 sa-jala-athalāḥ ||¹⁸ sa-matya-kachchhāḥ ||¹⁹ sa-viṣap-āṇḍyāḥ ||²⁰ sa-
 16 nidhīḥ ||²¹ s-ōpanidhīś-cha ||²² s-āmra(mra)-madhu-van-ākīrṇḥ ||²³ Suvarṇapadapā-
 17 ahidāṇḍ- ||²⁴ vartmadāṇḍ- ||²⁵ vandāpanā- ||²⁶ vijayatanulāpanā- ||²⁷ tṛṇ-ōḍaka-
 18 sū(śū)śan-ārddhika- ||²⁸ chara-va(ba)hvaḍa(nḍa)- ||²⁹ ārthāruvā- ||³⁰ pratyarthāruvā-padāti(ji)-
 19 vya-³¹ādattā- ||³² āturāva(dī) ||³³ bhavishyata(śhya)-kar-ādi-sahitaḥ ||³⁴ gō-gaṇḍa-
 20 samātaḥ ||³⁵ sa-khaṇḍapālīyāḥ ||³⁶ sarva-vā(bā)dhā-vivarjita(h*) ||³⁷ tānra(mra)-sā(śā)-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 21 sanēś-ākarikṛitya ||³⁸ salila-dhārī-jara(h)jaram(mam) ||³⁹ ś-chandr-ārka-(kālī)ti-(kā)śa-
 22 sama-bhōg-ārtham ||⁴⁰ mātā-pitṛ-ātmanāś-cha putrya-yasō(śō)-bhividdhaya ||⁴¹ bhagava-
 23 nām Mahēśva(śva)ra-bhaṭṭārakam-sūdiśya(śya) ||⁴² mahāśanulivigra(ji)(hi)-m(tā)ṇaka-nāyaka-
 24 Mahīpati-bhaṭṭa-śrī-⁴³Aniruddha ||⁴⁴ anayōb⁴⁵ pari(jā)atvya ||⁴⁶ pravaraḥsamāna-vijaya-rā-
 25 jyē ||⁴⁷ prathama-samra(samra)tanō ||⁴⁸ Māgha-mās(ṛa)- ||⁴⁹ pu(h)(pa)ṇya-tithan ||⁵⁰ Kuvnū(mā)ra-
lha(hā)ritra(ta)-gō-
 26 trāya ||⁵¹ pālch-ārha-pravarāya ||⁵² Mādhyandina-Ea(Kā)ṇḍa(ṇva)-sū(śū)kh-ādhyāyīnō ||⁵³
 Sāvattā⁵⁴-mapḍa-
 27 ḥya- ||⁵⁵ Mahāvallī-vi(vi)ṇṇatāya ||⁵⁶ Kamalapura-vāstavyāya ||⁵⁷ bhata(tā)putra-La-
 28 kṣmādhara-prapaurāya ||⁵⁸ bhaṭṭa-Jayakara-paurāya ||⁵⁹ bhaṭṭa-Vidyākara-paurāya
 29 bhaṭṭaputra⁶⁰-Udayakarasa(śa)ṇma(mma)ṇō sampradattō-śmāhīḥ ||⁶¹ ⁶²Ātrōya-gōtrah ||⁶³
 30 ⁶⁴(try-Ārha(rā)śh)ya-pravarah ||⁶⁵ atō-sya vāhīyōbhīya yathā-dīyamāna-bhōga-bhōga-
 31 karā-nīkar-ādīkam samupanayadīhīḥ bhavadīhīḥ sakhāna prativastavyam [bhā]-

¹ Read ⁶⁶yapō-rājā. The intended reading seems to be Mahāsimapantāpādha.

² Sandhi has not been observed here.

³ The danda is unnecessary.

⁴ Sak is a contraction for samādhā.

⁵ The danda is superfluous.

⁶ Read ⁶⁷raddhayaḥ.

⁷ Read ⁶⁸parijāpyā.

⁸ The intended reading seems to be Śrīśamā.

A. Plate of *Lōkavigraha-bhaṭṭāraka*; Gupta year 280

This is a **single plate** measuring 4.85 inches by 2.5 inches and having writing on both obverse and reverse. There is a projection in the middle of the left end of the plate, to which a seal was originally soldered. Of this seal, however, nothing but a small lump of bronze protruding through a hidden hole on both the obverse and reverse of the projection now remains. There are eleven lines of writing on the obverse of the plate and ten lines on the reverse. The size of the letters is small. The preservation of the writing, especially on the obverse of the plate, is extremely unsatisfactory as some of the letters have completely peeled off. The weight of the plate, together with the lump representing the original seal, is 13 tolas only.

In point of **palaeography** and **orthography**, the inscription closely resembles the Sumaṇḍala plate of *Prithivivigraha-bhaṭṭāraka* edited by me in the pages of this journal,¹ and hardly anything calls for special mention. The tail of letters like *k* and *r* is short and not lengthened considerably downwards as is usually the case. The sign of interpunctuation is usually a short horizontal or slightly curved stroke. Full-stop is sometimes indicated by two such strokes (cf. line 19), not differing much from the sign for the *visarga*; but often the usual double *daṇḍa* has been employed, although the head of the first of the two *daṇḍas* is considerably curved towards the left (cf. lines 15, 21). The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of two of the usual imprecatory verses at the end, the record is entirely written in prose.

The **date** of the charter engraved on the plate as given in words in lines 2-3 reads: *pravarṣamānē Gupta-kāla-samvatsarā* (saka) *varṣa* *utṭara-śata-daṇḍe*. It is quoted in line 15 as *Samvat 200 80 Phālguna* (vā)-*di* 5. Thus the date of our record is the fifth day of the month of **Phālguna** in the year 280 of the Gupta era corresponding to 599-600 A.C.

The inscription records the grant of a village called **Urdhvastriṅga** situated in the **Utṭara** or **Muṣṭa** *vishaya* (district) in **Dakṣiṇa-Tōṣali**. The grant was made by the royal officers (*visi-yuktakāḥ*) of the said *vishaya*, including such officers as the *visiśāhika*, *vishayapati* and *amha-bṛhād-bhōgika*, when *parama-dēva-śāhīdāivata-śrī-Lōkavigraha-bhaṭṭāraka* was ruling in **Tōṣali** comprising eighteen forest states (*Tōṣaṇī s-āṣṭāśāḍa-āṭavi-rājyāyām*). The declaration regarding the grant was addressed to the present and future enjoyers of the share of the produce (*bhūga-bhōgaḥ*) such as the officers of the *mahādāmanta-mahārāja*, *rājaputra*, *kumārāmātya*, *uparika*, *tad-āyuktaka*, *śrīvāṇika*, *vishayapati* and *amha-bṛhād-bhōgika*. Of the officials, *amha-bṛhād-bhōgika* seems to be the same as *bhōgika* or *bṛhād-bhōgika* of other inscriptions, and *śrīvāṇika*, not usually found in charters,² may indicate a privy councillor or was in charge of secret and confidential communications. Having ascertained that the village in question had in it no land uncultivated for a long time (*chira-kāla-tiṇya*) and that its land possessed many qualities (*śaṅka-guṇa*), the officers granted it, with a view to gaining *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*, with the permission of the *paramadēvasāhīdāivata-śrī-paramabhaṭṭāraka*, no doubt referring to *Lōkavigraha-bhaṭṭāraka*. The grant was made according to the principle governing permanent endowments to last as long as the moon and sun endure (*ā-chandra-ārka-sama-kāliy-ākāśa-nivā-dharmamāṇa*) with the determination of the four boundaries. The purpose of the grant was the institution of *śālī*, *charu* and *sattva* at the *maṣṭha* of the illustrious *Maṇināgāśvara-bhaṭṭāraka* of **Chāikāmbaka** or **Ekāmbaka** and the maintenance of the **Brāhmanas** of different *gōtras*, who were students of the *Maitrāyaṇya* branch of the *Yajur-vēda*. It is interesting to note that the **Brāhmana** students of the *Maitrāyaṇya* school, associated with the *maṣṭha* of *Maṇināgā-bhaṭṭāraka*, are also mentioned in the other charter edited below. The word *maṣṭha* seems to indicate here 'a temple endowed with a monastery or college'. The grant under

¹ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 70 ff.

² The designation *puṣṭakāraṇapariṣāḍika* (*śrīvāṇika-bṛhād-bhōgika*) is found in lines 33-34 of the Bāṇpur plates of *Dharmapāla* to be edited by me in this journal. Cf. also *Liders' List*, Nos. 126(Q), 127, 128, 141.

review was *anuvāṇa* (possibly meaning 'endorsed') among others by the *Vaiṣṇavika* Bhavanāga, *Vishayapati* Śrīdatta, *Ama-bṛhaddhōgika* Sudumāka and *Karaṇika* Nāgadatta.

It seems that Prithivivīgraha who, according to the Sumaṇḍala inscription, was governing the Kalinga *rāṣṭra* as a viceroy of the imperial Guptas in the Gupta year 250 and Lokavīgraha who was ruling independently over the Tōsali country (comprising the northern part of ancient Kalinga and also Utkala) in the Gupta year 280, belonged to the same family which may be called the Vīgraha dynasty of Orissa. It is clear that all vestiges of imperial Gupta influence in Orissa disappeared before the date of our record. It is also clear now that the history of Orissa in the second half of the sixth century was characterised by the rivalry between the Vīgrahas and the royal house of the Mānas represented by king Śambhuvāsa of the Muḍgala or Maṇḍalya *gōtra*, who is known to have been ruling over Utkala-Tōsali in the Gupta year 260¹ and Dakṣiṇa-Tōsali in the year 283,² side by side with the Vīgrahas. The expansion of the rule of Śambhuvāsa over South Tōsali before the year 283 suggests the discomfiture of the Vīgrahas at the hands of the Mānas. This struggle between the Vīgrahas and Mānas seems to have facilitated the conquest of Orissa probably from the Mānas by king Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa sometime before the Gupta year 300.³

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Tōsali was originally the name of the chief city of Kalinga identified with modern Bhauli near Bhubaneswar in the Puri District. It seems that with the foundation of the kingdom of the Gaṅgas who claimed the title "lord of Kalinga or Trikalīṅga" with their capital at Kalinganagara (modern Mukhalingam in the Chinacole or Śrīkākulam District), the rulers of northern Kalinga felt the necessity of applying the new name to their dominions. The country of Tōsali comprised not only northern Kalinga but also ancient Utkala and thus often included the western part of the Midnapur District in the north-east and the eastern fringe of the Ganjam District in the south-west. Dakṣiṇa-Tōsali or South Tōsali roughly corresponded to northern Kalinga (modern Puri District with parts of Cuttack and Ganjam) and Utkala-Tōsali or North Tōsali to the Utkala country (modern Balasore District with parts of Cuttack and Midnapur). The description of Tōsali as comprising eighteen forest states in our record seems to be the earliest reference to the tradition of the so-called Athara-gaḍa-jāta of Orissa.⁴ The *vishaya* of Uṭṭa or Muṭṭa and the village of Ūrdhvaśrīṅga cannot be satisfactorily identified. Chaikāmbaka or Ekāmbaka, where the *maṭha* of the deity Maṇināgēśvara was situated, is also difficult to locate. I am not sure if the *maṭha* can be identified with the present Kanāś Maṭha. If, however, the name is really Ekāmbaka, it may possibly be regarded as a variant of Ēkāmbra (or Ēkāmraka) which is an old name of modern Bhubaneswar. The name of Maṇināga, son of Kadrū, is famous in the Puranic literature.⁵ That the Maṇināga cult was popular in Orissa is proved by the existence of the Maṇināga hill at Raṇpur in Orissa as well as of the goddess Maṇināga-Durgā worshipped there. Whether, however, the Maṇināga-maṭha was situated at Raṇpur cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. Maṇināgēśvara may also indicate a *śiva-linga* installed

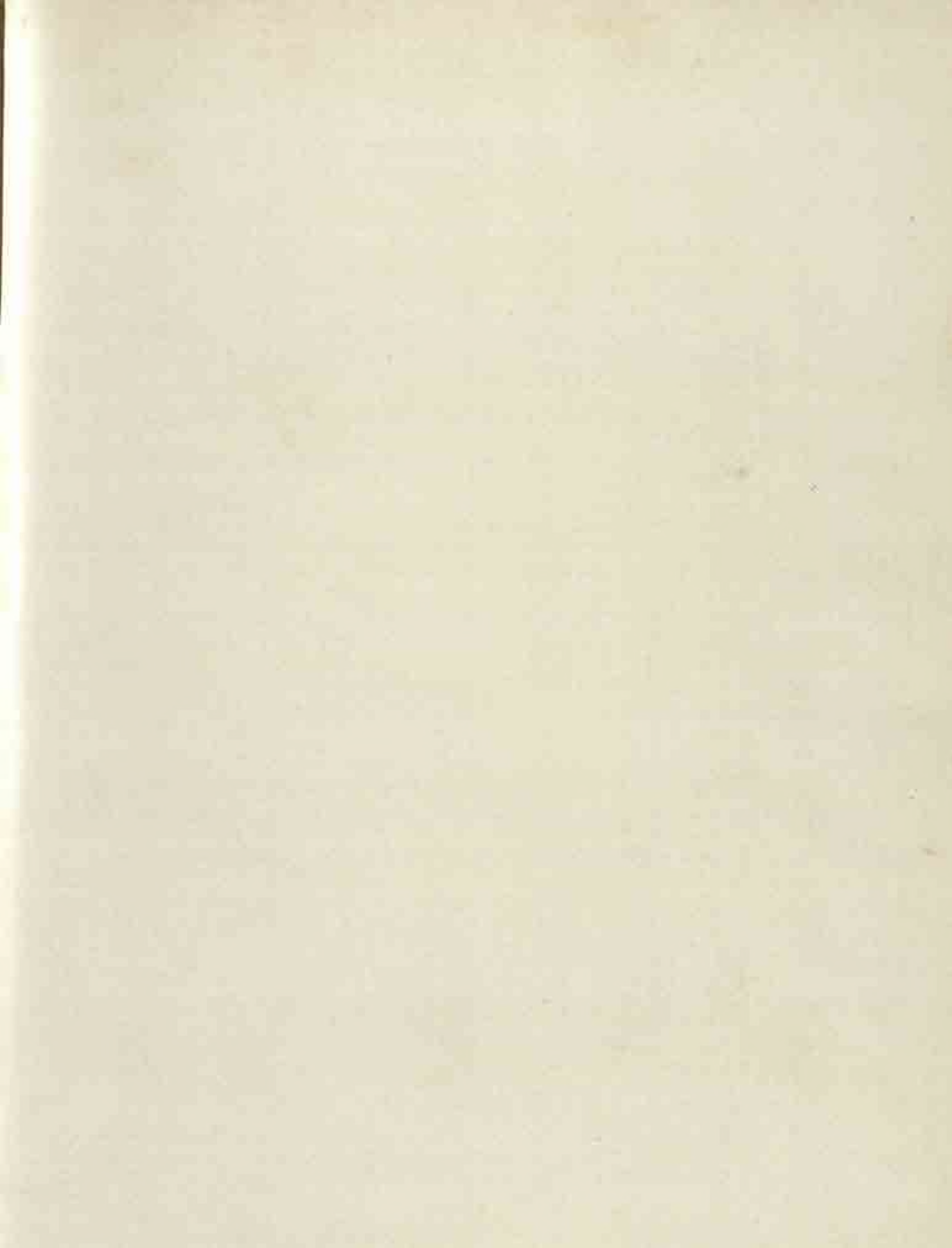
¹ See the Patlakella plate (above, Vol. IX, pp. 287 f.).

² Cf. the Sora plate A (above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 201-02).

³ See the Ganjam plate (above, Vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.). Mr. S. N. Rajaguru's views regarding Śaśāṅka (*J. A. R.* 8, Vol. XIX, pp. 119 ff.) are not worthy of serious consideration.

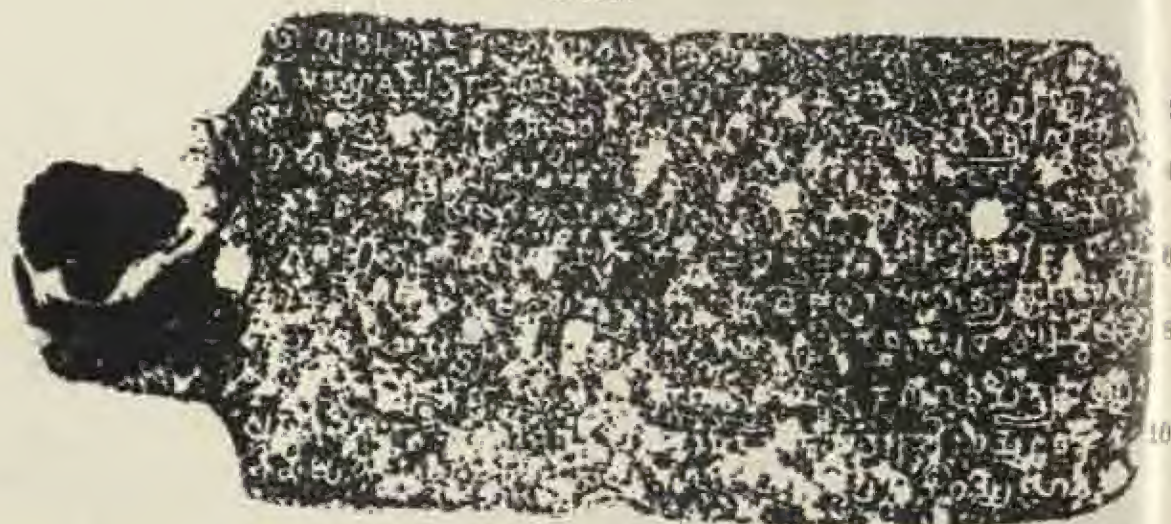
⁴ For another early tradition regarding the eighteen forest kingdoms including the Daḍhāṭṭa kingdom, see the Khohi plate of Saṁkshobha (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 375). For the traditions regarding countries or kingdoms comprising eighteen forts, see P. Acharya in *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, 1949, pp. 282-84. For the use of 'eighteen' vaguely indicating a multitude, see *Pali Dictionary*, P.T.S., s.v. *aṭṭha*. Cf. the epithet 'lord of all the Gaṇḍarvas or of 18 Gaṇḍarvas' in many early records of Orissa.

⁵ Vide *Skanda Purāṇa*, Āranyakhaṇḍa, Rōvākhaṇḍa, chapter 72. The cult of Maṇināga was popular in various other parts of India. For the Maṇināga-śrīṅga at Rājagṛha, see *Mātsya-brāhmaṇa*, III, 34, 106 ff. Maṇināga seems to have been identical with the Yakṣa Maṇibhadra widely worshipped in ancient India. See above, Vol. XVIII, p. 159; *A. S. R.*, 1915-16, Part II, p. 106; *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XII, pp. 179 ff., etc.



TWO PLATES FROM KANAS
A. PLATE OF LOKAVIGRAHA BHATTARAKA, GUPTA YEAR 280

Obverse



Reverse



by a person named Maṇināga; but the mention of the same deity as Maṇināga-bhaṭṭāraka in the Kanāṣ plate of Bhānubhatta, edited here, seems to go against such a conjecture. It is also not quite clear why only Brāhmanas of the Maitrāyaṇiya school were associated with the *matha* of the said deity.

TEXT¹*Obverse*

- 1 [Siddham]|| Svasti ||[*] Chatur-²u³dadhi-saṇḍa-vicī-⁴mākhala-nīlī⁵ṇāyāṁ sa-dvīpa-[giri-pe]-
- 2 tṭanavatyāṁ vasundharāyāṁ pravarttamānē Gupta-[kā]la-[samva(satīva)]tsa[rō
- 3 a[śi]ty-a[ṭṭa]ra-śata-[dva*]-
- 4 y[ē] Tō[salyāṁ a-āṣṭādaś-ā[ṭṭa](ta)]vi-rājyāyāṁ parama-[dē]va[t-ā]dhīdaivata-āri-
- 5 Lōkavi-
- 6 graha-bhaṭṭāra[kē pra]śāsati [Da]kṣa[ṇa-Tō]salyāṁ-⁷ Utīda-vishayā[t] vinī[yu]-
- 8 [kta]kā[h*] sa-vaiśvāṅka-vishayapaty-ādī[sa]vri[brī]hadbhōgik-ādhikara[ṇā] varttamāna-
- 9 bhaviṣyan-muhāsāma[n]ta-ma[bā]rāja-rājap[uttra-kumā[rā]māty-ōparika-[ta]d-āya-
- 10 k[ta]ka-[vaiśvāṅka]-vishayapa[ty-adma]vri[brī]hadbhōgik-ādhikaraṇa-¹¹anyāma-cha [bhāga]-
- 11 bhuj[ō]
- 12 ya[th-ā]rhaṁ [satī]pūjya vijñā[pa]yanti[|*] viditam-a[ṣ]tu bhō bhavat[ām] yath-āsmad-
- 13 vishaya-
- 14 [samva(mba)]ddha O[reddhvaśrī]ṅga-grā[maḥ] chi[ra-khila-ā]ṇāyam-anēka-guṇam-ity-
- 15 svadhṛitya
- 16 pa[rāma-dē]vat-ādhi[daivata]-āri-pa[rāma-bhaṭṭāra]ka-pād-¹⁷ānñjāly-āsmābhiḥ dharm-ārtha-
- 18 kama-
- 19 vinishpatta[yē] [ā-chand-ārika]-sama[kāly-ākāṣaya-n]vi-dharmīṇa cha[tuḥ]-

Reverse

- 12 śmī-lingāni saṁsthāpya [Chai¹]k[ā]mva[raha][kī]ya-āri-Ma[ṇi]nāgā[vara-bhaṭṭāraka-ma]t[thi]-
- 13 ya-va(ba)li-charu-sattra-pravarttanāya nānā-gōttra-Maitrāyaṇīya-¹⁴chhātra-Vrā[Brā]hma-
- 14 ṇānāṁ a[thi]t[aly[ē] tāma-pa[ṭi]krītya pratipādita[h][|*] ta[d-ē]va[t] vidītya(tvā) dharm-
- 15 ābhilā-
- 16 ahāt-an[upā]layi[tum-arha]t[th-ēti] || Samva(Satīva)t 200 80 Phūlgua(na)-dī 5 ||[*]
- 17 [a]mū[ri]tāṁ Sūrya libhāt[thi] ||¹⁸ vaiśvāṅka-Bharanāga [*]vishaya-
- 18 pati-[śrī]datta || jñōd-āt[sa]vri[brī]hadbhōgika-Saḍumāka | karaṇi-
- 19 ka-Nāgadatta || dṛuṅapā¹⁹ kais-ch-ēti || Va(Ba)mbhīr-vvasuṭhā dattā rājabhiḥ
- 20 Sagar-ādibhiḥ[h][|*] yasya ya[ṣya] yadā bhūmī=tasya tasya ta[dā*] phalū[ḥ](am)||
- 21 Shashpīṁ varaha-saha[arā]ṇi svarggē tiabhatī bhūmidaḥ[h][|*] ākshēptā ch-ānumantā cha-
- 22 tāny-āva narakē vaśēt || o || o ||

¹ From the original plate.² Expressed by a symbol.³ Or, "lyām Mūḍa".⁴ Or, ā-Aikānvaṭṭa.⁵ The dāga is unnecessary.⁶ This dāga and the following ones in the next two lines are used as the hyphen is done in English.⁷ The word may be *draga-pāla*, the same as *drāgika* of some inscriptions.

B. Plate of Bhānudatta; Regnal Year 5

The inscription is engraved on both sides of a single plate measuring 5.3 inches by 4.1 inches. There is a projection, with a hole in it, in the middle of the left end of the plate, to which a seal must have been originally fixed. The seal is now lost. There are eleven lines of writing on the obverse and eight lines on the reverse. The preservation of the writing is very poor as both sides of the plate have suffered considerably from the effect of corrosion. The plate weighs 43½ tolas.

As regards palaeography, language and orthography, the inscription under discussion closely resembles the Soro (D)¹ and Balasore² plates, as all the three charters were issued by the same ruler. Very little in these respects, therefore, calls for any special remark. The medial *i* is sometimes joined with the following mark of interpunctuation (cf. lines 13, 16) as in the Sumardāla plate³ and some other inscriptions. The charter is dated in the fifth regnal year of a subordinate ruler named Bhānudatta who, as will be seen below, flourished sometime between 619 and 643 A.C. The actual date given is the 24th day of Āśva (i.e., Āśvayuj or Āśvina).

The charter was issued from a locality called Andhasubhikāśa by the mahāpratihāra-mahārāja-mahāsāmanta śrī-Bhānudatta whose feudatory position is further indicated by the epithet parama-daivata-śrī-paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānuśyāta. Bhānudatta's reverential declaration regarding the grant was addressed to the mahāsāmanta-mahārāja, rājaputra, brāhmārāmātya, uparika, viśāyapati, tad-āyuktaka, dāṇḍavāsika (i.e. dāṇḍopātika), sthānāntarika and other officers and also persons like the chāṭas and bhāṭas, both of the time being and of the future, who were or would be associated (samupāgata) with the viśaya or district called Uttamāloka. The village, granted by Bhānudatta by the āmra-paṭṭa for so long as the moon and sun endure and described as chāra-khila-ānya, was Kumvukirikshiloka in the said viśaya. The grant was made for the increase of the merits of the śrī-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda, i.e., the unnamed overlord of Bhānudatta. It was made theoretically in favour of the deity Maṇināga-bhaṭṭāraka of Chaikāmvakā or Ekāmvakā,⁴ but actually in that of the Brāhmanas who resided in the maṭha of the god and were students of the Maitrāyaṇīya school of the Yajurveda. People are requested not to stand in the way of the donees enjoying the gift land, but to protect the grant owing to respect for the religious merit of Bhānudatta's overlord. The charter was written (i.e., its draft was prepared) by the sādhuśigraṇhika Gōvinda. The plate was heated (for the purpose of fixing the seal) by the pādāpāla Pratishṭhita. The designation pādāpāla is found sometimes in the form pātaka-pāla and apparently means an officer who was in charge of the boxes containing documents like the one under notice. He was therefore associated with the records office and was possibly under the officer called pustā-pāla or pustaka-pāla in some inscriptions.⁵ Pādāpāla Pratishṭhita of our record is apparently no other than the pādāpāla Pratishṭhita-chandra mentioned in the two other charters of the same ruler, referred to above. The plate was engraved by a person named Śivanandana.

All the three charters of Bhānudatta so far discovered are couched in similar language. Like the Balasore plate, which, however, calls its issuer Bhānu instead of Bhānudatta, our record describes the ruler as a mahāpratihāra-mahārāja-mahāsāmanta, although the Soro plate (D) uses the designation mahāpratihāra-mahārāja. All the three charters are dated in the fifth regnal year of Bhānu or Bhānudatta and were heated by the pādāpāla Pratishṭhita or Pratishṭhita-chandra. They refer to the overlord of Bhānudatta without specifically mentioning his name. This seems to

¹ Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 203.

² Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 239-40; J.H.Q., Vol. XI, pp. 611 ff.

³ See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79 ff.

⁴ The name seems to have been spelt also as ending in ka.

⁵ In the records of the Bhauma-Karas, pustā-pāla and pādā-pāla are often separately mentioned, the latter apparently as a small official.

suggest that Bhānudatta's status as a ruler was gradually approaching that of a semi-independent feudatory of an imperial personage.

The four copper plates¹ from Soro in the Balasore District belonging to Sambhuyāsa, Sōmadatta and Bhānudatta, as well as the Balasore plate of Bhānu referred to above, suggest that the Sarāpha or Sarāphāhāra district (i.e., the region round modern Soro in the Balasore District), said to be in Uttara-Tōsalī or in the Ōdra viśaya as well as in Uttara-Tōsalī, was under the independent king Sambhuyāsa of the Madgaha or Mandalya gōtra and possibly of the Māna family in the Gupta year 260 (579 A.C.), then under a feudatory ruler named Sōmadatta in his fifteenth regnal year and lastly under Bhānudatta in his fifth regnal year. The village of Vahirvātaka in the Soro district, granted by Sōmadatta in his fifteenth regnal year to the Brāhmanas Dhruva-mitraśvāmin and Āruna-mitraśvāmin of the Vātsya gōtra and Vājasanēya charana, was regranted by Bhānudatta in his fifth regnal year to the above two Brāhmanas as well as to two others of the same family, viz., Priyamitraśvāmin and Vājamitraśvāmin, apparently on the latter's representation and not long after the date of Sōmadatta's grant. Sōmadatta and Bhānudatta very probably belonged to the same family of the feudatory Dattas who were, however, not subordinate to the ruling dynasty represented by Sambhuyāsa. The two Midnapur plates² show that Daṇḍabhukti in the western part of the Midnapur District of West Bengal was being ruled in the eighth regnal year of Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa, by Mahāpratihāra Subhakti, but that the same *maḍala* together with the *deśa* or territory of Utkala was under the rule of the *sāmanta-mahārāja* Sōmadatta in the nineteenth regnal year of the same monarch. Thus Sōmadatta was a feudatory of Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa who is known to have been ruling in the first quarter of the seventh century at least from 605 to 619 A.C. In 619 A.C. Śaśāṅka's suzerainty was acknowledged by the Śailōddihavas in the Kōngōḍa country about the eastern fringe of the Ganjam District. This points to the expansion of Gauḍa rule over both North and South Tōsalī. The rule of Sōmadatta in Utkala or Uttara-Tōsalī as a vassal of Śaśāṅka points to the extirpation of the supremacy of the Mānas at least from that region before the nineteenth regnal year of the Gauḍa monarch. But the two Soro inscriptions of Sōmadatta, unlike the Midnapur plate of his time, are dated in the fifteenth year of his own reign and not in the regnal reckoning of his overlord Śaśāṅka. The same is the case with the charters issued by Bhānudatta who was probably Sōmadatta's successor in Utkala, Ōdra-viśaya or Uttara-Tōsalī. The dating of these charters in the regnal reckoning of the feudatories with a rather vague mention of the *parama-bhājāraka* or overlord seems to suggest that they were issued after the defeat of Śaśāṅka or his successor at the hands of Harshavardhana of Kanauj and his friend Bhāskara-varman of Kāmarūpa between 619 and 643 A.C.,³ when the hold of the Gauḍa emperor on the feudatories must have begun to decline. The Dattas of Uttara-Tōsalī, who then became rather nominal feudatories of the emperor of Gauḍa, appear to have been extirpated by Harshavardhana who led an expedition in Orissa about 643 A.C. and probably put the Bhauma-Kara rulers of Jajpur to power in the above region. Thus after the decline of imperial Gupta rule in Orissa, we find the Vigrahas and Mānas struggling for power with each other before they were swept away by the Gauḍas. It is probable that the Vigrahas were ousted by the Mānas who were themselves extirpated by the Gauḍas. The defeat of the Gauḍa monarch by the Kanauj-Kāmarūpa confederacy led to the weakening of his hold on Orissa. Harshavardhana, who now considered the Gauḍa king as one of his subordinate allies, may have subdued Orissa ostensibly on the latter's behalf. But his death in 647 A.C. led to the emergence of the Bhauma-Karas as an imperial power in that country. The rulers on the throne of Karyasuvarga, capital of Gauḍa, were apparently unable to regain their hold on Orissa.

¹ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 201-03.

² J.R.A.S.B., Letters, Vol. XI, pp. 7-8; *Prinsep* (Bengal), II, 8, 1320, pp. 291 ff.

³ The later limit may be 637 A.C. About this time, the Chinese pilgrim Hsueh-tsang visited Eastern India. His accounts appear to suggest that Śaśāṅka was dead and Gauḍa was humbled before his visit to that region.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the present record, *Uhaikāmvakā* or *Ekāmvakā* has already been dealt with in connection with the Kanās plate of Lākavigraha. Andhaubhiksha, whence the charter was issued, cannot be satisfactorily identified. I have also not been able to locate the village of Kumvukirīkshilāka and the district of Uttamāloka. The name of the village looks like a compound of the names of two localities.

TEXT

Obverse

- 1 [Siddham][*] Svasti [i*] Andhaubhikshataḥ parama[ni]vata-śrī-parama[bhaṭ]āraka-pād-ā-
- 2 nudhyātō mahā[pra]ti[hā]ra-ma[hā]rājā-ma[hāsā]manta-śrī-[Bhānudattaḥ]
- 3 kośali U[ttā]ma[loka]-vishayē samupāgatān-vartam[ā]na-[bhaviṣya]-
- 4 n-ma[hāsā]manta-mahārāja-[rāj]ap[ra]nta-kumārāmāty-śpa[ri]ka-
- 5 vishayapat[ī]-tadāyuktaka-dā[na]p[ra]nta-v[ā]p[ra]nta-śrī-śānta-rikān-anya[ni]-cha
- 6 chāṭa-bha[ṭ]ā[ra]-[d]i[ś]a[na]-[dhika]ra[na]-[śānta]-[pū]jāyati | astu vaḥ [sa]mvi[satvī]-dita[m]
- 7 yathā-ś[ā]mā[bhir]-śatā-vishaya-sam[va]dha-chū[ra]-khila-tūnya-Ku-
- 8 m[va]kīrīkshilāka-grāmaḥ* [rāj]-paramabha[ṭ]āraka-pād[ā]n[ī]-
- 9 m-puṇy-ābhiv[ṛ]kshayē tāmra-pattēn-ā-chandr-ā[rkka]-sama-kāla[m] Chai*.
- 10 kāmvakā-Maṇināga-bha[ṭ]ārakāya Maittrāya[ṇ]īya-chekhāt[ra]-[mū]ṣha-Vrā[ṭa].
- 11 [hū]mānānām-pratip[ā]*ditaś-tad-amishām-ucchitaḥ tāmra-pa[ṭ]ā-dānān

Reverse

- 12 datvā[śrī] bhōjānānām-vā[m-bā]dhā na kēnachit-kāryā śrī-parama-bha[ṭ]āraka-pā
- 13 diya-dharma-gauravāch-cha datir-śānta [paripālayitavy-ēti]
- 14 Samva[śrī] 5 Āśva-dī 20 4 [i*] Uktān-cha dharmma-śāstrē [i*] Va[śa]bha[ṭ]āraka-
- 15 dattā rājābhīḥ Sager-ādibhīḥ [i*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-[tasya] ta-
- 16 sya tādā [pha]lām[ī] Sva-dattām-para-dattām-va[śrī] yō harēṣa vasundharād[ī]rām[ī]
- 17 śa[śrī]yāśā krīmīr-śhāt[ra] pitribhīḥ saba pachyatē [i*] likhitaḥ sā[ndhi]-
- 18 vighāṭika-Gōvindh[ī] tāpitaḥ pēdāpāla-Pratish[ī]tina [i*]
- 19 utkirāṇaḥ Śivanandanān-ēti [i*]

* From the original plate.

* Expressed by a symbol.

* A letter seems to have been cancelled by the engraver between *gri* and *ma*.

* Or, *chāṭa*.

* Better read *śrīkṛṣṇa*, although we have the same expression elsewhere also.

* There are two short slanting strokes placed between the two double *śānta* here.

TWO PLATES FROM KANAS
B. PLATE OF BHANUDATTA; REGNAL YEAR 5

Obverse



Reverse



Scale: Actual Size

Survey of India, DehraDun

EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

1. *Phēraṇa Grant of Sāmantavarman*

The above copper-plate inscription, dated in the Gaṅga year 185 (681-83 A. C.), has been edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar.¹ The Gaṅga king Sāmantavarman who issued the charter belonged to a branch line of the Gaṅga house, which ruled from a city variously called Śvātaka, Śchātaka, Śvāta, Śvātka and Śēta. Dr. Majumdar places the kingdom of the Gaṅgas of Śvātaka "in the northern part of the Ganjam District."²

Another member of the same branch of the Gaṅga family was Rāṇaka Jayavarman, known from one of his copper-plate charters,³ which was found somewhere in the northern part of the Ganjam District. This grant of Jayavarman is known to have been registered with a seal by a lady styled Trikalīṅga-mahādēvi. On this point Dr. Majumdar says, "It is significant that the grant of Rāṇaka Jayavarman was registered (*lācchita*) by the Trikalīṅga-Mahādēvi. This shows that Trikalīṅga was included in the kingdom, and may even be taken to indicate that the kingdom was also sometimes known by that name. As I have suggested elsewhere,⁴ Trikalīṅga probably designates the hilly tracts, lying to the west of Kalīṅga and separating it from the Central Provinces."⁵ Dr. Majumdar seems to take *Trikalīṅgamahādēvi* as a designation. To me, however, it appears to have been the personal name or a secondary name of one of the queens of Rāṇaka Jayavarman, who was endowed by the king with an amount of administrative power. This seems to be suggested by some records of the Bhaṇjas of Khīṇjalimaṇḍala, who originally ruled from Dhritipura and later from the city of Vaḍḍulvaka in the northern part of the Ganjam District, as well as by some of the Śvātaka Gaṅgas themselves.

The Ghumsur plates⁶ of Nēṭṭabhaṇḍa Kalyāṇakalaśa were *lācchita* or registered by the *Vārgulika* Vāchchhika. Two other charters of the same king⁷ were similarly *lācchita* respectively by Māmā and Jachchhikā, who appear to have been female officials of the Bhaṇja ruler. It is extremely interesting to note in this connection that two charters of another member of the same ruling family,⁸ called Vidyābharabhaṇḍa surnamed Amoghakalaśa and Dharmakalaśa, are said to have been *lācchita* by Trikalīṅga-mahādēvi together with the *mantrin* Bhaṭṭa-Kēśavadēva and the *Vārgulika* Chāchhika in one case and by the same Trikalīṅga-mahādēvi together with Tājadika and the *mantrin* Bhaṭṭa-Stambhadēva in the other. Since, however, these records come from the northern part of the Ganjam District, like those of the Gaṅgas of Śvātaka, Dr. Majumdar may be inclined to explain the mention of Trikalīṅga-mahādēvi in the above two records in the same way as he has done in connection with the inscription of Rāṇaka Jayavarman. But some other inscriptions of the Bhaṇjas of Vaḍḍulvaka seem clearly to go against his suggestion.

The Chakradharpur plates⁹ of Nēṭṭabhaṇḍa Kalyāṇakalaśa are known to have been *lācchita* by Śrījayamahādēvi or Śrī-Jayamahādēvi together with the *Vārgulika* Paṇḍarika and the *mantrin* Bhaṭṭa-Bāpuka. There is hardly any doubt that Śrījayamahādēvi or Śrī-Jayamahādēvi was the personal name of one of the queens of Nēṭṭabhaṇḍa Kalyāṇakalaśa, who was endowed with the

¹ Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 108 ff. and plate.² *Ibid.*, p. 111, line 37; p. 115, line 12.³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 268-9.⁴ *Dacca University Studies*, Vol. II, p. 19.⁵ Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 111.⁶ Bhattacharya's *Let.*, No. 1497. *Vārgulika* may be Oriya *Vāṇḍi* meaning the king's household-officer.⁷ *Ibid.*, Nos. 1498, 1499.⁸ *Ibid.*, Nos. 1500, 1501.⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 1502.

power of registering royal charters. Since the name of the registering Mahādēvi (queen) in this case cannot reasonably be associated with any geographical area like Trikalīṅga, Trikalīṅga-mahādēvi should also better be taken as the personal or secondary name of a queen of Vidyādhara-bhaṇḍa surnamed Amoghakalāśa and Dharmakalāśa. The same personal or secondary name was apparently also borne by one of the queens of the Gaṅga Rāpaka Jayavarman of Śvātaka, who is known to have registered a grant of her husband.

The above suggestion is supported by some other inscriptions of the Gaṅgas of Śvātaka and the Bhaṇḍas of Vaṅḍulvaka. The Svalpavelura grant¹ of Gaṅga Anantavarman of Śvātaka was registered by the Mahādēvi Śrīvāsa-bhaṭṭārīkā, while the Ganjam plates² of the Śvātaka king Prithivavarman were registered by his Mahādēvi whose name is not mentioned. A grant of king Nṛpatbhaṇḍa Tribhuvanakalāśa of Vaṅḍulvaka, which was recently examined by me and is being published in this journal, was similarly registered by Śrījīvaśōka-mahādēvi or Śrī-Jīvaśōka-mahādēvi, no doubt a queen of the Bhaṇḍa ruler.

Since Trikalīṅgamahādēvi looks like personal or secondary names such as Gāndhārī, Kaikōyī, Mādrī, Pāñchālī, Vaidarīhī and Vaidhī of the epics, it is possible to regard the queens bearing that name to have been born in the Trikalīṅga country. An exactly similar name, derived from that of the mother-land of the queen, would be Kōśaladēvi³ who was the daughter of the Kōśala king Mahākōśala and the queen of the Magadha monarch Bimbisāra. Thus the name Trikalīṅga-mahādēvi borne by the queens of Jayavarman of Śvātaka and Vidyādhara-bhaṇḍa surnamed Amoghakalāśa and Dharmakalāśa of Vaṅḍulvaka does not appear to help us in locating the Trikalīṅga country in the land comprising the northern part of the Ganjam District of Orissa.

3. Koni Inscription of Prithivīdēva II

The Koni inscription of king Prithivīdēva II (circa 1133-58 A. C.) of the Kalachuri dynasty of Ratnapura has been published by Professor V. V. Mirashi.⁴ The record is dated in the Kalachuri year 900 (1148 A. C.). The object of the inscription is to record, along with certain grants of land, the construction of a *paṭṭhāyatana* temple of Śiva by one Puruṣhōttama who was the *Sarvoddhikārī* of Prithivīdēva's father and predecessor Ratnadēva II (circa 1120-38 A. C.).

Verse 26 of the above record, as read by Professor Mirashi, describes the achievements of Puruṣhōttama in the following words:

Khimmigūḍi-maṇḍala-haraḥ-Ta(=Ta)lahāri-hāri kartūḥ'tha Daṇḍapura-daṇḍana-chapḍa-vā(bā)hūḥ.

Khijjīṅga-bhaṇḍa-chaturā Haravōhu-hantā yō Daṇḍabhukti-paṇi-tarjjanā-durjjaya-śrīḥ.

Professor Mirashi translates the verse as follows: "He (i.e. Puruṣhōttama) captured the Khimmigūḍi maṇḍala and made the Talahāri (maṇḍala) attractive. He had a fierce arm in subduing Daṇḍapura and was clever in overcoming Khijjīṅga. He killed Haravōhu (and) his valour was invincible in threatening the lord of Daṇḍabhukti." In the introductory remarks also the Professor says in regard to the verse in question that Puruṣhōttama "conquered the Khimmigūḍi Maṇḍala, made the Talahāri Maṇḍala attractive, punished Daṇḍapura, subjugated Khijjīṅga, killed Haravōhu and threatened the ruler of Daṇḍabhukti." It will, however, be seen that the verse is designed to enumerate certain victorious achievements of Puruṣhōttama. Therefore, "making the Talahāri maṇḍala attractive" can hardly be regarded quite in line with the conquests enumerated in the verse. In my opinion, *Talahāri-hāri* apparently means "one who plundered, subdued or captured Talahāri."

¹ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 126.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 201.

³ Cf. Mahabharata, Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, s. v.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 276 ff. and plate.

It is known from the Ratanpur inscription¹ of the Kalachuri year 866 (1114 A.C.) that Kalachuri Jajalladēva I, grandfather of Prithvīdēva II, levied annual tribute from a number of countries including Khimīḍī (Kūmāṇḍī), Talahāri and Daṇḍakapura (Daṇḍapura). It is thus possible to think that in his youth Purnashōttama served as a general of Jajalladēva I and helped the latter in conquering the countries in question. In Hirahū's *Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar*,² Talahāri has been located about the northern part of the Janjgir Taluk to the south of Ratanpur. The rulers of this tract are mentioned in several records.

There is again a mistake in Professor Mirashi's reading of verse 26 quoted above. As Pandit I. P. Pandeya has rightly pointed out,³ what Professor Mirashi reads as *Haravōhu-hantā* is actually *Harabōḡa-hantā*. The correctness of Pandit Pandeya's reading is clear from a comparison of the fourth *akṣara* in the above expression with the form of *aga* in *Khēḍḍaga-bhāga* as well as with that of *ha* in *vā(hā)ka*, both occurring in the same verse. It may also profitably be compared with other uses of *aga* and *ha* in the record, e.g. in *Khapvāḡa*⁴ (line 1), *tuḡgaravāḡa* (line 2), *vā(hā)ka* (line 22), etc. Moreover, *Haravōhu* as a name is unknown in the Indian languages, while *Harabōḡa* is not only a recognised Hindi word, but is also known to be used as the name of a royal personage in a Hindi literary work. According to Hindi lexicons⁵, the word *harabōḡa* (*harabōḡ*) means *gavēār*, *akḥḥar*, *mūḥḥ*, i.e. a rustic or a fool. As a personal name, it can very well be compared with Bengali *Bobā* or *Bakḥḥar* (from Doḥ *bōkḥaḥa*, 'a goat') meaning 'a fool'. In this connection, Pandit Pandeya refers to the manuscript of a Hindi work, entitled *Kharibōḡi Gadyamē Chār Kāḥāniḡ*, preserved in the India Office Library, London. The title of one of the four *kāḥānīs* in the above work is *Insāf Rājā Harabōḡabā* (literally 'king Harabōḡ's justice').⁶ There is thus little doubt that Purnashōttama, who was an officer of the Kalachuri kings of Ratanpura, claims to have killed in battle a warrior or ruler named Harabōḡa (Harbōḡ), not Haravōhu as Professor Mirashi reads, although it is difficult to identify the person in the present state of our knowledge.

3. Madanpur Plate of Śrīchandra, Year 46

Dr. R. G. Basak has edited the above inscription of king Śrīchandra belonging to the Chandra dynasty of Bengal.⁷ He has assigned the record to the 44th regnal year of the Chandra king. But what has been read as 44 in line 42 of the inscription is really 46.

As regards verse 5 of the copper-plate grants of Śrīchandra, which describes his father Trailōkyachandra, Dr. Basak observes, "The most important epithet of Trailōkyachandra, as we find in this verse, *śikhāḡa Harikōḡa-rāja-babāḡa-ekabāḡa-mitāḡa śrīgōḡa*, read along with *gati=chanda-āpupada babāḡa śrīpatir=drīp*, conveys the fact that at first he was a king of Chandra-dvīpa and later became 'the repository of the Fortune (*goddess*) whose smile was the (*white*) umbrella, the symbol (*of royalty*) of the king of Hārikōḡa'. Bared of rhetorical figurativeness, the epithet leads one to believe that Trailōkyachandra acquired the royal fortunes of the Harikōḡa kingdom. The interpretation put on this phrase by the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar and quoted by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in the *Dacca University History of Bengal*, Vol. I, does not stand scrutiny."⁸

¹ Above, Vol. I, p. 36, verse 23.

² See 2nd edition, pp. 127, 128.

³ Cf. *Madanpur* (Hind.), Lucknow, August, 1949, p. 5.

⁴ Cf. *Pratigraha Adatta Hindi Shiksha-Kōṣa*, Banaras, s. v.

⁵ A tradition regarding a crazy king named Harbōḡ who ruled over the Jharkhand region near Allahabad is recorded in the Bengali work *Pratigraha Adatta* (Calcutta, 1927-28, p. 41) by H. C. Deyvarman of the Tripura royal family. Like a similar tradition of Bengali folk-songs, named Rājā Harachandra or Hahachandra, king Harbōḡ of Jharkhand is said to have ordered throughout his kingdom the sale of all articles of merchandise according to the same measurement and price.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 51 ff. and Plate.

⁷ Ibid. p. 54.

The late Mr. N. G. Majumdar explained the passage, *ādhārā*, etc., as 'the support of the Fortune goddesses of other kings smiling at (i.e. joyful on account of) the umbrella which was the royal insignia of Harikēla'.¹ Dr. R. C. Majumdar, observes on the above views of Dr. Basak and the late Mr. Majumdar, "According to the first interpretation, Trailōkyachandra was the *de facto* if not *de jure*, ruler of Harikēla, while, according to the second, he was both *de facto* and *de jure* king of Harikēla, with a number of other rulers subordinate to him. The latter view seems preferable. Thus Trailōkyachandra added Chandradvīpa and Harikēla to his paternal dominions'.² In my opinion, the real import of the passage in question has escaped the notice of all the three scholars referred to above.

I am inclined to interpret the passage *ādhārā Harikēla-rāja-kakula chchatra-smitānām śrīgām* as 'the mainstay of the Fortune goddesses whose smiles are represented by the white umbrella that is the symbol of royalty of the Harikēla king'. The passage thus says that Trailōkyachandra was the support of the royal fortune of the king of Harikēla. Its real import is apparently that the Chandra king Trailōkyachandra of Chandradvīpa was a feudatory or ally of the king of the Harikēla country. There are instances in epigraphic literature of a feudatory's representation as the mainstay of the overlord's kingdom or fortune. Thus the rulers of the Parichchhādin family, who were feudatories of the Eastern Chālukya monarchs, are mentioned in inscriptions as *Vāyī-Chālukya-rājya-mūla-stambhā*, i.e., 'the main support of the kingdom or royalty of the Chālukyas of Vāyī'.³ In my opinion therefore Trailōkyachandra was not a king of Harikēla, but was the ruler of Chandradvīpa, i.e., Bāklā-Chandradvīpa in the present Buxergunje District, owing allegiance to or allied with the king of the country called Harikēla.

As pointed out by Basak, the lexicographer Hāmechandra identifies the Harikēla or Harikēli country with Vāṅga in the passage *Vāṅgās=te Harikēlayaḥ* (or *kēliyāḥ*) in his *Abhidhāna-chintāmaṇi*. But undoubtedly an earlier tradition regarding the location of that country is preserved in Kēlava's *Kalpataruḥa* which says *Śrīhaṭṭa Harikēliḥ ayāch=Chhrihaṭṭa=pi brachid=āhat*.⁴ This shows that Harikēli or Harikēla was originally the name of the Sālhaṭṭa (modern Sylhet) region but that the name was later applied in a wider sense to Vāṅga apparently as a result of the expansion of a kingdom that had its headquarters in the Sylhet area. The expansion of the Harikēli kingdom is actually suggested by the Chintagong plate of Kāntidēva⁵ who was a ruler of Harikēla-maṇḍala in the eight or ninth century A.C. Kāntidēva seems to have been originally a petty ruler of Harikēla, or Harikēla Harikēli in the Sylhet region; but he appears to have later acquired a wide kingdom which had its capital at Dvāpārvata near modern Comilla in the Tippera District.⁶ Trailōkyachandra who flourished about the middle of the tenth century seems to have owed allegiance to the line of Harikēla kings represented by Kāntidēva.⁷ Śrīchandra, son of Trailōkyachandra, was the first independent monarch of the Chandra dynasty. He appears to have thrown off the yoke of Harikēla and extended Chandra power over wide areas of south-east Bengal at the expense of the erstwhile overlords of his family. The rise of Śrīchandra as an independent monarch may have been facilitated by a possible struggle between the Palas and the kings of Harikēla as suggested by the discovery of an image inscription dated in the first regnal year of Gōpāla II (c. 940-60 A.C.) at Mandhuk within the Chāndinā Police Station of the Tippera District.⁸ That Śrīchandra, who ruled about the second half of the tenth century, had himself

¹ *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 7.

² *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, p. 198.

³ See *J.O.R.*, Vol. XVII, p. 131; above Vol. VI, p. 224; *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 884, 1127, etc. cf. below, Vol. XXIX, p. 227.

⁴ *Jackwell Oriental Series*, No. 42, I, 26.

⁵ See *J.B.A.S.B.*, Letters, Vol. XVII, pp. 83 ff.

⁶ His comparison with Lillipe in the stanza in question scarcely proves his independent status (cf. *I.B.Q.*, XXIV, p. 72).

⁷ *Varendra Research Society's Monograph*, No. 8, 1930, pp. 4-5; *I.B.Q.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 31 ff.

⁸ Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 313 ff.

to struggle with the Pālas is possibly indicated by the discovery of the Bāghārpā¹ and Nārāyanpur² inscriptions, dated respectively in the third and fourth regnal years of Mahipāla I (circa 988-1038 A.C.) in the same District. Verse 13 of the Bāghārpā plate³ of Mahipāla I also says that he recovered his paternal dominions that had passed to usurpers. The temporary nature of Mahipāla's success against the Chandras in East Bengal is, however, demonstrated by the Kulkuri (regnal year 12)⁴ and Betkā or Pāikpāgi (regnal year 23)⁵ inscriptions of Gōvindahandra who was probably the successor of Śricandra. He is no doubt the king Gōvindahandra of Vaṅgādhōṣa (originally the name of Chandradīpa, which was later applied to the extensive dominions of the Chandras in south-east Bengal), who came into conflict with the generals of Rājendra-chōḷa shortly before 1025 A.C.⁶ Another later member of the same family was Layahachandra or Laḷahachandra.⁷

The designation *Mahātantarādhyakṣa* occurs in the list of officials and subordinates to whom the king's order regarding the grant recorded on the Madanpur plate was addressed. Dr. Basak says, "The term *Mahātantarādhyakṣa* undoubtedly refers to the highest priest in charge of the religious rites which were performed on the king's behalf in accordance with the injunctions of the *śrutis* and the *smṛitis*." But the *Tantarādhyakṣa* may be the same as the *Tantrapāla* of other inscriptions, who had apparently nothing to do with the office of the *Tantrika* or priest. The Parthagarh inscriptions⁸ refer to a *Tantrapāla-Mahāśimanta-Daṇḍanāyaka* who served the Gurjara-Parthivā emperor Mahēndrapāla II. The official designation *Tantrapati*, literally the same as *Tantarādhyakṣa*, is also known from the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (VIII, 2422) and Mañkha's *Śrīkaṣṭha-charita* (III, 50). Mañkha says that his brother received 'the garland of the office of the *Bṛihatantrapati*' from king Sussala of Kashmir. Jōnarāja in his commentary on the above verse explains *Bṛihatantrapati* as *Dharmādhipāin*, i.e., 'a judge'.⁹ It may be mentioned in this connection that the *Tantrins*, so often mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*,¹⁰ were also absolutely unconnected with *tantrika* or priestly rites and represented a military tribe or tribal caste. Dr. Basak's interpretation of the designation *Mahātantarādhyakṣa* therefore appears to be doubtful.

The few lost *akṣaras* at the beginning of line 31 of the Madanpur plate may be restored as *gaṇḍā*¹¹. The area of land granted by the charter thus seems to be *gaṇḍā-āṣṭā-ādhiḥ-āṣṭa-śloka*, i.e., eight *drōṇas* (*ślokaṇāṃ*) and eight *gaṇḍās*.¹²

4. Kulkuri and Betkā Inscriptions of Gōvindahandra

The above inscriptions have been edited by the late Dr. N. K. Bhattasālī in this journal, Vol. XXVII, pp. 24 ff., and Plates. The author quotes only partially my views on both the inscriptions published in the Bengali journal *Bhāratavarsha* and is totally silent about my articles in English on the former epigraph in the *Journal of the Asiatic Research Society*, Vol. X, 1943, pp. 63 ff., and on the latter in the *Indian Culture*, Vol. VII, 1941, pp. 405 ff. It is gratifying to me

¹ Bhandarkar's List, No. 1024.

² *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, pp. 121-25.

³ *Above*, Vol. XIV, pp. 226 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 24 ff.

⁵ *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, pp. 28 ff.

⁶ See above, Vol. IX, pp. 229-33.

⁷ Bhandarkar's List, No. 1519. The correct form of this king's name seems to be *Laḷahachandra* and, considering the peculiarity of the name, he may be taken to be none other than the homonymous poet known from the Sanskrit anthologies (see Kieth, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 204).

⁸ *Above*, Vol. XIV, pp. 176-88.

⁹ See Stein, *Rāj. tar.* (translation), Vol. II, p. 188.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, note on Chapter V, verse 248.

¹¹ See *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 309 ff.

to find that the Government Epigraphist for India has supported my reading and interpretation of the Kulkuri inscription against those of the late Dr. Bhattasali.¹ If, however, my views were fully quoted, it would have been clear that the interesting points raised in the editorial notes on the Kulkuri inscription had already been offered by me. "The correct reading of the passage", I observed in this connection, "is, in my opinion, *Lakshmi(cheti)dina-kūri(r)ve-Bhūtānaka(h*)*, 'the Sun-god caused to be made by Lakshmiṇi.' the word *dina* may be the same as Sanskrit *dīna* or Prakrit *dinna*=Sanskrit *datta*. Attention has also been drawn to such North Indian personal names as Rāmdīn."²

The first word of line 2 of the Betkū (or Pūlkupāra) inscription has been read by Dr. Bhattasali as *Bālojika* which he equates with *Bōrajika* supposed to be the original of the name of the modern Bārai (betel-leaf grower) caste of Bengal. I read the word as *Bālojika* which was explained as indicating an inhabitant of a locality called Balaja. Considering, however, the similar forms of *r(h)* and *r* in some cases in the epigraph in question³ the reading *Bālojika* seems equally possible. It is, however, extremely doubtful whether the form *Bālojika* may be expected in an eleventh century record of East Bengal as standing for *Bōrajika* and modern Bārai. The Prakritic feature substituting *r* by *l* is never met with in the Sanskrit inscriptions of Bengal. It is also not a regular feature of Bengali phonetics. The word *Bārai*, as well as *baraj* (betel-leaf plantation) with which it is associated, is never used in Bengali with *l* in the place of *r*.⁴ This is also clear from the attitude of some philologists who derive Bengali *baraj* from Arabic *barz*.⁵ That *r* of the word *baraj* as well as its derivations was pronounced in early-medieval Bengal is moreover clearly indicated by the repeated use of the same word as *baraja* in the Sāhitya Parishad plate of Viṣṇurūpaśāha,⁶ as well as the word *bārāyī* (i.e., *bāraj*) in the village name *Bārāyīpōḍā* (literally, 'the habitation of the Bārāyī or Bārāj') in line 52 of the Mulaṇpāḍī copper-plate inscription of the same king.⁷ I therefore think that the expression *Bālojika* or *Bālojika* in Gōvindachandra's Betkū (Pūlkupāra) inscription is actually derived from a locality and has nothing to do with the Bārai or Bārai caste.

5. Tekkali Plates of Anantavarman, Gaṅga Year 358

Mr. R. K. Ghoshal has edited the above inscription in this journal, Vol. XXVI, pp. 174 ff. In my opinion there are several errors in Mr. Ghoshal's transcript of the record. An archaic form of Telugu *dh* has been read as *dhā* or *dā* in all the cases. This form of *dh*, however, occurs in inscriptions like C. P. No. 7 of 1918-19 published in *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 185 ff.; cf. *nagarādhi*⁸ in line 2, *dhārasya* in line 3, *cājādhi*⁹ in line 7, *vaddhē* in line 21, *rasadhā* in line 22 and *dhurā* in line 24. This particular form of the letter may be compared with the later form of it found in epigraphs like C. P. No. 8 of the same year (*op. cit.*, pp. 188 ff.; cf. *nagarādhi*¹⁰ in line 2, *dhārasya* in line 4, *dhāra* in line 11, etc.). What have therefore been read by Mr. Ghoshal in the Tekkali plates as *nagarādhi*¹¹ (line 2), *dhāra* (line 11), *dhivara* (line 13) and *dhāra* (line 15) should actually be read as *nagarādhi*¹², *dhakta*, *dhivara* and *dhāta* respectively. Similarly, what

¹ Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 26, note 2.

² *Journal of the Asian Research Society*, Vol. X, pp. 63-4. It may also be pointed out that Dr. Bhattasali was at first not inclined to agree with my reading of the date of the Betkū (Pūlkupāra) inscription as the year 23 which, however, he ultimately accepted (without any remarks) in his article published above.

³ Cf. *r* in *Pāradāsa* (line 2) and the first *r* in *Vāradāsa* (line 3).

⁴ Cf. J. M. Das, *Bengali Bhāṣār Akāśha*, s. v., quoting Mokundarāma's *Chandimāpāṇi* (sixteenth century).

⁵ *Loc. cit.*; but the derivation is no doubt wrong as the word is found in an inscription of a Sena king who flourished about the first quarter of the thirteenth century (see below, note 6).

⁶ *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 142-3 (lines 45, 46, 50, 66 of the text). The word *bārājika*, probably in the sense of modern Bārai occurs in the Subhāraspur plate of Dāmodaradeva (see below, Vol. XXX, p. 188).

⁷ *Ist. Beng.*, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

Mr. Ghoshal had read, without noticing the peculiarity of the letters of the later Kalinga alphabet, as *chudā* (line 5), *sakhōbha*, *sarda* (line 8), *chuddhavi-prabhā* (line 9), *dāścha* (line 12), *tyōga* (line 13), *gāga* (line 15), *gāgeya* (line 22), *achān*, *bharati* (apparently a misprint for *bharati*, line 25) and *dashyatē* (corrected to *pachyatē*, line 29) should be read in my opinion respectively as *chudhā*, *sakhōbha*, *sarda*, *chuddhavi-prabhā*, *idra*, *tyoga*, *yāgā*, *yāgeya*, *akkātha*, *bharati* and *pachyatē*. *Stasya* for *Svastyā* (line 1), *bād* for *bāda* (line 24; see the same also at p. 174, note 5) and *sadata* for *śadata* (line 27) may, however, be due to misprints.

Medial *u* has often been wrongly read by Mr. Ghoshal as *ū*; cf. *sūtra* (line 4), *bhūtō* (lines 13-14), *sūnu* (lines 16 and 18-19), *pūreva*, *sūrya* (line 17), *bhūmi* (line 27), etc. In line 13 *es(ū*)pad-ādāra* has been unnecessarily corrected to *sampadām=ādāra*. The correction of *adhivāśka* to *cāśka* (cf. line 2) is equally unnecessary. In line 23, what has been read by Mr. Ghoshal as *vijūya* is clearly *vijaya*. He did not notice that the engraver had at first omitted the letter *ja* and incised the following two letters, *ya* and *ra* (of *rājya*). After having engraved *ra*, he found out the mistake and corrected *ya* to *ja* and *ra* to *ya*.

Mr. Ghoshal's reading and interpretation of the passage describing the gift land in lines 19-21 of the inscription have been considerably improved upon in an editorial note. I am, however, inclined to read the passage as *upājītam Vājasaneyicharāṇa-grāmā Yarōku-kupumbinā devī-bata-hala-bhūmī* for Sanskrit *upājītam Vājasaneyicharāṇa-grāmā Yarōku-kupumbinā devī-bata-hala-bhūmī*. The donee of the grant thus acquired (probably by purchase) 200 *halas* of land that had been in the possession of an agriculturist householder named Yarōku in the village called Vājasaneyicharāṇa.

In lines 24-25, Mr. Ghoshal reads *likhitam=īlam Mātṛisiri-śmatōga*, 'this is written by Sāmanta Mātṛisiri'. Since, however, the letter read as *tri* is clearly *tyē*, I am inclined to read the passage as *likhitam=ida(m=a*)mātyā[na] siri-Sāmatōga* (*Sri-Sāmantōga*), 'this is written by the *amātya* śri-Sāmanta'. For *Sāmanta* as a personal name, we may refer to Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 345, 148, 2041, etc. The name may be compared with others such as *Sāmantasēna*, *Sāmantasinhha* and *Sāmantavarman*, found in numerous inscriptions.

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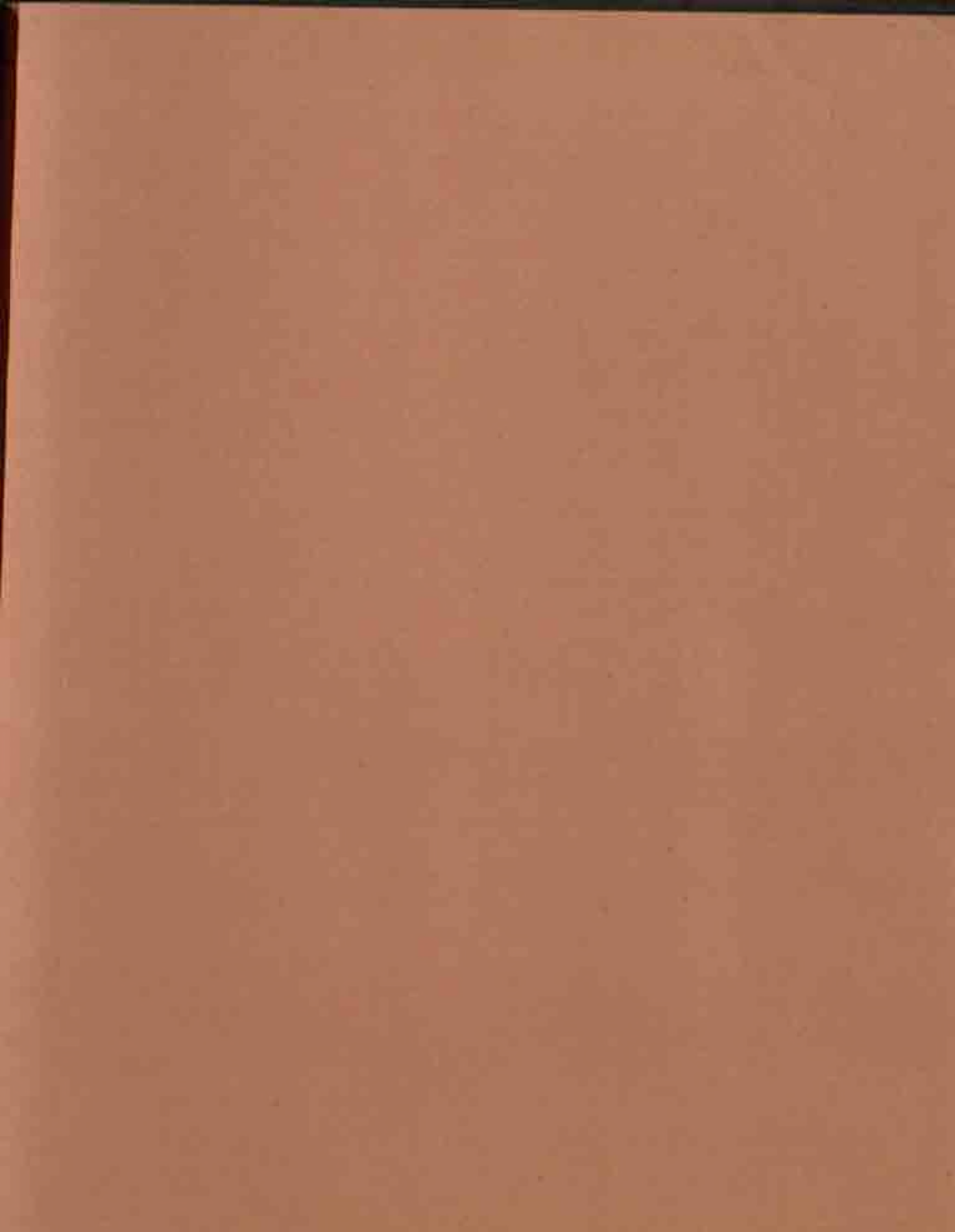
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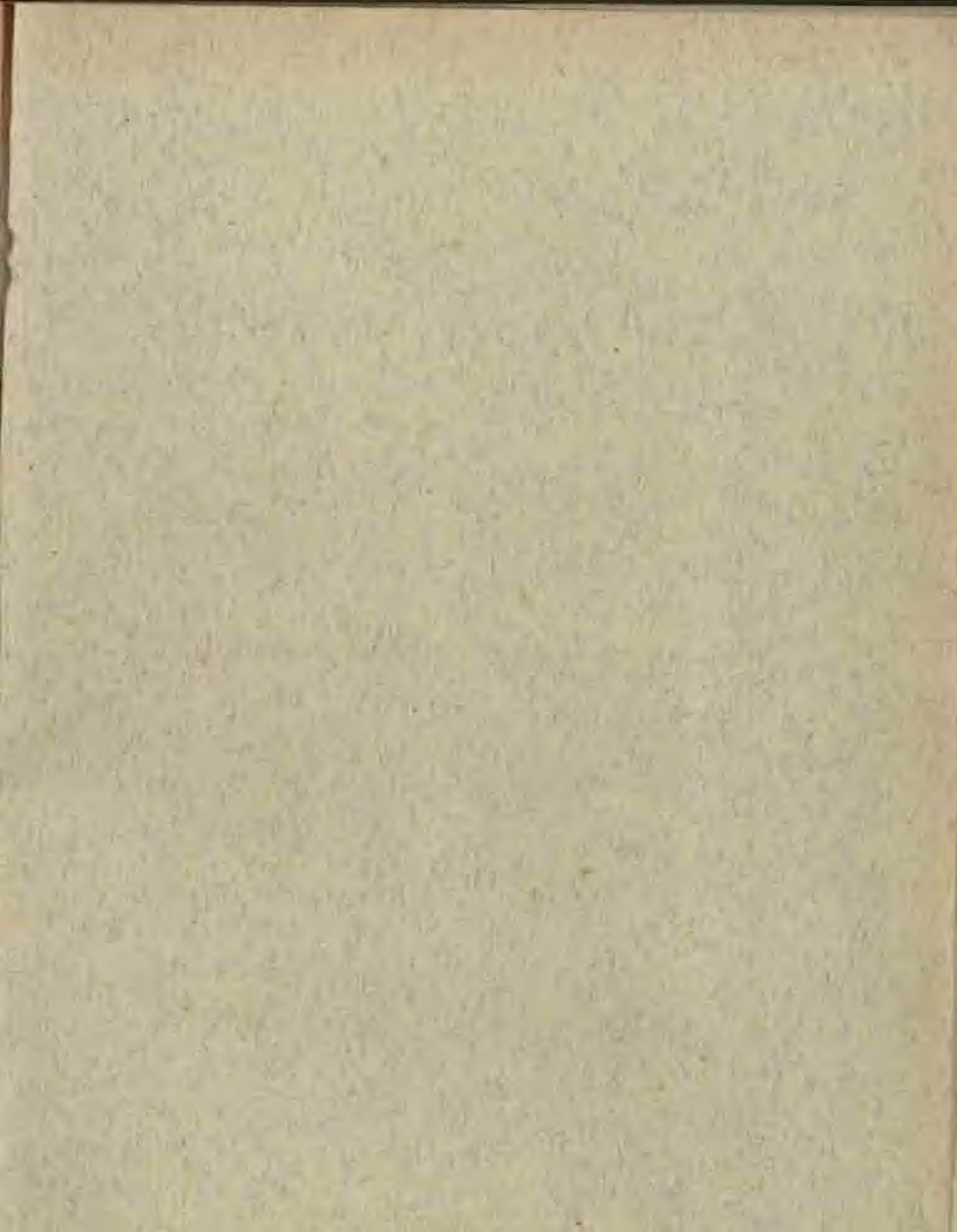
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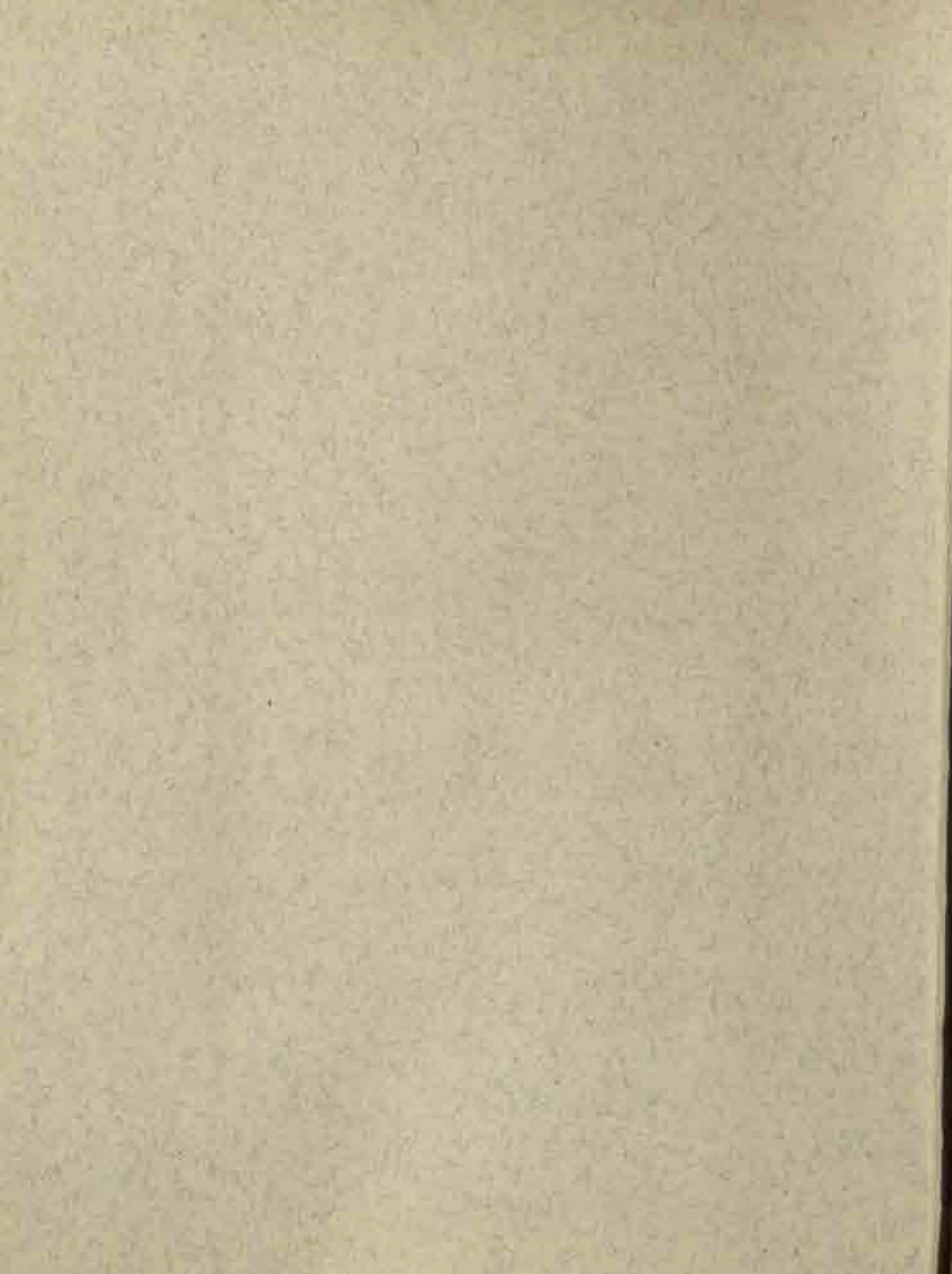
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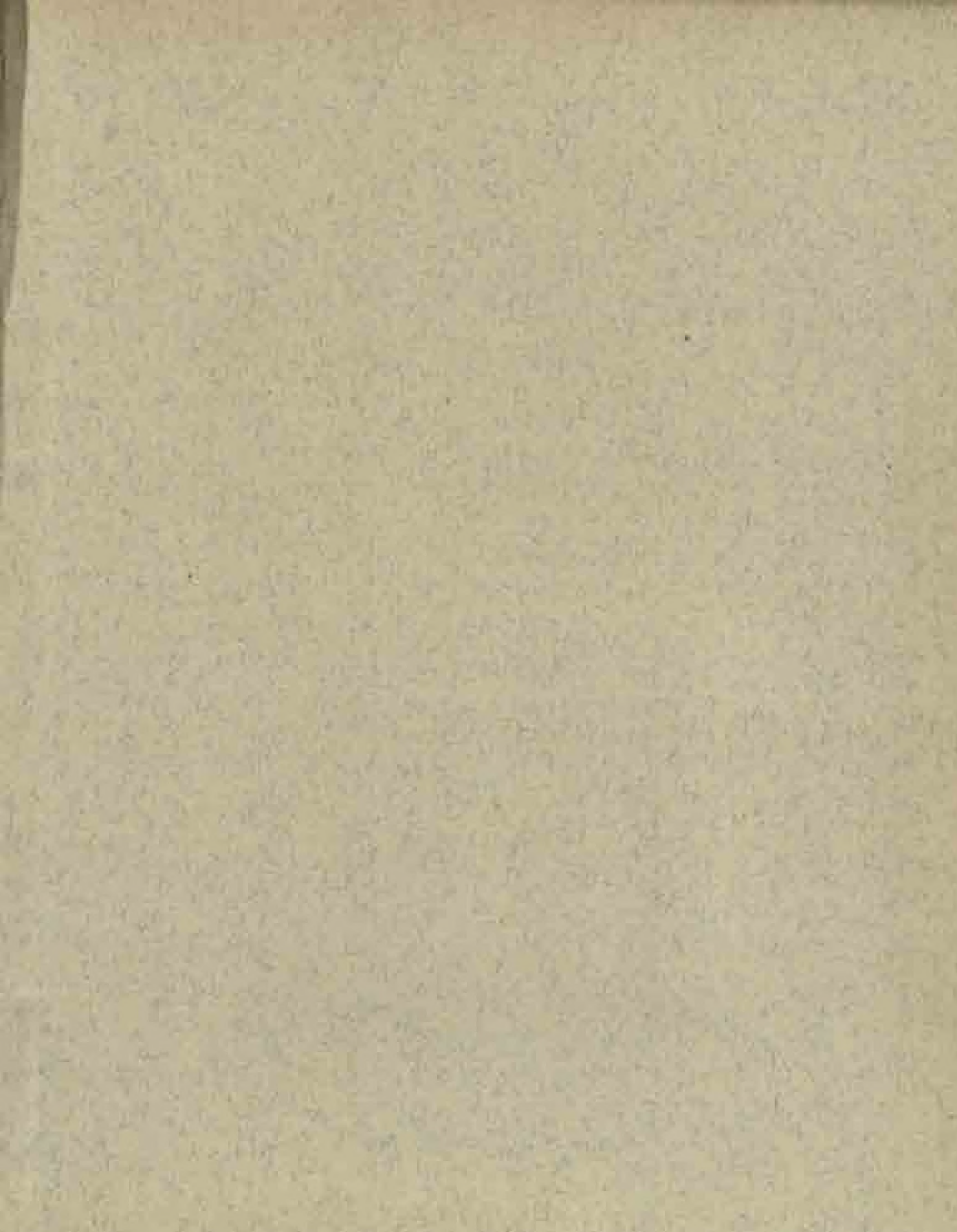
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